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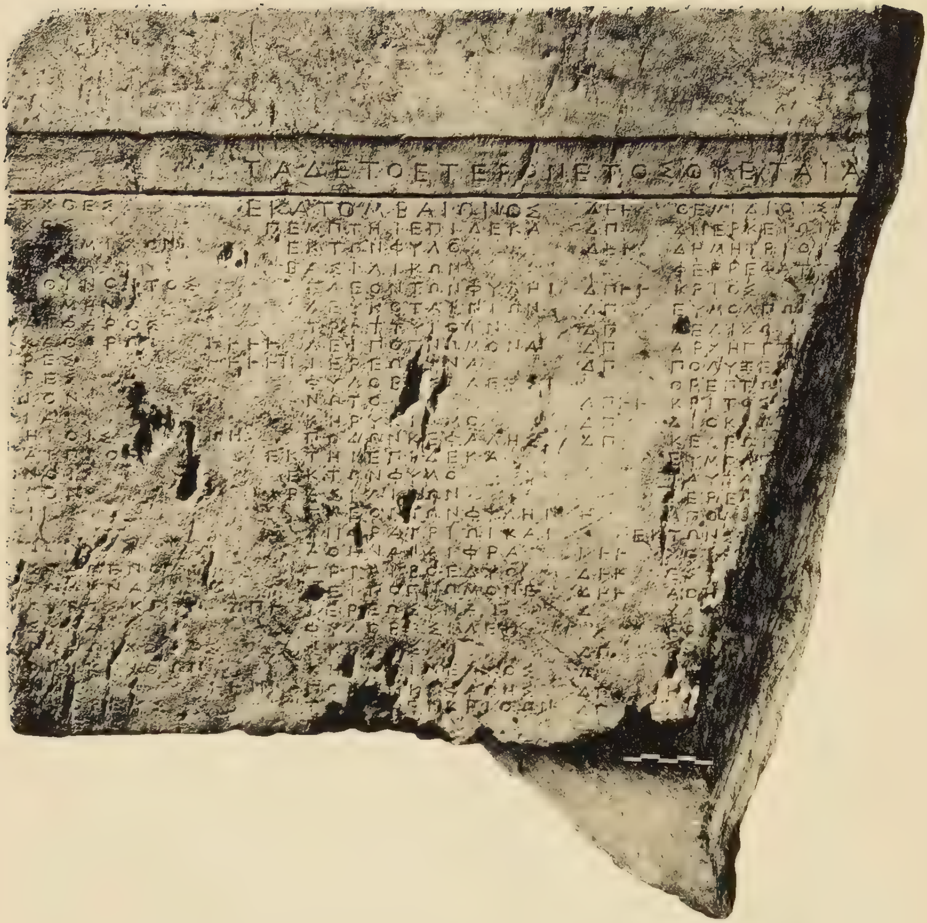

Plate I. Fragment of Inscribed Pentelic Marble from Athens

Part of a wall bearing the Calendar of Sacrifices as codified by Nikomakhos, inscribed in 403–399 B.C., and set up in the Royal Stoa.

Photograph by courtesy of the Agora Excavations

The Law Codes of Athens

STERLING DOW*

I. NIKOMAKHOS' CODE: 410–399 B.C.

THE *Principal Discovery: the Thicker Wall.* A quarter of a century ago, when the excavation of the Athenian Agora was in its early stages, the inscribed marble shown in Plate I was unearthed. A glance at the photograph will show three columns of writing. One column, in the middle, is preserved in its full width. The column at the right has the beginnings only of the lines; the ends are broken away. The third column, at the left, has the ends only of the lines; but the beginnings of the lines were not broken away. The left edge of the stone, though it appears battered, is actually straight, and in fact the original left side of the block is preserved. This side of the block is trimmed to fit against the right side of another block, which would join it so snugly that the column of letters could be, and was, cut right across the crack, as if the crack did not exist. Perfect joints like this could be expected in fifth-century Athens.

The reverse side of the block is also inscribed. This feature is uncommon in Athens: very few Athenian marbles are "opisthographic." J. H. Oliver, to whom publication of the inscriptions was entrusted, was able to demonstrate a connection with two other inscribed marbles, long known but not well enough preserved so that by themselves much could be made of them. The lettering and the content of the inscriptions are the same as those of the new marble; and one fragment, which is opisthographic, has a right side trimmed to fit against the left side of another block.

It was amply clear that what we have is not a single inscribed block, but a series of at least three blocks, and possibly several more, forming a wall. As Plate I shows, the letters even now are mostly fresh and sharp, hence the wall did not stand exposed to the weather. Since both sides of the wall are inscribed, it was not a structural wall of a building, but stood with both sides visible. In short, it was a screen-wall. Presumably it ran from one interior column to another, and thus was firmly supported at each end.

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* In different form, part of this paper was read at the January, 1957, meeting. The several sections on rubrics are based on a paper read at a meeting of the American Philological Association on December 28, 1956. The whole is a summary of a monograph, now in preparation, intended to include all phases. For generous help I am indebted to the late W. S. Ferguson; R. F. Healey, S. J.; W. M. Calder, III; DeC. Fales, Jr. (an article in a forthcoming issue of *Hesperia*); and to the studies cited in the text. Various articles on the subject are accessible through references in *Hesperia,* X (1941), 31; XVII (1948), 106-111; *Historia,* V (1956), 123-128.

Such an inscription, requiring so much broad uninterrupted space as the surface of a wall, must have been a lengthy document, and as it became known, expectations were high that it would prove to be important. It was clear not only that both sides of the wall were inscribed, but also that the inscription had many parts, and that it was not all inscribed at one time. The lettering shows, for instance, that one side dates from soon before 403/2 B.C., a year when the Athenians abandoned their old Attic letters in favor of the more common Ionic letters. The letters of the other side are the Ionic letters of the period soon after 403/2 (Plate I shows this later side). The wall was thus easily and definitely dated: it was inscribed and set up in the last decade of the fifth century B.C.

The character of the inscription was also clear. In parts it was continuous prose: the content of these was Secular Law. The rest—evidently the larger part—was Sacred Law, an elaborate Calendar of Sacrifices. The whole evidently made up a Code. Before Oliver published the fragments, he generously let the text be known to several scholars. One of these, W. S. Ferguson, pointed out that the Law Code of 410-399, and the chief codifier, one Nikomakhos, were the subject of a long and informative oration by Lysias, in modern editions the oration numbered 30.

The oration was composed for an unknown client of Lysias' to deliver in court against Nikomakhos, who had headed the commission to recodify the laws at the end of the fifth century. Whether Nikomakhos was convicted as a result of Lysias' speech, we do not know; in fact Nikomakhos has been little more to us than a name. Formerly none of his Code had been identified. Now there can be no doubt that the inscriptions are actually fragments of his Code, and we can know about his work—about the task that confronted him, and about how he accomplished it. The inscriptions and the speech can be made to throw light on each other.

In 1935 Oliver published the texts on the three fragments. He dealt with the principal passage of Secular Law, which is on the reverse of the fragment shown in Plate I, so well that little will need to be added. With the new information he also attacked the old problem of the form of the earlier Code, the one by Solon. Solon's Code, the fundamental Law of Athens, was almost two centuries earlier. The task of Nikomakhos was to bring it up-to-date, and in so doing he was likely to reflect its fundamental organization.

Since Oliver's article appeared, there have been several excellent contributions, devoted to individual passages and to external aspects; but no considerable study has yet been published on the inscriptions as a whole, that is, as a Code. The present article is a summary of such conclusions as I have been able to reach about the inscriptions as a Code. I have tried to write for any reader who wishes not merely to be presented with new conclusions about Classical Athens, but also to see how conclusions in this field are arrived at.

The Code is interesting not merely for the Secular Law of the late fifth century. Inherently conservative, while usually ready to make practical changes, the Athenians were most conservative in the least practical sphere—religion. Their cult law would echo in later ages the cult aspects of events in the remote past and would thus preserve, if only we could obtain and interpret it, chapter after chapter of the history of Athenian institutions, unknowable in any other way, from the most ancient times on down. It now appears that the cult law was inscribed at great length and set up in the Agora. What we have is a set of samples from that body of law, enough to let us see that the inscription as a whole, among the thousands that stood in Athens, was the most precious and the most exciting of them all. To interpret the surviving texts has not been easy, but reason can be given, I think, to show that one after another of the principal problems has yielded to attack, until all or nearly all are solved.

Additional Fragments: a Thinner Wall. The first step was to seek for more of the inscriptions. An extensive wall, inscribed on both sides (opisthographic), itself a very uncommon feature as has been stated, might well be represented by other surviving fragments, even in an area inhabited, like the Athenian Agora, continuously throughout the centuries; and they should be positively identifiable. Since 1935 the excavations have in fact produced six more pieces. All are small, some are battered and desperate; but even the least fragment helps to enlarge our conception of the variety and complexity of the Sacred Calendar.

Searching among inscriptions already known and published long since in the *Corpus* of Greek Inscriptions, I came upon another opisthographic fragment found in the region of the Agora. On both sides were passages from a sacred calendar. One side had letters earlier than 403/2 B.C., the other side had letters later than 403/2. Thus although the stone itself has long been lost, and recent careful search has failed to recover it, there can be no doubt that it belonged; and we have the texts.

There was one other place to search: among the texts already published from the American excavation. Here again luck was favorable. A fragment inscribed with lines of a sacred calendar on both sides had been published in 1934 without suspicion of a connection with any other inscription. The period of the lettering, however, is the same, the place of finding is the same, and opisthographic inscriptions with an Athenian sacred calendar on both sides are otherwise unknown: so it also belongs. But this fragment is two and a half centimeters thinner than the others. The slight difference in thickness—just one inch—has important consequences. A screen-wall carefully and elaborately designed, like the one already established by Oliver, would not vary in thickness. The thinner fragment could not possibly belong to the wall already known, but must come from a second, thinner wall, theretofore altogether unknown. In effect, of course, the Thinner Wall (as it may conveniently be called) was a continuation of the Thicker.

To judge by this sample, the Thinner Wall was less careful in workmanship and doubtless was set up after the Thicker Wall had been set up, and after one side at least was already filled with lettering. Presumably it turned out that the Thicker Wall did not suffice, though its surface when planned had seemed ample for the whole Code. The discovery of a second Wall was welcome confirmatory evidence that the Code was of great length, perhaps almost twice as long as had been thought when there was only one wall to consider.

From Lysias 30 we know that the work of codifying was spread over more than ten years; he criticizes the codifiers because they were slow—"a procrastinating instrument," Ferguson called them. No doubt they were, but we can see now that they had a lengthy task, longer in fact than they had counted on. The total number of lines on the two Walls must have been in the thousands.

Of it all we have comparatively little, indeed less than the following figures indicate. There are now 11 fragments of the two walls, with a total of 26 passages. None of the others is anywhere near so lengthy as Oliver's large piece. The total number of lines, as they are numbered at present, is 350. It is remarkable, and we should be grateful, that so much has survived. At the same time it must be said that scores of "lines," and a number of the "passages," are so mutilated as to be almost useless.

A Third Part of the Code: the Stelai. The two Walls did not contain everything. As scholars have agreed long since, at least one freestanding slab, that is a *στήλη* (stele), is known which was part of the lawmaking of this period. Like most stelai, it is inscribed on only one side. A large part of the upper portion is preserved. The text contains a prominent rubric, which like the rest of the text, is written in the old Attic letters used until 403/2 B.C., reading ΠΡΟΤΟΣ ΑΧΣΟΝ, *πρῶτος ἄξων*, "first axon." Since the word *axon* (our English *axle* is related) implies rotation, whereas a stele was always set firmly in a base, the text on the surviving stele must have been copied from elsewhere. The content of the text confirms this. It is a modernized version of the famous law of Drakon ("Draco") on homicide, earlier even than Solon, part of the earliest Athenian code and appropriately numbered as "first."

This one inscribed freestanding stele would hardly have stood alone by itself, with all the rest of the Code inscribed elsewhere, viz. on walls. Rather there would have been a series of stelai, giving, in modernized form, the "Second Axon," the "Third Axon," and so on. The series of stelai would constitute one of the three parts (that is, physically) of the Code as revised by Nikomakhos, the other two parts being the two inscribed Walls.

Summary and References. It may be found convenient to have here in systematic form the facts and references about

THE ATHENIAN CODE OF 410-399 B.C.
(referred to herein for convenience as Nikomakhos' Code).
Pentelic marble was used throughout.

I. A series of freestanding stelai, inscribed only on the front. Surviving: part of one, under the rubric "First Axon," containing—what should historically come first—Drakon's Law of Homicide in modernized form. Missing: a series of stelai bearing the modernized contents of other Solonian axones. Date of the first, and perhaps of all, the stelai: 410/09-404/3 B.C. *Inscriptiones Graecae* I^{2}115.

II. The Thicker Wall, inscribed front and back ("opisthographic"). Set up in the Agora, in the Royal Stoa. A screen-wall, only 0.12 m. (less than 5 inches) thick, running presumably from one interior column to the next. Of the ornamental crowning course, none has been recovered. Of the Wall, six fragments survive. The inscriptions on the Thicker Wall are as follows:

Earlier Side, inscribed 410/09-404/3 B.C.: one passage of recent secular (trierarkhic) law is preserved; the preserved remainder consists of a few passages of sacred law, inscribed by different masons, obviously at different times, and including calendar material. No date is preserved or other rubric, and no price. Part of this side was left rough, not prepared for any inscription.

Later Side, inscribed 403/2-400/399 B.C. (Plate I): the one great Sacred Calendar, divided into yearly lists, complete with year-, month-, day-, and ek-rubrics (see below), and with prices. Except for the larger rubrics, the letters are cut in even vertical columns ("stoichedon"; see Plate I). This Later Side has a projecting fascia at the top, and below is divided into three zones: at the top, the zone for principal rubrics; middle zone, large, for the main text, say 80-100 lines vertically; bottom zone, footnotelike observations, rules, etc. The Later Side is thus obviously treated so that it would appear the more important. J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia,* IV (1935), 5-32; S. Dow, *ibid.,* X (1941), 31-37, and references.

III. The Thinner Wall, also opisthographic, set up in the same place. Also a screen wall, but only 0.095 m. (3¾ inches) thick. No other architectural details preserved. Five fragments: Earlier and Later Sides, dated as on the Thicker Wall. All are parts of sacred calendars, but none is stoichedon. Prices occur on both sides; no rubric is preserved. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia,* III (1934), 46, no. 34; S. Dow, *ibid.,* X, 31-37.

The present article will deal primarily with the Later Side of the Thicker Wall.

Calendars of Sacrifices: Eleusinian, Athenian, Marathonian, and Salaminian. Surveying what is now left of the Stelai and the Walls, no observer could fail to note one large fact.

The law of Athens had usually been thought of as largely secular. Lysias' oration should perhaps have modified this notion, but since the great number of laws ascribed to Solon were nearly all secular, they created the modern impression that Solon's Code, as a whole, was largely secular. In the Code set up in 410-399 B.C., the one now known from the twenty-six passages, Sacred Law not only predominates, it overwhelms: twenty-five of the twenty-six passages are Sacred Law, most of which was the Calendar of Sacrifices. Unless these data mislead us, the Code of 410-399 contained a large proportion of Sacred Law. Doubtless not all of Athens' Secular Law was inscribed; but doubtless also we have thought too little about how much Sacred Law Solon codified. In his Code, too, no one can ever again doubt that the Calendar of Sacrifices bulked large. Religion was not only within his scope, it was one of his major concerns. In the Hellenic polis, there was no separation of church and state, or rather there was no church. The state was just about all. Private cults, and the cults of local groups such as the Marathonian Tetrapolis, constituted no important limitation.

In 1895 American excavators had discovered in northern Attica a large block bearing many lines of the sacred calendar of the four towns which from time immemorial had made up the Marathonian Tetrapolis. The inscription had been published, but without a photograph and without an adequate commentary. Then all trace of the stone had been lost. In the course of systematically exploring the storerooms of the National Museum, I happened upon it. The inscription is hard to date; but the lettering appears to be of the early fourth century B.C. On a local and reduced scale, the Calendar of the Marathonian Tetrapolis re-echoes the city's own great new Code; and the two Codes might be expected to help in the interpretation of each other.

There was further good fortune. In 1936 the excavators of the Agora in Athens hoisted out of a dry well a large stele, for once almost perfectly preserved, and containing, besides secular matter, an absolutely complete text of the sacrificial calendar of an important private clan, the Salaminioi. Their members were far fewer than those of the State or the Tetrapolis; but the Salaminioi were opulent, and their calendar shows how well a great genos could do for itself. W. S. Ferguson soon produced a masterly publication of the whole.

All these documents are later than 411 B.C. Mostly in the years 1936-1939, yet another cult inscription was found in the Agora. Or rather there are parts of two, broken into more than a score of small pieces. When Miss L. H. Jeffery had patiently worked them into form for publication, they proved to be parts of very detailed sacrificial calendars inscribed on two altar-like blocks from the Eleusinion in Athens. The date is about 510-480 B.C. From this early period, before the Persian destruction, there were known only a few, and quite limited, texts of this sort. Miss Jeffery's inscriptions take us halfway back to Solon.

Thus the principal documents for the study of Athenian sacred calendars, now four in number, are all virtually new:

CALENDARS OF SACRIFICES FROM ATTIKA

About 510-480 B.C.	Sacrifices to Demeter and Kore in the Eleusinion at Athens: two inscribed [altars?] represented by 31 small fragments. The writing runs left to right, then right to left, in alternate lines ("boustrophedon"). L. H. Jeffery, *Hesperia,* XVII (1948), 86-111, and plates 29-32.
403-399 B.C.	The Athenian State Calendar of Sacrifices, part of Nikomakhos' Code. Thicker Wall, Later Side, plus other parts as above.
First half of fourth century B.C.	The Calendar of Sacrifices of the Marathonian Tetrapolis, complete throughout a large part (perhaps a half) of the whole. *Inscriptiones Graecae* $II^2$1358; W. Peek, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts in Athen,* LXVII (1942, pub. 1951), 12-13.
363/2 B.C.	The Calendar of Sacrifices of the Salaminioi, a private (or semi-private) association, viz. a γένος (Latin *gens*). Text completely preserved. W. S. Ferguson, *Hesperia,* VII (1938), 1-76.

The Yearly Rubrics. All calendars, sacrificial or otherwise, will usually have certain familiar types of division, and the divisions will have appropriate rubrics. The natural first step in the study of Nikomakhos' State Calendar of Sacrifices of 403-399 B.C. is to ascertain its main divisions. The main divisions will be clear if their rubrics can be clarified.

In Plate I, at the top, is a line of letters which, being larger than most of the others, appear to be a major rubric. Immediately beneath can be read the name of the first month of the Athenian year, Hekatombaion (so-called because it was the month in which the greatest festival was that of the hecatomb, a sacrifice of 100 oxen to Apollo). Since they come at the beginning of a yearly list, the letters at the top are therefore what they look like—a major rubric.

Separated into words, the large rubric reads as follows:

ΤΑΔΕ	ΤΟ	ΕΤΕΡΟΝ	ΕΤΟΣ	ΘΥΕΤΑΙ	Α[-----]
The following	in the	other	year	are sacrificed	------.

The precise meaning of this has not always been made clear. "The other year" evidently distinguishes this part of the list from the list of sacrifices which preceded in the first (half-) column, sacrifices which were not in "the other year." The preserved half-column gives no positive clue to what year is meant.

The Marathonian calendar has two year-rubrics, as follows:

(1) ΤΑΔΕ ΤΟ ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΕΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΑ ΔΡΑΜΟΣΥΝΗ
(2) ΤΑΔΕ ΤΟ ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΕΤΟΣ ΘΥΕΤΑΙ ΜΕΤΑ ΕΥΒΟΥΛΟΝ
ΑΡΧ[Ο]ΝΤΑ ΤΕΤΡΑΠΟΛΕΥΣΙ ΥΣΤΕΡΑ ΔΡΑΜΟΣΥΝΗ

The meaning of these is clear: the Tetrapolis has two series of alternate-year sacrifices. One series, (1) the "earlier" (προτέρα), is to come in the present year. The other series, (2) the "later" (ὑστέρα), is to come in the year "after the year when Euboulos is Arkhon eponymous for the Tetrapolis." The Arkhon eponymous for the year in question, which is next year, has not yet been chosen, so the year can only be referred to as "the year after this present year."

At the end comes a word, δραμοσύνη, dramosyne, which has never been definitely understood, but it requires no special argument to see that the definition must be "series of sacrifices."

The meaning of the major rubric in the State Calendar is now clear. "The other year" is what we should call "the alternate year." The sacrifices listed beneath it are to be offered in years 1, 3, 5, 7, and so on. Another series of alternate-year sacrifices, listed under a similar rubric, would be the sacrifices offered in years 2, 4, 6, 8, and so on.

The answer can be found also to the problem of the single letter, an alpha, which occurs just at the edge of the break. The reasoning is too elaborate to give here, but the restoration will be:

Α[ΠΟ ΛΑΧΗΤΟΣ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΑ ΔΡΑΜΟΣΥΝΗ]
[Starting with Lakhes' archonship: earlier series]

Later in the Calendar there will have been another rubric, now missing, which read:

[ΤΑΔΕ ΤΟ ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΕΤΟΣ ΘΥΕΤΑΙ ΜΕΤΑ ΛΑΧΗΤΑ
[The following in the other year are sacrificed after Lakhes'
ΑΡΧΟΝΤΑ ΥΣΤΕΡΑ ΔΡΑΜΟΣΥΝΗ]
archonship: later series]

The two lists together would include all alternate-year sacrifices.

Of course the Athenians also had other sacrifices which were offered, not in every other year, but annually. In fact it is likely that comparatively few sacrifices came only every other year. Most of the sacrifices were annual. And so the State Calendar would begin with a shorter heading, the first of all:

[ΤΑΔΕ ΟΣΑ ΕΤΟΣ ΘΥΕΤΑΙ]
[The following every year are sacrificed]

The Athenians had still other festivals, always with sacrifices, which were celebrated once every four years. The Greater Panathenaia is one of few known, but quite possibly there were several quadrennial sacrifices, requiring as many as four lists, each under its rubric. There were some festivals and sacrifices at even longer intervals. These too—surely there were few of them—would be properly listed. Finally there might well be a list of sacrifices offered at irregular intervals.

Thus, with the aid of the other calendars, it has been possible to show that the State Calendar as a whole was made up of the following lists of sacrifices (δραμοσύναι):

COMPOSITION OF THE STATE CALENDAR OF SACRIFICES

A series of month-by-month lists, as follows:

- Annual sacrifices. One list, the longest, placed first.
- Sacrifices offered every two years. Two lists: an "earlier series" and a "later series."
- Sacrifices offered every four years. Four lists.
- Sacrifices offered at longer intervals. An unknown number of (short) lists.
- Sacrifices offered at irregular intervals (but this category may have been abolished by Nikomakhos).

In all, at least eight lists, probably more.

Hitherto the Athenian and Marathonian Sacred Calendars have not been fully described in this respect. They are now seen to have been orderly, and evidently the rubrics were admirably specific and clear.

The Arrangement of the Inscription. The scheme of each such yearly list was of course easy for Nikomakhos to decide and has presented no problem for modern scholars. The order was chronological, from the first month to the last. Month-rubrics were made to stand out by being projected into the margin and by being cut in larger letters than the items which followed beneath them. This can be seen plainly in Plate I, at the top of Column II: ΕΚΑΤΟΜΒΑΙΩΝΟΣ, Ἑκατομβαιῶνος, "In Hekatombaion," the first month of the year; and also, in the half-column (I) at the left, the letters -]ΩΝΟΣ, which are certainly the end of [ΣΚΙΡΟΦΟΡΙ]ΩΝΟΣ, "In Skirophorion," the last month of the year.

Under the month-rubrics, but projected exactly one space less, come the day-rubrics. The months being lunar (though in fact not always determined accurately so as to accord with nature), the number of day-rubrics might run up to thirty. In Plate I can be seen:

ΠΕΜΠΤΗΙ ΕΠΙ ΔΕΚΑ—"on the fifteenth"
ΕΚΤΗΙ ΕΠΙ ΔΕΚΑ —"on the sixteenth"

Most of the sacrifices themselves are indicated simply enough. All that needed to be put down was usually the deity (or other recipient), the victim, and the price. The deity might be the name alone, e.g. Ἀθηναίαι, "for Athena," or more often the name with an epithet, e.g. Ἀθηναίαι Φρατρίαι, "for Athena Goddess of the Brotherhoods." The deity (or other recipient) is put in the dative case.

The victim also was usually designated by one word, e.g. οἶς, "sheep," in the nominative case; sometimes it is specified that the sheep shall be a select one, e.g. κριὸς κριτός, "select ram." The price of the victim is indicated by numerals set in the margin, e.g. for a sheep offered to a male deity, ΔΠ, "15 drakhmai"; for a sheep offered to a female deity, usually only Δ⊢⊢, "12 drakhmai." The inference can be proved that ΔΠ buys a ram, Δ⊢⊢ a ewe. Male deities never receive female victims (i.e. inferior meat). Although female deities usually receive female victims, occasionally they receive male victims.

Besides these items, the list of sacrifices specifies lesser offerings, e.g. cakes and the like, perquisites for the priests and other officials, and other details as well. Nothing consequential, especially nothing involving money, could be left unclear. The sacrifices were public business: malpractice must be guarded against, and, equally, false charges of malpractice. As we shall see, Nikomakhos had had that borne in upon him.

Such is the framework of the State Calendar: its three leading rubrics are wholly chronological—year, month, day.

Inscribed just below the three chronological rubrics, so that it intervenes between the last of them and the items of sacrifices themselves, there occurs regularly a quite different rubric. This final rubric, projecting only one space into the margin, always begins with the word ἐκ, which ordinarily means "from" or "out of." It will be convenient to postpone study of the ek-rubrics until later. They are not chronological.

So much for the simple elements of the State Calendar. It is broadly much the same as all Greek sacrificial calendars, because the elements themselves, as was to be expected, were always much the same. Stated in the lowest terms, such lists told people when they would get a dinner with meat. Most of the time, most Greeks did not eat meat.

It is possible now to illustrate the spatial scheme of the inscription. Although the elements are common, the scheme itself was uniquely exact and elaborate:

SCHEMATIC DESIGN OF THE STATE CALENDAR

[Ornamental crowning course, now missing]

SERIES (annual, triennial, etc.): a complete sentence
MONTH: in the genitive case
DAY: in dative
EK (-noun missing, in genitive)
$ $ ¢ ¢ DEITY in dative, VICTIM in nominative
Continuation of the column to about 80-100 lines
Added details, about ten lines
Base of wall on floor of stoa

Prices. The prices inscribed on the surviving fragments—in all, scores of prices—as well as on the Marathonian and Salaminian Sacred Calendars, are fixed prices. A ram is put down at fifteen drakhmai, a ewe at twelve, a "select" ram at seventeen, a suckling lamb at four. There is no variation by month. Nothing indicates that any latitude is allowed. All magistrates had to account for all moneys entrusted to them. If the law said they had to buy a ram for fifteen drakhmai, then they had to buy a ram, and they had to pay fifteen drakhmai. The figures are cut into the marble as if they were to be valid forever.

Modern scholars have written very little about this; and when they have, they have found in it "an ancient disregard of economic law."

Some two centuries earlier, Solon too had prescribed prices to be paid for victims, and he put sheep at one drakhme. The Athenians, at least some of them, knew this; in 403/2 they also knew that Athens had just stood a siege during which prices must have been far higher than any in the inscriptions. How can they have prescribed prices for the indefinite future?

The solution is, I think, twofold. In the first place, there was a general belief in steady prices. In normal times prices might vary a little, but would still be within a normal range. Sieges, famines, and the like did not count, the remote past least of all. Apart from disasters, there was no reason to expect unusual factors. In this belief the Greeks were on the whole correct. During the fifth and the fourth centuries prices changed little, until Alexander liberated vast quantities of Persian gold and silver. That was a unique event. No one could foresee its consequences.

On the other hand, the Athenians knew perfectly well that not all ordinary rams cost fifteen drakhmai even in the most normal years. All sorts of small variations would take place. The law could disregard these. What the law plainly meant, though modern scholars have not realized it, was reasonable enough. In buying ordinary rams, fifteen drakhmai were to be paid; for that sum the best that could be had ought to be bought. In good seasons, the victim would be a plump one; in poor seasons, lean. In times of disaster, sacrifices might be curtailed or omitted. Whatever happened, the gods, being Greek gods, would be reasonable and would understand. The only dread of the officials was the very human audit of their accounts.

The Ek-Rubrics and the Theory of "Funds." Every day-rubric, with one exception which need not concern us here because it can be explained, is followed by a rubric beginning with *ἐκ*. In one instance the sacrifices for a given day are grouped under two ek-rubrics, with some sacrifices under the first and some under the second. Doubtless under any one day-rubric there could have been two or more ek-rubrics. Unlike the other three rubrics (year, month, day), the ek-rubrics do not relate primarily to time.

In all, six different ek-rubrics are preserved, occurring as follows:

ἐκ τῶν φυλο|βασιλικῶν	"from the Tribe-Kings' (----)"	4 times
ἐκ τῶν κατὰ μῆνα	"from the month-by-month (----)"	3 times

ἐκ τῶμ μὴ ῥητῆι	"from the (----) not specified as to day"	1 time
ἐκ τῶν στ̣ [----]	"from the sṭ[----]"	1 time
[*ἐκ*] *νέων* [-----]	"from new [-----]"	1 time
[*ἐκ τ*]*ῶν ν* [----]	"[from? t]he n[----]"	1 time

Of these the last, with only two letters fully preserved, plus one doubtful, cannot assist any argument. It may not be a rubric at all. The fourth, *ἐκ τῶν στ̣*[----], even though the dotted letter by itself is a highly uncertain reading (Plate I, third column), looks as though it might be restorable if the other ek-rubrics can be understood. The first three ek-rubrics are wholly preserved and are likely to be informative.

Ever since 1879, when A. Hauvette-Besnault published the first recovered fragment of Nikomakhos' code, all scholars without exception have followed the interpretation then given by Hauvette. Without argument, and evidently without special investigation, he seized upon the interpretation that the ek-rubrics indicated in each case the source of the moneys which were to pay for the sacrifices listed under them. Thus *ἐκ τῶν φυλοβασιλικῶν* would mean *ἐκ τῶν φυλοβασιλικῶν* (*χρημάτων*), "From the Tribe-Kings' Fund." On this theory, the Tribe-Kings must have had a fund in their own name, a fund which would be properly charged with the sacrifices which they themselves largely consumed.

Although all scholars have accepted this, no one has argued it in full, doubtless because there seemed to be no need to do so. Parallels in good Athenian usage could have been cited: at an early time *ἐκ τῶν ναυκραρικῶν* "from the Ship Districts' Fund"; later *ἐκ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν*, "from the Military Fund." Even more familiar is *τὰ θεωρικά*, "the Theoric Fund," the dole, paid originally for attendance at the theater, which corrupted mid-fourth-century Athens. In its hundreds of occurrences, *ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων* was the expression for "out of his (or one's) own private funds."

Among the Code rubrics, *ἐκ τῶν φυλοβασιλικῶν* is perhaps the instance most favorable to the "fund" interpretation. *ἐκ τῶν κατὰ μῆνα*, "from the fund (replenished) month by month," or perhaps "from the fund (applied to expenditures) month by month," is however a possible name for a fund. *ἐκ τῶμ μὴ ῥητῆι*, "from the (fund) not specified as to day" is also not a natural name for a fund, though doubtless some sort of fund so named is conceivable. The other rubrics give no help: nearly anything relevant, "fund" or other, can be "new."

I will confess that long after I had come to see, some years ago, that the ek-rubrics really should not mean funds, still the force of these indubitable examples of actual funds, specified to be drawn upon by the formula *ἐκ τῶν* - - - - -, harassed me with doubts. The weight of past and present opinion was added to the perfect verbal parallelism of real fund expressions.

Yet there was comfort in reasoning to further conclusions. *If* a fund called *τὰ φυλοβασιλικὰ χρήματα* were important in Athens, enough so to be called upon often for contributions, then such a fund ought to have had officials and a history. So should the other funds, at least five or six major funds in all. Yet as funds they are never once heard of.

In the midst of our general ignorance of Athenian cult finances, perhaps this is not a serious consideration. What is serious is the group of consequences that must follow from the admission that such funds existed. The whole series of State sacrifices—all the items of all the yearly lists—are not paid for, on the fund theory, out of one (state) treasury. Instead they are paid for out of a number of different treasuries. No one has drawn this conclusion, but in some form it is, I think, inescapable, *if* the ek-rubrics refer to funds. It is a conclusion of great importance.

Moreover it is conceivable. In fact if the financial operations of the typical polis were conducted with no unified budget, but consisted only in paying out incoming moneys for the specific purposes for which those moneys were already earmarked, then the ek-funds would reflect this very practice. Such is today the common, accepted theory of Greek polis finance. The ek-funds in the Calendar would constitute a handsome proof that the theory is correct.

In short, the fund theory was not assailable on general grounds, any more than on grounds of the wording of formulae.

The large fragment of the Code discovered in the Agora (Plate I) disclosed that one monthly list of sacrifices, and presumably all the monthly lists drawn up by Nikomakhos (we have no other ending of a monthly list to go by), ended by giving a total of money:

Col. I, 16th line	[ΚΕΦΑΛ]ΑΙΟΝ	Total (the restoration is indisputable)
17th line	[-----]⊢ΙΙ	[-----] 1 drakhme, 2 obols

First, in large letters, there is the word "total," then a sum of money: not a round figure, but one ending in obols, that is in fractions of a drakhme. This shows that an effort was made to compute the sum exactly. The sum is undoubtedly the total cost of all the sacrifices prescribed for the month. To put it more precisely, it is the sum of all the figures cut in the margins to indicate what was to be paid for each of the various sacrifices specified to be offered during that month.

Although no one has commented on it, the fact of monthly totals is significant. The data, to repeat, are beyond dispute. The monthly list of sacrifices comes to an end, then the total is given in large letters, then the next month begins. For the month in question, there is only the one total.

During that month, however, several "funds" (if there were funds) must have participated. If there were funds, then what ought to be given is a monthly total for each fund. Lacking such a special total of their own, the officials of any one fund would have to go through the whole monthly list, picking out one item after another from under the appropriate fund heading. Errors would easily result.

Moreover, if that were the method of payment, why inscribe the one monthly total at all? Apart from unessential interests, and answers to curiosity, the one total would serve no useful purpose.

There is a more natural interpretation. The fact of one total for each month powerfully suggests, if it does not absolutely prove, that payment was not from a series of funds, but from one source only; and that that source was the one unified State treasury, which paid the whole bill. Separate "funds," on this reasoning, play no part whatever.

This monthly total given in the inscription is one piece of evidence, quite specific in nature. A general body of evidence may be cited next. Lysias 30 is an all-out attack on Nikomakhos. In this oration Lysias charges Nikomakhos with outrageous delay, with failure to submit to a judicial audit, with bringing forward contradictory and suspicious laws, and with large-scale impiety. Nikomakhos is charged with going beyond his instructions. He was first to edit the Solonian, the ancestral, laws about sacrifice, the ones, that is, "from the kyrbeis" (*ἐκ τῶν κύρβεων*). He was to add others, also ancestral and duly established, "from the stelai" (*ἐκ τῶν στηλῶν*; the kyrbeis and the stelai will be discussed presently). But Nikomakhos, it is charged, erred so greatly as to cause to be omitted, in just one year, three talents' worth of ancestral sacrifices. (Three talents would be 18,000 drakhmai, and would buy 1,200 rams.) Instead, Nikomakhos erred even more seriously in inserting *six* talents' worth of "new" sacrifices; that is, sacrifices not to be found in the old "kyrbeis."

Lysias' figures are suspiciously round and may well be exaggerated. What is relevant is that throughout the oration there is no hint of any separate funds. If such funds existed, Nikomakhos must have been deeply involved with them. He cannot have spent them for the purposes for which, according to the theory, they were earmarked. He must have caused them to be misappropriated. Lysias would find such actions a perfect target, and he would denounce Nikomakhos with gusto—and with informative detail. Instead, the whole oration reads as if the one unified State treasury paid for all the sacrifices in question.

Is confirmation needed? The Salaminioi, in their calendar (lines 20-21) refer to sacrificial victims which, though sacrificed by the Salaminioi themselves, were paid for by the State. The inscription uses an ek-phrase to specify the source of the money. Here certainly mention of a specific fund would be appropriate; but instead we read ἐκ το͂ δημοσίο, or in more usual orthography, ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου ("from the public treasury"). This ek-phrase is almost painfully definite. We have already seen that in good Attic Greek ἐκ can indicate a source of money. Here, where for once in a calendar it does indicate money, it indicates not a separate fund but the one public treasury.

The Ek-Rubrics as Citations of Sources. If therefore the ek-rubrics do not refer to a series of funds, there is no need to search far for the correct meaning. I have already given the clue. In four places Lysias uses ek-phrases. He speaks of the people who sacrifice ἐκ τῶν κύρβεων, and he speaks of sacrifices ἐκ κύρβεων and ἐκ τῶν στηλῶν. In short, he uses the ek-phrase to give the legal authority for sacrifices. The word ἐκ here means, obviously, "taken from," or, as we should say, "in accordance with" or "authorized by." The Salaminioi speak (line 87) of the sacrificial victims furnished by the State—the ones to be paid for ἐκ το͂ δημοσίο—as being provided ἐκ κύρβεων, that is, in accordance with the State Code of Nikomakhos.

The ek-rubrics in Nikomakhos' Sacrificial Calendar of 403-399, on this interpretation, refer to *bodies of law.* It should be easy to test the phrases used. First, the rubric ἐκ τῶν κατὰ μῆνα is singularly appropriate for a list of sacrifices. Like all early Greek lawgivers, Solon had as one principal duty the ordering of sacrifices, so that they should be arranged "month by month." The sacrifices under this rubric were, or at least were understood as being, Solonian. ἐκ τῶν φυλοβασιλικῶν will designate sacrifices which, like the Tribe-Kings themselves, were very ancient. The phrase ἐκ τῶμ μὴ ῥητῆι, understood as "from the (list of sacrifices) not specified as to day," makes sense.

There remain the two ek-rubrics which looked as if they might be made to mean something. It will be recalled that Lysias speaks of two main sources of sacrificial law out of the past which Nikomakhos had to draw upon: the "kyrbeis," which were the old Solonian laws, and the "stelai," which were the various uncodified laws passed from time to time since Solon. The rubric ἐκ τῶν σ[----], as it was read, has been restored only as ἐκ τῶν σ[υμβολῶν], "from the (participants') contributions"—thus keeping up the "fund" theory, although we do not know that the participants contributed anything. The trace of another letter after the sigma will permit this. It will also permit ἐκ τῶν στ̣[ηλῶν] "from the stelai," a phrase which can be copied as if straight out of Lysias, and seems inevitable. If moreover we look at the deities named in Column III before this rubric, we find they are all old Eleusinian deities: doubtless Lysias would say, and rightly, that they went back to the "kyrbeis." In contrast, after the heading ἐκ τῶν στ̣[ηλῶν], we find sacrifices for deities of whom some appear to have no ancient connection with Eleusis. Such sacrifices would naturally be more recent. They should be additions made by laws passed since Solon, and inscribed on stelai. A more apt instance of the difference between Solonian and post-Solonian law could hardly be imagined. It appears, moreover, that we actually have the very stele in question. It is one of the first in the *corpus* of Attic inscriptions, being *IG* I^{2}5, and it prescribes sacrifices to the first several deities listed in our Column III under the rubric which indubitably should read ἐκ τῶν στ̣[ηλῶν].

Of the remaining two ek-rubrics, both are more fragmentary, but one contains the word "new"—[ἐκ] νέων [-----], perhaps [ἐκ] νέων [θυσιῶν], "new sacrifices." Again the inscription fits precisely with the phraseology of Lysias.

To sum up about the ek-rubrics: in 1879 Hauvette-Besnault naturally interpreted them as referring to funds. There are plenty of good Attic instances of ek-phrases so used. For eighty years scholars have accepted the error without questioning. It is precisely because there are none like them that the ek-rubrics have always been misinterpreted. What makes Nikomakhos' Code unique among Greek law codes, so far as we know them, both secular and sacred, is the ek-rubrics—the citation of authorities.

Why did Nikomakhos trouble to insert them? The Greeks of the Fifth Century were far from verbose in their public documents. Inscriptions were costly. At all times the rational ordering and referencing of written material came hard to Greeks. In some cases, perhaps in all, they did such things only when circumstances compelled.

The suggestion may be offered that Nikomakhos was compelled. On the earlier side of the Wall, no rubrics are preserved: prior to 404 B.C. there is only *προ͂τος ἄχσον* on the stele. One may suspect that the Calendar on that earlier side—itself only a series of preliminary drafts of parts?—had no ek-rubrics. In 399 B.C. Lysias' client brought Nikomakhos to trial, and among the charges was arbitrariness. The suggestion is natural that Nikomakhos had realized in advance that such a charge would be made; we are told that once at least he had already been in trouble (Lysias 30, 2-3). Voluntarily, or because the people's decree compelled him, Nikomakhos cited authorities for everything; when he instituted new sacrifices, he labeled them as new. The appearance was that nothing was concealed. The citations themselves, to be sure, he made as short as possible: *ἐκ* plus an adjectival or adverbial expression, with the noun usually omitted. In this he probably followed common usage. The resulting references are not themselves precise, but their presence marks a great advance. Precise or not, doubtless they were adequate. It is a scholarly Code.

For Nikomakhos himself the citations doubtless meant more work. *Everything* had to be covered by an ek-rubric. Moreover the rubrics left him exposed. If Lysias, or someone who cared more than Lysias did for accuracy, wished to add up what new meat costs Nikomakhos had imposed on the city, all he had to do was to add up the totals under the rubrics for the "new" sacrifices. Conversely, an extreme democrat could reckon how many old sacrifices, "from the kyrbeis," had been retained. Like any scholar who publishes any work with references, Nikomakhos both safeguarded and exposed himself. In lawgiving fiat is always simpler and often safer. Nikomakhos had no choice.

Nikomakhos and His Code. Such being the essentials of Nikomakhos'

Code, something can be said about the mind which produced it. Not all of its features, perhaps, were his own invention; his name must stand alone for an otherwise nameless group.

The first feature of the Code which attracts attention is the physical appearance of the Sacred Calendar on the Later Side of the Thicker Wall, as it was inscribed in the years 403-399. It is well laid out. The rubrics project to the left by ordered degrees: month, three spaces; day, two spaces; ek-rubrics, one space. No numerals for prices had to be set opposite any of the rubrics, but only against the victims, in the lines below; and the victims were set in under the rubrics, so that marginal space for the prices was always available. It is hard to see how this design could be improved upon. Nikomakhos, or some colleague, had a nice sense for spatial dispositions.

The Calendar was highly elaborated. Nikomakhos evidently did not simplify the lists of sacrifices that came to him: the impression is rather that he entered just about all that could be thought to be wanted. He did not shirk his task. One would guess that he enjoyed the elaborating, and even that, unlike most Greeks, he enjoyed citing authorities.

Column II will illustrate this. Every other year, on 15 Hekatombaion, a third of the members of one of the Old Tribes dine off a roast suckling lamb. The Tribe-Kings of all four Old Tribes are there; a small fee is paid them in lieu of their ancestral perquisite, the chine. Similarly a Herald gets four obols in place of the shoulder, feet, and head. That is all. No deity is named; instead, the words in the dative are the terms for the tribesmen, the Tribe-Kings, and the Herald.

Also every other year, on the next day, 16 Hekatombaion, the whole of the Old Tribe—or rather, all that remained of it—dined on two suckling calves. Deities of the old brotherhoods, Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria, are named. Otherwise it is much like the day before, only larger. In short, the much smaller dinner on 15 Hekatombaion was a preamble to the one on the 16th. For such preliminary sacrifices there was a special term, *πρόθυμα*, "pre-sacrifice." No doubt the origin of any *prothuma* consisted in the coming-together of the officials to make preparations for the next day. The officials had proceeded to make the most of the occasion, and long since, perhaps centuries ago, they had established their own dinner as part of the law of the city. No deity was named—it was merely a dinner, *not* a sacrifice to deities plus a dinner—and the whole affair was practically as unnecessary as it was undemocratic; but neither Nikomakhos nor anyone else could end it. Possibly it was Nikomakhos who reduced its occurrence to every other year, and he may also have reduced the amount of meat. That was all: Athens was deeply conservative.

Much the same applies to the sacrifices on the sixteenth. Here, however, there is an added factor. It is the day of a major Athenian festival, the Synoikia, the one named for the Union of Attika. This was celebrated on 16 Hekatombaion every year, and in the Annual list a long, elaborate passage would deal with it. Thus all of our present Column II is extra: it is the Old Tribes' and the Old Tribe-Kings' share in a festival which was doubtless *the* King's, not theirs. The Old Tribes are incidental: but they are there. In the other series of alternate-year sacrifices, doubtless other Old Tribesmen had banquets, for which Nikomakhos prescribed expenses down to the last obol paid to their Herald in return for a lamb's feet.

Column III, all of which is devoted to Eleusinian sacrifices, gives the best idea that can be had from the present inscriptions about what a large festival was like. There are twenty-seven lines, but neither beginning nor end is preserved. Various sorts of gods and heroes crowd the lines, a divine counterpart of the throng of the mortals themselves at the festival.

The whole Calendar may have run to 3,000 lines or more. In every line at least one, or usually two, items had to be correctly set down after being decided upon. That is why the job took so long. Working as he did under a democratic system, where every citizen could interfere, Nikomakhos did remarkably well to finish in ten years.

Altogether the Code was evidently a masterpiece of scholarship applied to law. On one fragment, where the incised line near the bottom of the slab is preserved, there are letters below the line. They are not part of the regular list of sacrifices, but appear rather to be specifications about circumstances—omens and the like. These letters at the bottom are not unlike that characteristic feature of modern elaborate scholarship, the footnote.

Scholarship thus displayed in the redaction of the State Code is of larger interest. The Sophists had founded many branches of scholarship in this very century. To illustrate the developments fully would take us far astray. It may suffice to point out that in the Athens of this Calendar Thucydides—who was at work there on his History in these very years—is completely at home. His well-known exactitude (in some instances, *appearance* of exactitude) in matters chronological most notably, and in other matters as well, is sometimes represented as isolated, as if somehow his were a freakish anticipation of modern Ph.D. ways, the likes of which were otherwise unknown to Greece. Now that we have the State Code, it is surely more correct to conceive that Thucydides utilized in historiography a fashion of thought common in Athens. One of his achievements was to realize that the objective, detailed, accurate, authoritative establishment of masses of material, exemplified in other forms and most publicly in the work of Nikomakhos, could be applied to narrative history.

II. Solon's Code: 594-593 B.C.

The Sources of Nikomakhos' Code. The interpretation of the ek-rubrics as citations of sources leads naturally to the study of those sources. Virtually for the first time we have at our disposal the titles of several bodies of cult law, and besides the titles we have some of the actual content, perhaps somewhat modernized by Nikomakhos.

But not all the ek-rubrics referred to unified bodies of law. Thus the post-Solonian laws, severally adopted from time to time and inscribed on stelai, need have had no special unity. Another group of sacrifices was probably added (with the approval of the proper authorities) by Nikomakhos: in that case they were not comparatively "new," they were absolutely new. As we have seen, Lysias speaks of *six talents* (36,000 drakhmai) of new sacrifices added by Nikomakhos. The reason why Nikomakhos added a large number might be imagined to have been pure religious ardor. It would probably be nearer the mark to imagine rather that he wished to provide more meat at festivals which had become more popular, while reducing somewhat the sacrifices at festivals which were less well attended. During the years since 480, the growth of the city population as opposed to that of the country, and in particular the flocking of people to Peiraieus—where as rowers in the fleet they constituted an urban proletariat always pressing for democratic privileges—may well have been the main reason why some festivals (perhaps the urban ones) had to be favored at the expense of other festivals (perhaps remote country ones).

So much for the altered and the recent festivals. Whether subject or not to levelling "democratic" pressure, and whether guilty or not of Lysias' charges, Nikomakhos evidently did make some changes. But the changes affected only a minor fraction of the sacrifices. We do not know the total cost of all the sacrifices in the Calendar, but doubtless it was of the order of four or five or six times six talents. In other words, far the larger number of sacrifices were not in any sense "new," but were taken from old bodies of law. It is the old sacrifices which interest us now.

One list of old sacrifices was the list of Monthly Sacrifices, τὰ κατὰ μῆνα ἱερά, or perhaps αἱ κατὰ μῆνα θυσίαι. This list, from its very nature, probably went back to Solon: we have seen that one of his prime duties in matters of cult was to produce such a list. The list would extend through the year. It would remove conflicts and uncertainties, doubtless where possible spacing out the festivals to give holidays somewhat like our Sundays.

At the same time Solon must have constructed a list of Movable Sacrifices, αἱ μὴ ῥητῆι ἡμέραι θυσίαι. Like our Easter, they could be assigned in Solon's time to seasons or to months, but not to specific days. By Nikomakhos' time, such looseness may well have been felt to be crude, primitive, and unnecessary. At any rate the fact is that Nikomakhos fixed for specific days some at least of the sacrifices in question. Others, doubtless, he left as before, to depend for their day on the appearance of omens and the like. Even at the end of the rational Fifth Century, the gods must still be allowed to be arbitrary now and then.

The Tribe-Kings and Their Sacrifices. But Nikomakhos had more than gods to contend with. The only preserved rubric not yet considered is the rubric ἐκ τῶν φυλοβασιλικῶν. One's natural impulse would be to treat this as being like the other ek-rubrics, and to understand it as referring to a Solonian list of Tribe-Kings' Sacrifices, a list not more remarkable than the others. A moment's thought will show, however, that this rubric stands apart. It is the only extant rubric designated by the title of an official. Among extant rubrics, moreover, it occurs most often—four times out of the total of eleven. Statistics mean little when the figures are so small, but in studies of the remote Greek past, where data are limited, progress is often possible only by using the data as hints and then by trying to see whether what they suggest can be confirmed.

In each preserved instance, the Tribe-Kings' Law provides for a dinner in which their majesties participate—twice alone, twice sharing with others. Through the year they had many dinners, it would seem, and no doubt the four well-fed royal persons were a pleasant symbol in Athens of old-time jolly piety. Were not the Homeric heroes, with three banquets in one night, heroic trenchermen? But the Tribe-Kings' rubric also covers the sacrifices first of an Old Trittys, and second of an Old Tribe. For centuries before 508 B.C. an Old Trittys had been one-twelfth, and an Old Tribe, one-fourth, of all Athenian citizens. In the old days, accordingly, the victims must have been much more numerous for a trittys as well as for a tribe.

It seems inconceivable, moreover, that the Sacrificial Law of the Tribe-Kings should refer solely to the tribe of one of them. It was not labelled, and surely was not, the law solely of the King of the Tribe Geleontes, although this tribe undoubtedly had precedence, and its King should be regarded as first among the four. The Tribe-Kings' Law must have covered all four tribes. In short, the rubric *ἐκ τῶν φυλοβασιλικῶν* covered not just four men, but rather what was once the whole body of Athenian citizens. The frequency of its occurrence in the preserved fragments is not misleading.

The four Ionic tribes, over which the four Tribe-Kings once held sway, are unfamiliar in the thoughts of many students of Classical Greece. This is because the ten Kleisthenian tribes, which in 508 B.C. replaced them almost completely, were so successful as to endure for at least 800 historic years. They are known in great detail. The four Ionic tribes, about which little is known, had endured, however, considerably longer than 800 years: they went back to the utterly dim time when all Ionians were somehow enough united so as to be divided among just four tribes, which afterward, when Ionians were more scattered, kept the same names. The law of their Kings, which in large part was once their own law, was immemorially old. It was older than the time when one King of Athens (certainly *not* one of themselves) had begun to unite all Attika. As is usual, it was in the realm of cult that the law of the Ionic Tribe-Kings survived—*οἱ τῶν φυλοβασιλικῶν νόμοι* (or *θεσμοί*?).

At some remote time, the Athenians instituted one monarch over all. *The* King, when he acquired power enough to be called King (*βασιλεύς*) and to demote the four to the qualified status of Tribe-

Kings (φυλοβασιλεῖς), could undoubtedly set about acquiring the privileges of offering many sacrifices. In cult as in secular matters, King's Law would grow up. Doubtless our State Calendar, if more fully preserved, would have rubrics ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν. But the King could not, in cult, entirely supplant the Tribe-Kings and their more ancient rites. Solon, reducing to writing for the first time Tribe-Kings' Law which already went back over a millennium, could hardly make many radical changes. Neither could Nikomakhos. The most that could be done at any time was to reduce the number of victims. To abolish entirely any Tribe-Kingly festival was doubtless out of the question.

This is how it came about that, in the midst of a fervent democratic restoration, certain most undemocratic privileges were specified, with proper detail, for a select few.

The Parts of Solon's Code. The Code of Nikomakhos was published by being inscribed on separate freestanding stelai, of which one survives in part, and on two opisthographic walls, of which we have enough to indicate that for historians they constitute the most important inscribed document in Athens. The Secular Law occupied the stelai and part of the less ornamented Earlier Face of the Thicker Wall. The Sacred Calendar had the place of honor. We can now perceive why it should: whereas the continuous prose of the Secular Law could be inscribed on any stele, the Calendar needed broad uninterrupted surfaces.

Do these facts about the later Code, that of Nikomakhos, give any help in understanding how the earlier Code, that of Solon, was arranged? About the form of Solon's Code, there have been interest and controversy ever since Classical Antiquity.

It was also known in Antiquity that parts of the laws of Solon were on something called ἄξονες. Precisely what these looked like is not known, but the word clearly implies that they revolved on horizontal or vertical axles, one at each end (if they stood upright, for instance, there would be an axle at the top and another at the bottom). An ἄξων may well have had the shape, for instance, of a prism. There were two dozen or more, and they were numbered. We have a copy of the First Axon, and we are told some of the contents of three others, including the Twenty-first.

It was also known in Antiquity that parts of the laws of Solon were inscribed on something which had a different name, *κύρβεις*, kyrbeis, plural of *κύρβις*. This word is anything but clear. It is hardly used in any other connection. Its root is unknown and it has no derivatives to help us. Being obscure, it attracted the attention of learned men. Their speculations took all sorts of forms, both in Classical and in modern times. To reconcile all that the Classical authors wrote on the subject is impossible, because they contradict each other. It will suffice to mention one recent distinguished effort. J. H. Oliver, surveying the evidence and the speculations, was driven to conclude that the kyrbeis were, or came to be thought of as, not an object at all but only an abstraction, "the law of the land."

It might seem too much to hope that a solution could ever be positively established, and that a further attempt would be vain. There is reason to believe, however, that an exact and positive solution, intelligible in the light of the foregoing discussion, is within reach, and that this problem, which has challenged many generations of scholars, can be satisfactorily settled.

Something, perhaps everything, depends on what evidence is first seized upon. The correct method, surely, is to examine first the earliest evidence, especially official documents, that is, the inscriptions; and then the quotations in later writers which are cited as coming from specific parts of Solon's Code, either axones or kyrbeis. In the light of the findings from these, but only in such light, later writers should be interpreted.

Content of the Axones. The axones are represented by one inscription. This is the one which has a plain rubric: *IG* I^2 115, line 10, *πρῶτος ἄξων*, "first axon." It is one of the freestanding stelai, as noted above, and it contains Drakon's law of homicide, taken over by Solon—probably all that Solon adopted from his proverbially harsh predecessor—and again repeated by the lawmakers of 410-399.

Demosthenes (23.28,31) refers to a law written "on the axon." The law deals with murderers, and is completely secular. Two later writers cite axones with sufficient detail to make it clear that what they say is valid. They give the numbers of the axones and in one instance the number of a law:

NUMBERS AND CONTENT OF KNOWN AXONES

Axon 1. Exports from Attika: only olive oil may be exported (Plutarch, *Solon,* 24.1; evidently Axon 1 treated this in addition to the law of murder).

Axon 13. The law of amnesty for persons previously deprived of citizenship (Plutarch, *Solon,* 19.3, who also says this was Solon's Eighth Law).

Axon 16. Prices to be paid for sacrificial victims. Particular deities are not named. The prescription appears to be general (Plutarch, *Solon,* 23.3).

Axon 21. Rights of certain children in regard to residence in the family house (Harpokration, s.v. ὅτι οἱ ποιητοί: the number *may* refer not to the axon but to the numbering system of the laws?).

In whatever way Plutarch and Harpokration—more than half a millennium later—came to know these parts of the Solonian Code, there is no reason to doubt that for present purposes they are correct about the content and the method of reference.

We have no other direct knowledge of the axones, but for present purposes the data just given are adequate. Two facts are conspicuous: the axones were numbered; and all the laws directly known as having been inscribed on the axones are secular laws. One law, to be sure, refers to sacrificial victims, but only in their economic aspect: prices are prescribed, apparently, for *all* select victims at once.

Content of the Kyrbeis. For understanding the kyrbeis, some help might be expected first of all from the new inscriptions. The great Calendar of Sacrifices set up by Nikomakhos in 403-399 B.C. is now known only imperfectly, to be sure, but it is exemplified by a far greater number of passages than were available to any previous students since Antiquity. For the first time the structure of this list is also clear, and in enough detail to show its scheme and its elaboration. It was laid out on great uninterrupted (wall) surfaces: and the reason it was thus laid out is presumably because separate stelai would not contain it properly. Its headings and its columns required, as it were, not separate small pagelike stelai, but a long surface, like an ancient book unrolled. Indeed, ancient books may well have provided the model.

At no point, however, does any preserved line on any fragment from Nikomakhos' Calendar mention the kyrbeis or the axones. Yet, as we have seen, Nikomakhos' Calendar, like the stele *IG* I^{2}115, *does* cite sources for itself throughout. Why then is there no rubric ἐκ τῶν κύρβεων (or ἐκ τῶν ἀξόνων, or some other reference analogous to πρῶτος ἄξων)? The question is also new, and some answer ought to suggest itself, else the whole inquiry will be incomplete.

Second, there is another new item, never yet taken into account in any full study of the axones and kyrbeis. The Salaminioi pay for all their own sacrifices except for a few which are furnished by the State and are paid for out of the State treasury, as we have seen. The Salaminioi (line 87) refer to these victims as coming to them ἐκ κύρβεων, "as authorized by the kyrbeis."

Then finally, in Lysias' oration against Nikomakhos, the axones are never mentioned, but the kyrbeis are referred to as such three times (17; 18; 20). In each instance it is directly stated that only sacrifices and nothing secular are in question. Throughout the oration, no specific section of the kyrbeis is referred to, and there is no way of knowing how Lysias would have made such a reference. In their one reference to the kyrbeis, the Salaminioi also are not specific.

These are all the references to the kyrbeis which are direct and authoritative. More could be wished for; but the contrast with what was observed about the axones is perfect. *All* the references to the kyrbeis are to Sacred Law. The fact that *none* of them refers to the kyrbeis by numbers is, as we have seen, not necessarily significant; but the Sacred Calendar as we have it includes no hint that its parts were numbered. There was no reason why they should be.

These two facts, though based on none-too-copious evidence, reinforce each other. *If* the contents of the kyrbeis was Sacred Law, then the pagelike surfaces of prisms would be as unsuitable as the only slightly wider surfaces of stelai. It would seem therefore that the original kyrbeis were essentially like the later inscribed walls of Nikomakhos, viz. long uninterrupted surfaces, like unrolled rolls. Passages on such surfaces could of course be numbered, but numbers would not be so natural as for prisms. The natural way to refer to passages on a wall would be by the rubrics above them. For subdivisions, the months themselves would suffice. The main rubrics, as we have seen, read "The Tribe-Kings' Sacrifices" (or "Law"); "The Monthly Sacrifices"; "The Sacrifices Not Specified as to Day"; and doubtless several others now lost to us.

It is easy to see now why Nikomakhos did not use a rubric "From the Kyrbeis." *All* of his Sacred Calendar came from the kyrbeis except what was taken from comparatively short separate laws passed since Solon and suitable to be inscribed on separate stelai (these Nikomakhos referred to as ἐκ τῶν στηλῶν), and "new" sacrifices added by him (ἐκ νέων θυσιῶν).

The equations

ἄξονες = Secular Law
κύρβεις = Sacred Law

may seem so obvious as to make the non-specialist wonder why no modern scholar has seized upon so simple a solution to the age-old problem. The explanation is perhaps that the demands of space for a great calendar were never vividly realized until we had such an inscription actually before us. The method used by scholars, moreover, was wrong: instead of taking the available samples of early date and direct reference, they made later Classical authorities the starting point. Confusion inevitably resulted.

Design of the Axones. There has been much speculation as to the physical appearance of the first considerable European law code. Unless the evidence is seriously misleading, there are now two new items of evidence: that the kyrbeis contained the Calendar of Sacrifices, and that any large calendar of sacrifices needs big broad surfaces.

The first question is the material used. The axones were certainly not stone—poros or (Island) marble—because prismlike objects of stone would be too ponderous to rotate with ease. Nor were they bronze, because although bronze could be inscribed, the quantity of bronze required would have been very great, and moreover if bronze had been used, later reports would have made that clear. Since the regular material for inscriptions in Solon's day was surely wood, there need be no doubt that the kyrbeis as well as the axones were wooden. The inscribed surfaces would be painted white; the letters incised and painted red, blue, or black. Perhaps two colors were used, as occasionally in marble later, and it is by no means impossible that the rubrics of the Calendar actually anticipated Mediaeval red-letter headings.

As to the position of the axones, there is no absolute proof that they stood upright, but to mount them horizontally would be to risk having the topmost axon too high for some consultants, and the lowest too low for everyone. Although it also involved inconveniences, the vertical position, with an axle in the center of the top and another in the center of the bottom, would be the natural way to set up inscribed axones. Doubtless they were vertical.

The precise shape still needs study, and will not be discussed here beyond noting that three-sided prisms would be the simplest. Nothing essential hangs on this detail.

A fussier problem is the direction of the writing. Perhaps because the masons wished to avoid the narrow breadth of the axon, which would necessitate very short lines, there are several instances where they favored the long lines which are possible if the writing runs from top to bottom. If so, the reader would have to incline his head. That seems awkward and unnecessary; but the whole question is far from settled. The letters themselves would be large archaic ones, as much as an inch high.

One other epigraphical detail is curious and perhaps troublesome. In Solon's time writing was still a comparatively new accomplishment. The Greek alphabet had been borrowed from the (Semitic) Phoenician as late as the latter part of the eighth century. It had taken about a hundred years for the realization to spread that the Law could and should be written down and made public. The most urgent part was the Criminal Law, and in the Criminal Law the most urgent part was that on capital crimes. Drakon therefore began, probably about 620 B.C., with criminal law. Solon was given a much larger task—broadly, all the Law, to be altered as seemed wise, and then published by being inscribed.

Semitic writings read from right to left, and the Greeks borrowed the direction of writing along with the letters themselves. Before the fifth century they had changed to the left-right direction, which has been kept in our tradition ever since. The change of direction involved a curious intermediate step: alternate lines were written in alternate directions. The first line read from left to right, line two from right to left, and so on, alternately—*βουστροφηδόν*, "as the ox plows," the Greeks called it. Such evidence as we have, viz. inscriptions of the period, suggest that the writing on the axones was boustrophedon, the lines running first down and then up.

When it comes to the problem of where the axones stood, some help ought to be had from an answer to the question, Why did they inscribe the laws on axones—that is, on any object with more than two sides, so that it had to be rotated to be read? In later times revolving inscriptions were unknown, and three-sided constructions were merely ornamental, usually being supports for tripods.

The answer is easy and definite. The one advantage of an axon was that it saved space. A prism, for instance, offers approximately three times the surface of a wall if only one side of the wall can be inscribed; and an axon offers half again as much surface as an opisthographic wall. If confirmation were needed, archaeology would supply it. The axones, being valuable, being wooden, and being dependent on pivoting, must have stood indoors. The buildings of the time afforded only very limited space. The first impulse is to picture the axones standing in a single row down the middle of a comparatively narrow room. The one row of posts that supported the roof would sustain the beams in which the upper ends of the axones pivoted. But this picture leaves out the kyrbeis.

Design of the Kyrbeis. What were the kyrbeis? It seems inevitable that with the axones in their natural place, the middle of the room, the kyrbeis must have been close to the walls, or must have been *the walls themselves.* The latter suggestion is tempting, because the walls would provide the broad spaces necessary for the Sacred Calendar. The Law Code of Gortyn in Crete survives in generous extent: it is inscribed in horizontal boustrophedon lines on a retaining wall. Crete was then backward: the Gortynian Code is well over a century later than Solon; but it is by far our best preserved law code of any Greek city of any period. To be sure, it is secular law.

Yet there are reasons to hesitate. The chief is that probably no such wall surface existed in Solon's day. Without marble a surface suitable for a big inscription is difficult to attain in stone, and in Solon's day there was no building with marble walls. Hence only wooden panels attached to the wall can be thought of. But although no ancient writer gives a clear idea of what the kyrbeis looked like—most of the writers did not know themselves—comic expressions which hint that kyrbeis were the sort of thing on which a stork might nest do not suggest panels attached to walls. The suggestion is rather that of a freestanding (screen) wall.

And so, revising the whole scheme to accord with such indications, we may picture the kyrbeis as some sort of architectural ornaments crowning a freestanding screen wall. The reason for setting up a freestanding wall would be, of course, to make both sides visible. It would be opisthographic. It would run from post to post down the middle of the room. The crowning ornaments, *κύρβεις*, whatever they looked like, presently gave their name to the whole wall. The axones then, instead of being in the middle, must stand near the walls. After all, the essential feature of the axones is that only one side had to be visible at a time.

The space available would be all four walls, minus door space; the Mediterranean brightness is such that windows can be few. The windows could be set above the level of the tops of the axones. Thus the two dozen or more axones could stand close to the several walls, requiring a smaller room than they would require if lined up in one row down the center.

One last question concerns the direction of writing on the kyrbeis. We have seen that Solon's Calendar was simpler than the later one, in that prices were not stated separately for each victim but evidently were prescribed for all at once. Hence the necessity for columns of items would be less: prices being absent, there were no items which had to stand in the margins. The whole Calender *could* perhaps have been in continuous solid lines, like modern prose, as on the axones, and as in certain early lists of sacrifices. If so, big broad surfaces would be less needed: it might even be imagined that physically the Calendar *could* have been inscribed on the axones.

Nevertheless that seems unlikely. To find a given month and day on a series of rotating prisms would be much more difficult than to find a particular law. But to plan ahead the sacrifices, expenditures, etc., for a month or so at a time, as the officials had to do, would be awkward if only one part of the monthly list could ever be seen at once. We have noted moreover that the Calendar was drawn up in yearly lists: it was not one continuous list but several. They would be most easily used if laid out on a broad surface.

In the end, there is one feature which perhaps ought to confirm some of the essentials of the views to which the evidence has led us. It was in matters of cult especially that the Athenians were conservative. When Nikomakhos set to work, he decided against reproducing axones. For Secular Law there was no necessity to be so conservative. Nikomakhos' material, in any case, was bound to be marble. For Nikomakhos' Code, marble pagelike stelai, not walls, would take the place of the old pagelike wooden axones for all but a little of the most recent Secular Law, such as Trierarkhic Law.

But for the Sacred Law the old form of the kyrbeis was both practical and traditional. That Nikomakhos chose not to have his Code inscribed on the walls themselves of the Stoa, but instead on freestanding walls like the old kyrbeis, is a fact which fits neatly with the view of Solon's kyrbeis herein set forth.

What marble blocks were fastened on top of Nikomakhos' Walls, we do not know. No fragment of any crowning member to set on top of the block in Plate I has been recognized. But there was certainly such a course: the top surface is prepared to receive it, and there is an inviolable rule of Greek architecture that such a surface would not be left bare. The form of ornament natural to suggest is a row of palmettes, which might suggest a series of craggy peaks on which storks could nest. Whatever the character of ornament adopted by Nikomakhos, in modernized form it may well have re-echoed Solon's, like much of the carefully drawn up and referenced Sacred Law beneath.[1]

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[1] It will be clear that more fragments of the Code of 410-399 B.C. would be welcome; their value might be beyond price. Excavation of the area to the north, across the present railway tracks, might well yield many such fragments, and on every count is to be desired. Otherwise there is no hope of obtaining more.

Greek texts of all the known passages are in print; there are, so far as I know, no unpublished fragments. Enough of the final study is done to warrant, I think, what is said in the present paper. The difficulties of attaining certainty are naturally far greater in respect to Solon's Code than in respect to Nikomakhos'. It is not altogether impossible, for instance, that the evidence itself, though virtually unanimous, misleads us with respect to the content of the axones and the kyrbeis. Scholars in the humanities must allow for perversity in their materials.

It will be clear also that some questions, especially details of the history of Nikomakhos' lawgiving, are beyond the scope of the present study. On such questions I have tried not to take or to imply a position. The distinction, for instance, between what I have called Sacred Law and Secular Law is convenient and harmless for the purposes of the present study, but I agree with F. Jacoby, *Atthis* (Oxford, 1949), *passim,* that it is a distinction which must not be pushed far.

SUMMARY OF THE CONTENT AND DESIGN OF THE TWO CODES

	Solon 594-593 B.C.	Nikomakhos 410-399 B.C.
Secular Law	Inscribed on numbered rotating wooden AXONES, which stood vertically, the lines running alternately up and down (boustrophedon).	Inscribed on one face of separate freestanding STELAI, with rubrics to match the axones' numbers. There was also a continuation on the Earlier Side of the Thicker Wall.
Sacred Law, mostly Calendar	Inscribed on both faces of a wooden screen wall, called KYRBEIS from its crowning ornaments. Long lines running horizontally, boustrophedon, or more likely columns of items. Rubrics to indicate (unnumbered) subdivisions, viz. bodies of law such as "Tribe-Kings' Law," and the like.	Inscribed on both faces of a two-part (thicker and thinner) screen WALL. Called KYRBEIS from its Solonian original (but the Nikomakhean wall probably imitated the Solonian). Columns of items with prices in margin. Rubrics to indicate (unnumbered) subdivisions: chronological first, but bodies of law (ek-rubrics) always cited.

The Anglo-Saxon Invasions Reconsidered

George C. Homans*

The period of the Anglo-Saxon invasions is the darkest in English history after the landing of Julius Caesar, and so we must make full use of any information we have on it. So far, the sources used to reconstruct the course of the invasions have been of three kinds: historical, archaeological, and linguistic. The chief written records are those of Gildas, Bede, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Of these the most important is perhaps Gildas' *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae*, written by a Welshman, that is a Briton, within a century of the invasions themselves. Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* has the disadvantage of being written three centuries after the invasions and taking part of its account from Gildas. But both Bede and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle may embody important, and independent, facts from oral tradition. Besides these three, there are a few other scraps, notably a passage in the *History of the Wars* by Procopius of Caesarea, who wrote in Constantinople a century and a half before Bede.

The archaeological evidence consists mostly of finds in burial sites: the methods of burial themselves, and the things buried with the bodies—pots, pins, and the like. Pots and pins have the advantage that, once laid away, they stay put geographically and often remain in something like their original physical condition. They also have the advantage that, though they seldom give us precise dates, they sometimes suggest time-sequences. If, therefore, as the archaeologists believe, the Germans abandoned cremation for inhumation as their burial custom, cremation-burials must indicate some of the oldest Germanic settlements in Britain. On the other hand, pots and pins, while solid, are not precise indicators of the actual course of the invasions. Smiths and potters may have wandered widely among the Germanic peoples; their products may have been imitated or traded over wide areas. Pots and pins seldom allow us to say: a particular Germanic group came from *there* in Germany and settled *here* in Britain. They do allow us to say that the Anglo-Saxon invaders came from the southern coast of the North Sea between France and Denmark and settled early in parts of the southeast and center of England.[1]

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* This paper was read at the March, 1954, meeting.

A third source of information is linguistic. Unlike pots and pins, language does change, and the various forms of the English language are first plentifully recorded only some three centuries after the invasions. On the other hand, a language does not change so rapidly or so radically that it fails to disclose its relationship with other languages; and English is closer to Frisian than it is to any of the other Germanic languages, closer to Frisian than to Franconian (including Dutch), Low German (Old Saxon), or the Scandinavian languages. This has been called "the first certain fact in English history."[2] But though this would suggest that Frisian-speaking people invaded Britain, the local dialects of Old English are not so sharply differentiated that we can say with confidence what parts of England were more Frisian than others.

Linguistic, too, is the evidence of English place names, particularly the celebrated *ing*-names, which are supposed to be old. Unfortunately, the *ing*-names were part of a common Germanic cultural tradition, and their distribution hardly tells us more than that southeastern England, where they are particularly thick, was probably settled early by Anglo-Saxons. Like pots and pins, they do not tell us that a particular group came from *there* in Germany and settled *here* in Britain. The few early names of English kingdoms—Essex, Wessex, etc.—may be more revealing, but we must be careful not to make their referents too precise and literal.

Akin to language is a fourth source of evidence—the geographical distribution of institutions or custom. The historians of the Anglo-Saxon invasions have been interested in it, but have never given it the weight it deserves, partly because only in recent years have we come to know much about its details. When a people invades another country, it takes its institutions with it, like its language, in its head. The Anglo-Saxons conquered the Britons, and there is no evidence that they adopted British institutions. But to accept this is not to accept much. Only if geographical differences in English custom, within a common Germanic tradition, could be matched with similar differ-

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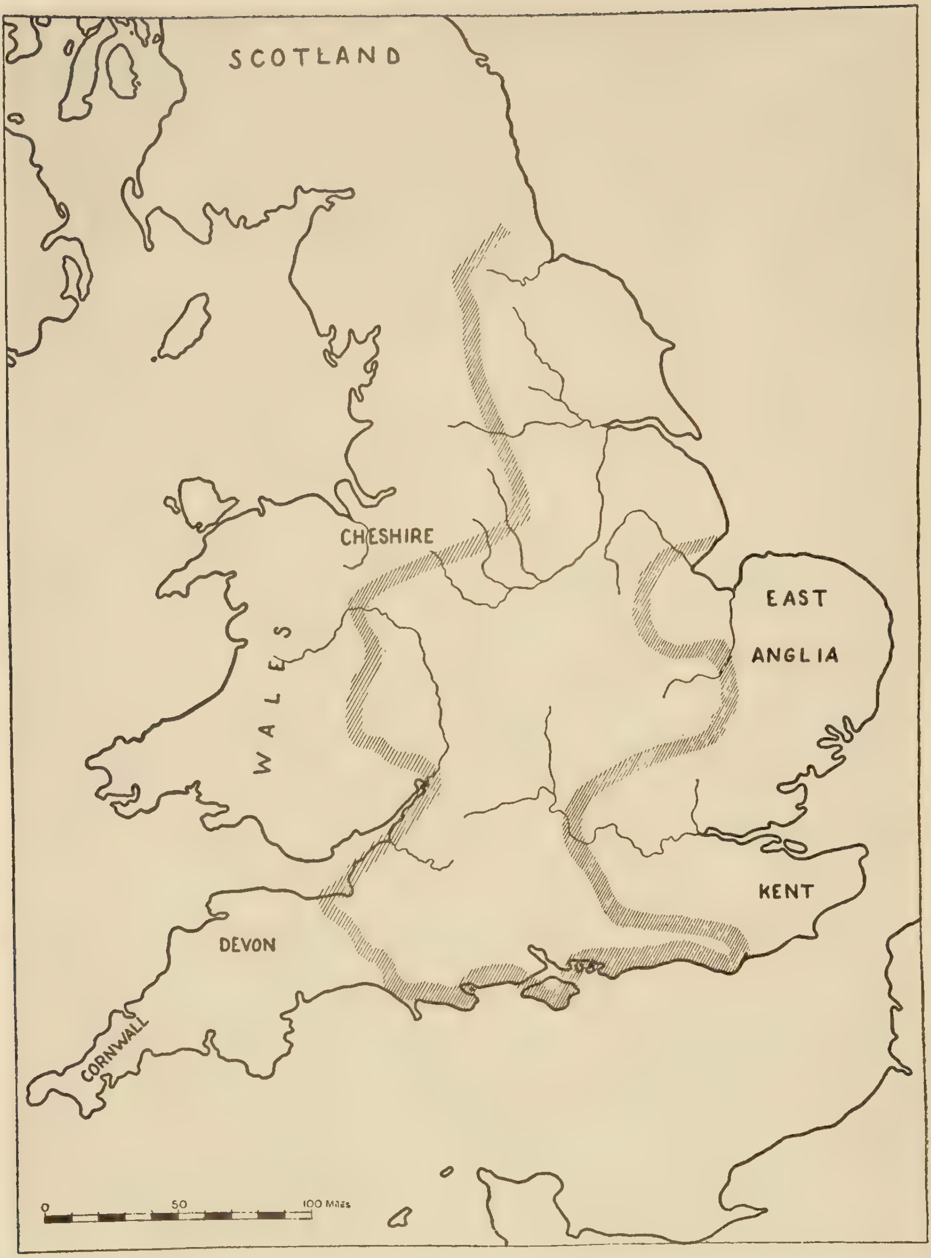
[1] For the latest archaeological information, see *Dark-Age Britain*, ed. D. B. Harden (London, 1956).

[2] Frank M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1947), p. 6.


SCOTLAND
CHESHIRE
WALES
EAST
ANGLIA
KENT
DEVON
CORNWALL
0
50
100 Miles

Boundaries of the Open Field System in England
Adapted from H. L. Gray, *English Field Systems*

ences in Germany could institutional evidence tell us anything about the actual course of the invasions.

There are indeed local differences in Germanic custom on both sides of the North Sea, but their use requires a further assumption. If the languages are first recorded only some centuries after the invasions, the local institutions are first recorded later still, when they had had much more time and opportunity to change. In fact the records that allow us to map out in confident detail the regional variations in English custom date only from the ecclesiastical chanceries of the thirteenth century, some eight centuries after the Anglo-Saxon invasions. Moreover, their evidence for the invasions themselves may be obscured by the institutional effects of still later movements of peoples, notably the Danish invasions of England in the ninth century. Nevertheless the evidence is that institutions change slowly, and especially slowly under Dark Age conditions. Certain peculiarities, for instance, of village layout in the northern Danelaw, first revealed in documents of the thirteenth century, correspond to those still found in Denmark in the eighteenth. In the absence of any evidence of cultural borrowing from Denmark subsequent to the Danish settlement of the northern Danelaw, these similarities must mean that the Danes brought them to England as part of their cultural baggage and maintained them there for at least five hundred years.[3]

At any rate, the assumption is made here that institutions do change slowly, and that the more closely two sets of institutions resemble one another, the more recently the ancestors of the men that carried them forward were one people. The purpose of this paper will be to give an account of the Anglo-Saxon invasions that reconciles the institutional with the other evidence.

The boundary between two main types of local custom in England was first established by H. L. Gray in 1915, working with manorial records of the thirteenth and later centuries.[4] It begins near Boston, Lincolnshire, cuts through the Fens, then follows the height of land between East Anglia and central England, crosses the Thames above London, runs south to the South Downs, and follows them to the Channel near Pevensey. To the east of this line lie parts of Lincolnshire and Cambridgeshire, the whole of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Middlesex, Surrey, and Kent, and parts of Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Berkshire, Hampshire, and Sussex. This boundary was not a sharp line, but a band across which two sets of institutions shaded into one another.

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[3] George C. Homans, "Terroirs ordonnés et champs orientés: une hypothèse sur le village anglais," *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, VIII (1936), 434–438.

[4] Howard L. Gray, *English Field Systems* (Cambridge, 1915).

West of this boundary lay the land of the classic open-field system or champion husbandry. Here the houses of a village clustered together, surrounded by two or three big fields, which were submitted to a customary rotation of crops binding on the village as a whole; and here the holding of a villager lay in the form of strips scattered more or less evenly over all the fields. To the east of this boundary, but particularly in East Anglia (Norfolk and Suffolk) and in Kent, different agricultural and tenemental arrangments were in force. The earliest records reveal no sign, except for common pasture rights, of a rotation of crops binding on the fields of a village as a whole. The holding of a villager lay as a compact plot, or if it consisted of scattered strips, these lay in one part of the village fields and not evenly scattered over all of them. And in Kent especially, the nucleated village itself may have been uncommon, the settlements taking instead the form of houses or small groups of houses (hamlets) each in the midst of its own holding.[5]

With these differences in agricultural and tenemental arrangements coincided differences in customs of inheritance. In the open-field area, the rule revealed in the earliest manorial court rolls is that a countryman's holding descended at his death to one of his sons and one only, often the oldest but in some places the youngest.[6] In Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent, the rule is the one called in Kent *gavelkind*. Here land descends to all of the sons of the last holder. The heirs may divide the holding equally, and if it were originally a compact plot, this would account for the strips that are scattered, but scattered in only one part of the fields. But they may continue to hold the land jointly and work it undivided generation after generation, forming a sort of family corporation or, as anthropologists call it, a joint family.

Note that the peculiarities of East Anglian custom have often been attributed to Danish settlement in that area. But the custom little resembles that of the northern Danelaw, where we know large numbers of Danes settled, and does resemble that of Kent, where few Danes settled. The Danish settlement in East Anglia cannot have been thick enough to uproot existing local custom, which must therefore be attributed to pre-Danish settlement, i.e., to the Anglo-Saxon invasions.[7]

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[5] For the customs of Kent and East Anglia, see especially John E. A. Jolliffe, *Pre-Feudal England: the Jutes* (London, 1933), and Homans, "The Frisians in East Anglia," *Economic History Review*, 2nd Ser., x (1957), 189–206.

[6] Homans, *English Villagers of the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1941), pp. 121–132.

There were other differences between the two areas, but these will be enough, for this paper needs only establish the fact of difference, and not the details of difference, between the cultural complex on one side of Gray's boundary and that on the other. Yet we must not make the differences too strict. There is no reason to believe that the open-field system was in force everywhere to the west of the boundary or that what will now be called the Southeastern system was in force everywhere to the east. The differences between the two are ultimately statistical and not absolute. The lineaments of the latter system are clear only in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent. Elsewhere in the southeast, in Essex, for instance, custom looks mixed, as if two different systems had made a variety of local compromises.

The question now is: What light do the nature and distribution of English local custom throw on the course of the Anglo-Saxon invasions?

At the opening of the fifth century the Germanic tribes that concern us were distributed on the continent as follows: Occupying a coastal strip from the Scheldt to the Weser were the Frisians. Next to them to the south and southwest were the Salian Franks, just beginning their penetration of what was to become France. But remember that not all the Franks went to France. Some of them stayed at home and became the ancestors, among others, of the modern Dutch. Pushing behind the Franks and the Frisians and to the east of them were the Saxons, and then—for here there is no reason to disbelieve the traditional account—came the Angles at the neck of what is now the Danish peninsula. Note that of these peoples, the nearest to England were the Frisians and the Franks.

Now let us turn to the historical account of the invasions, remembering that we possess a detailed historical account only of the landings along the Channel coast from the North Foreland to Southampton

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[7] R. H. C. Davis, "East Anglia and the Danelaw," Royal Historical Society, *Transactions,* 5th Ser., v (1955), 23–39.

Water, probably because the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is fundamentally a West-Saxon, that is, a southwestern document. We have only archaeological and institutional evidence of the landings that must have been effected on the long coast north of the Thames estuary.

Bede's account of the invasion, copied in part from Gildas, is familiar. After the withdrawal of the legions from Britain, Vortigern, King of the Britons, invited the "nation of the Angles or Saxons" to send warriors to help the Britons against the incursions of the Picts and Scots, and gave them "a place of settlement in the eastern part of the island." Bede adds that their first leaders were Hengest and Horsa, that Horsa was killed in battle with the Britons, that his monument stood in eastern Kent, and that the people of Kent, the Isle of Wight, and the mainland opposite were Jutes. On this last point Bede receives independent confirmation, in the late survival of the place name *Yte* in the New Forest area. Finally, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says that the first landing of the English took place at Ebbsfleet in Thanet, Kent, under Hengest and Horsa.

In short, there is something like agreement that the first landing of the English took place in Kent, that is, in the part of England nearest the continent, and that the people of Kent were Jutes.

The archaeological evidence supports the historical account to the extent that many pagan English cemeteries have been discovered in Kent north of the Weald and particularly in eastern Kent.

But how about the institutional evidence? We have seen that the custom of Kent found its closest English relatives in Norfolk and Suffolk. As for continental parallels, Jolliffe has shown that Kentish custom, and indeed Kentish jewelry, had points of resemblance with Frankish.[8] He did not examine the Frisian evidence, but if he had, he would have found even closer similarities there. And I have pointed out the close similarities between East Anglian and Frisian institutions.[9] In short, the cultures of Kent, Norfolk and Suffolk, the Frisians and the Franks were all closely related to one another. Here even the linguistic evidence will help, for Jespersen suggests that the Kentish form of Old English most closely resembled West Frisian.[10]

[8] Jolliffe, *Pre-Feudal England.*

[9] Homans, "Frisians in East Anglia," pp. 189–206.

[10] Otto Jespersen, *Growth and Structure of the English Language,* 9th ed. (Garden City: Doubleday, 1955), p. 36.

If we accept the historical account that the earliest English invaders landed on the parts of England nearest the continent, then the institutional evidence suggests that they came from the Germanic parts of the continent nearest England, for the Franks and the Frisians were the westernmost of the Germans. Not surprisingly, the first voyages of colonization were the shortest.

There is only one trouble with this theory. Bede, understandably, believed that the Jutes of Kent and Wight came from Jutland, that is from what is now continental Denmark. But there is no other evidence that connects the Kentish settlement with Denmark, except for one fact that also points to Friesland. The only Hengest known to the poetry of the heroic age was the head of a company of warriors from Denmark, and perhaps from Jutland, who visited Finn, a king of Friesland, and "made a truce with Finn whereby they were to receive a separate hall of their own in which to live and to be treated equally with the men of Finn."[11] It is conceivable that the Franco-Frisians who invaded Kent got the name of Jutes from serving under Jutish leadership.

Finally, we must add that the Byzantine historian, Procopius of Caesarea, writing in the sixth century, that is, after the invasions were over, said that Angles *and* Frisians were then living in England.[12] He did not say *where* they were living, and his account is mixed with so much fanciful material that it is a little hard to know when to trust him at all.

If the institutional evidence is given due weight with the other, it seems hard not to believe that the earliest English invaders, among them those that settled Kent, included a heavy component of Germans of Franco-Frisian culture.

Now let us return to the Channel coast of England and to the historical record, in this case the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. We are not concerned with the exact dates the Chronicle assigns to the different invasions but only with the order in which it says they occurred. After the invasion of Kent, the next invasion was that of Aelle and his sons in 477 near Selsea Bill in Sussex, founding what later became the South Saxon kingdom. And finally in 495 Cerdic and Cynric, followed later by other kinsmen, landed near Southampton. The Chronicle shows their descendants slowly fighting their way north until they reached the upper Thames and the lower Severn valleys, founding what was later to become the West Saxon kingdom. Early cemeteries are particularly plentiful in the upper Thames watershed.

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[11] P. H. Blair, *An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, England, 1956), p. 15.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

It is not hard to believe that these West and South Saxons, unlike the Jutes, came from the part of the continent where Bede says they came from, and where we have other evidence that Saxons were living at the time of the invasions, that is, from the North Sea coast east of the Weser, or at least east of the Frisians and the Franks.

What is more, it is not hard to identify them with the open-field complex of institutions. For it is precisely in Sussex west of Pevensey that the open-field begins on the Channel Coast. Here Aelle landed, and here are many early cemeteries and many *ing*-names. Wessex, too, is open-field country when the evidence begins to appear in the records, many centuries later.

In summary, the evidence from the Channel Coast amounts to this: The first invaders were Franco-Frisians or Friso-Jutes and went to Kent, where they established the Frisian or Southeastern complex of custom. The second invaders were Saxons and went to Sussex and Wessex, where they established the open-field complex of custom. Each wave came from further east on the continent than did its predecessor and went further west on the English coast, presumably because the earlier wave had already occupied the good lands nearer the continent. The only exception to this rule are the Jutes of the Isle of Wight and the mainland opposite. If they were, like the Jutes of Kent, among the earliest invaders, they went pretty far west, but they did not land in sufficient strength to avoid being overwhelmed later by the West Saxons.

For the invasions on the East Coast, north of the Thames, we have no historical evidence at all and must rely on archaeology and institutional distribution. In the absence of history, we shall adopt as a working hypothesis that the same pattern held on the East Coast as the one which we have seen hold for the Channel. That is, the first wave of invaders made the shortest voyages, and the second wave went out and around them.

The East Anglia evidence fits in with this hypothesis. East Anglia lies directly opposite the Frisian coast of the continent. Its institutions, when they are first revealed in the records, resemble, like Kent's, those of Friesland. Indeed they resemble Friesland even more than Kent's do. If, then, the earliest invaders of the southern coast were Franco-Frisians bearing with them the Southeastern cultural complex, we may perhaps assume that the earliest invaders of the East Coast were Franco-Frisians too, who settled in Norfolk and Suffolk, no doubt going up such estuaries as those of the Yare and the Orwell. Settlement in Norfolk and Suffolk is perfectly consistent with Gildas' statement that the earliest English invaders were assigned lands "in the eastern part of the island." Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent indeed contain the easternmost parts of England. East Anglia has many early cemeteries and *ing*-names.

If the first wave of invasion in the east, as in the south, was Frisian and went to Norfolk and Suffolk, what was the second wave? We can only assume that here, as along the Channel, the second wave or waves went further and beyond the first. Beyond Norfolk, the next obvious points of entry into England are the rivers that run through the Fens into the Wash. These rivers would lead the invaders—for they were boatmen—deep into central England, indeed to within a few miles of the upper Thames watershed. There are few early cemeteries in the Fens themselves, as if the invaders had not lingered there; but further up the rivers they become numerous and are particularly common in the upper Thames valley, as if the two enveloping waves, the West Saxons from the Channel and these other invaders from the Fen rivers, had met there.[13]

Beyond the Wash, the next good point of entry into England is the Humber, from which the Trent would lead invaders again southwest into the heart of what was to become the kingdom of Mercia. Along the Severn and the Thames, Wessex and Mercia met and often fought.

We can readily identify the second wave of invaders in the East with the Angles. The lands they settled—Mercia, Middle Anglia, Northumbria—were traditionally said to be Anglian countries. Nor is there any trouble in accepting Bede's statement that the Angles came from the parts of the North Sea coast just beyond the Saxons, at the foot of the present Danish peninsula. Finally, we must conclude that the second wave of invaders on the East coast, like the second wave on the Channel, were bearers of the open-field culture, for they founded open-field villages everywhere they settled right up to the Pennine range and the borders of Wales. The Angles more resembled the Saxons in culture than either resembled the settlers of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent. In short, in the east as in the south, the first wave came from the part of Germania—Friesland—nearest to England, went to the parts of England nearest Germany, and bore with it the Southeastern culture. The second wave came from farther in Germany, went farther in England, went in fact around the first, and bore with it the open-field culture. Only some such process of double envelopment will explain why the open-field parts of England lie in a long band *behind* (as seen from the continent) the Southeastern parts.

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[13] For a convenient source on the distribution of early cemeteries, see *Map of Britain in the Dark Ages: South Sheet* (Southampton: Ordnance Survey, 1939).

There are at least two obvious objections to this theory of the eastern wing of the invasions. The first is this: Remember that the East Anglian culture-area included a panhandle stretching westward from Norfolk on the northern edge of the Fens, next to the Wash. If part of the second wave of the invasions went up the rivers that flow into the Wash, it must have gone through this area. But the argument has been that the Southeastern culture-area was the first settled, and that the second wave went around the first to avoid places where settlement had already been made. How then could it have gone through the East Anglian panhandle? To this objection two possible answers may be offered. First, though the general tendency of the second wave may have been to go around the first, it may in some cases have gone through, especially if the place it went through was thinly-held. The East Anglian panhandle is narrow. Second, the East Anglian panhandle may not have been an area of original settlement. No early cemeteries have been found there. It may have been settled relatively late by an overflow of people from Norfolk.

The second objection is this: The assumption has been that the second wave in the north and east was a wave of Angles, as the second wave in the south was a wave of Saxons, and that therefore the first wave in the east must have been non-Anglian as in the south it was non-Saxon, i.e., Jutish. Yet Norfolk and Suffolk, whatever the originality of these county names, formed the kingdom of the East *Angles*. Must we therefore admit that in the east both the first and the second waves were Anglian? And why, then, the obvious differences in custom? To this may be answered that we should not assume too precise and definite a reference for the tribal names. We have already seen the difficulties with a literal belief that the Jutes came from Jutland. The words *Angle* and *Saxon* themselves were often applied indiscriminately to any of the English invaders, and the Angles, after all, finally gave their name to the whole country.

But there may be something more at stake than this. In the invasion-time, not only were the Germans pushing west into England and France, but other Germans were pushing west behind the vanguard. On the continent, the Saxons were pushing west behind the Franks. One of the reasons why we know so little about the Jutes of Jutland may be that Jutland was overrun in the fifth century by Danes from the islands and what is now southern Sweden. Institutionally, East Anglia most resembles Friesland. But archaeological investigation of the Frisian coastal cemeteries reveals that an important element of Anglo-Saxon material culture had intruded itself there precisely in the period of the invasions.[14] Were the East Angles Frisians under Anglian leadership, just as the people of Kent may have been Franco-Frisians under Jutish leadership?

And why all this emphasis on going *around*? If the Anglo-Saxons were so intent on getting into England from the continent, why did they not use the route that was geographically easiest and most direct, that of the Thames Valley? The answer may perhaps be—London.[15] London was of course the largest city of Roman Britain. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the year 456 says that Hengest and his son Aesc beat the Britons "and the Britons then deserted Kent and fled with great fear to London"—as if London was a safe stronghold. There is no direct record of any English assault on, and capture of, London. It next appears in history about 600, when it is an important place and the head of the East Saxon kingdom. It may be that London and the area about it held out for some time as a center of British power and made the Thames dangerous for the regular passage of vessels.

At any rate, early cemeteries are almost absent on the north bank of the Thames around London; they are infrequent on the middle reaches of the Thames and only become common on the upper reaches. This distribution seems inconsistent with a view that invasion went safely, easily, and progressively up the Thames. It is more likely that the settlements on the upper Thames watershed were not, for the most part, reached by way of the Thames itself but from the south across the Downs from Southampton Water and from the northeast by way of the Fen rivers.

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[14] Blair, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 10.

[15] Robert H. Hodgkin, *A History of the Anglo-Saxons*, 3rd ed., 2 vols. (London, 1952), I, 137–147.

But how about the Thames below London? There were, of course, early settlements on the Surrey-Kent shore. On the north, Essex was uninviting to invaders, being heavily forested and of heavy clay soil. Though there are many *ing*-names in Essex, there are few Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. Coastal Essex may have been lightly occupied by the first wave of invaders, and then, as part of the second wave, Saxons may have landed there, merged with the original settlers, consolidated the East Saxon kingdom, and finally captured London. The East Saxon kingdom included not only Essex but Middlesex and parts of Hertfordshire; that is, it included the area of mixed custom between the two areas of "pure" Southeastern custom—East Anglia on the north and Kent on the south.

Besides the evidence from London, there are other reasons to believe that an important center of British power may have survived for a time in eastern England.[16] Gildas records that forty-four years after the first arrival of the invaders, the Britons, under the leadership of Ambrosius Aurelianus, the last of the Romans in Britain, won a great victory over the English at *Mons Badonicus*. Where that place was we do not know. But if East Anglia was one of the areas of early settlement, and if the invaders were thrown, at least temporarily, on the defensive, then it becomes understandable why two great entrenchments of post-Roman date, the Fleam Dyke and the Devil's Dyke, lie across the old Roman Icknield Way as it runs into East Anglia between the Fens and the woodland and face southwest as if to defend East Anglia against attack from that direction. The second, or Anglo-Saxon, wave of invaders may have gone, for the most part, *around* the first not only to avoid the settlements of earlier invaders in Kent and East Anglia but also to avoid a surviving British power based on London. It may have preferred double envelopment to attack through the center.

This paper has attempted to relate the evidence of the distribution of institutional complexes to the other kinds of evidence on the Anglo-

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[16] Blair, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 29–33.

Saxon invasions. It has arrived at the following hypotheses: The earliest invaders came from the parts of Germany nearest Britain, that is, from the Franco-Frisian area, and went to the parts of Britain nearest Germany, that is, to Kent and East Anglia. But though the first wave settled in the eastern part of the island on both sides of London, it did not go through London itself or penetrate far up the Thames Valley. In fact, it was thrown on the defensive by a surviving British power in the east center of the island. The first wave was the bearer of a Franco-Frisian culture, represented in England by the institutions of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent.

The second wave of invaders came from parts of Germany farther from Britain, that is, from east of the Weser, and went farther in Britain. They avoided the parts of Britain already settled by the first wave, and they also avoided, except perhaps for the East Saxons, the surviving British power in the east center. Instead, they went beyond and around the first wave. The southern or Saxon wing landed on the Channel coast beyond Kent, and the West Saxons pushed inland. The northern or Anglian wing landed on the East coast beyond Norfolk and pushed inland by way of the rivers flowing into the Wash and Humber. The two wings curled around and met along the upper Thames and Severn. Both wings of the second wave were bearers of the open-field culture.

This may be called a two-stage, double-envelopment theory of the Anglo-Saxon invasions, which should more properly, though more cumbrously, be called the Anglo-Saxon-Franco-Friso-Jutish invasions.

The Diary of a Colonial Clergyman
Peter Thacher of Milton

EDWARD PIERCE HAMILTON*

WHEN John Langdon Sibley sat down in the old Harvard library to write the life of Reverend Peter Thacher (A.B., Harvard, 1671), he had quite a little source material from which to draw. Thacher's name was recorded a few times in the college archives, he was a friend and classmate of Samuel Sewall, in whose diary he often appears, and his connection with the Danforths gained him a mention in Samuel H. Emery's *Ministry of Taunton* (Boston, 1853). The *New-England Weekly Journal* printed an obituary of some value a week after his death late in 1727, but the main source of Sibley's information was *The Comfortable Chambers Opened and Visited* (Boston, 1728), the sermon which Cotton Mather preached at Thacher's funeral. The resulting study[1] covered several pages, recited the graduate's life and virtues quite as well as could be expected, and showed him to have been a leading, if not eminent, minister of the period. It did not of course tell us what he was really like as a man. Only in rare cases, such as those of Sewall and Cotton Mather, can we learn much about the man himself.

Early this year I was permitted to examine and study Peter Thacher's diary, and immediately a wide window was opened into his life and character, thus giving us further insight into the thoughts and conditions of his day. This diary deserves and will receive much more study than I have been able to give it, and it will add its share to our knowledge of the period, but for the purposes of this paper I have drawn on it only in an attempt to picture Peter Thacher as a living man.

The diary, most kindly lent to me by Mrs. Henry V. Hubbard, has never to my knowledge been available for detailed study since John G. Palfrey used it in 1864. At various times certain scholars have been shown portions of it by the family, and Albert K. Teele was allowed

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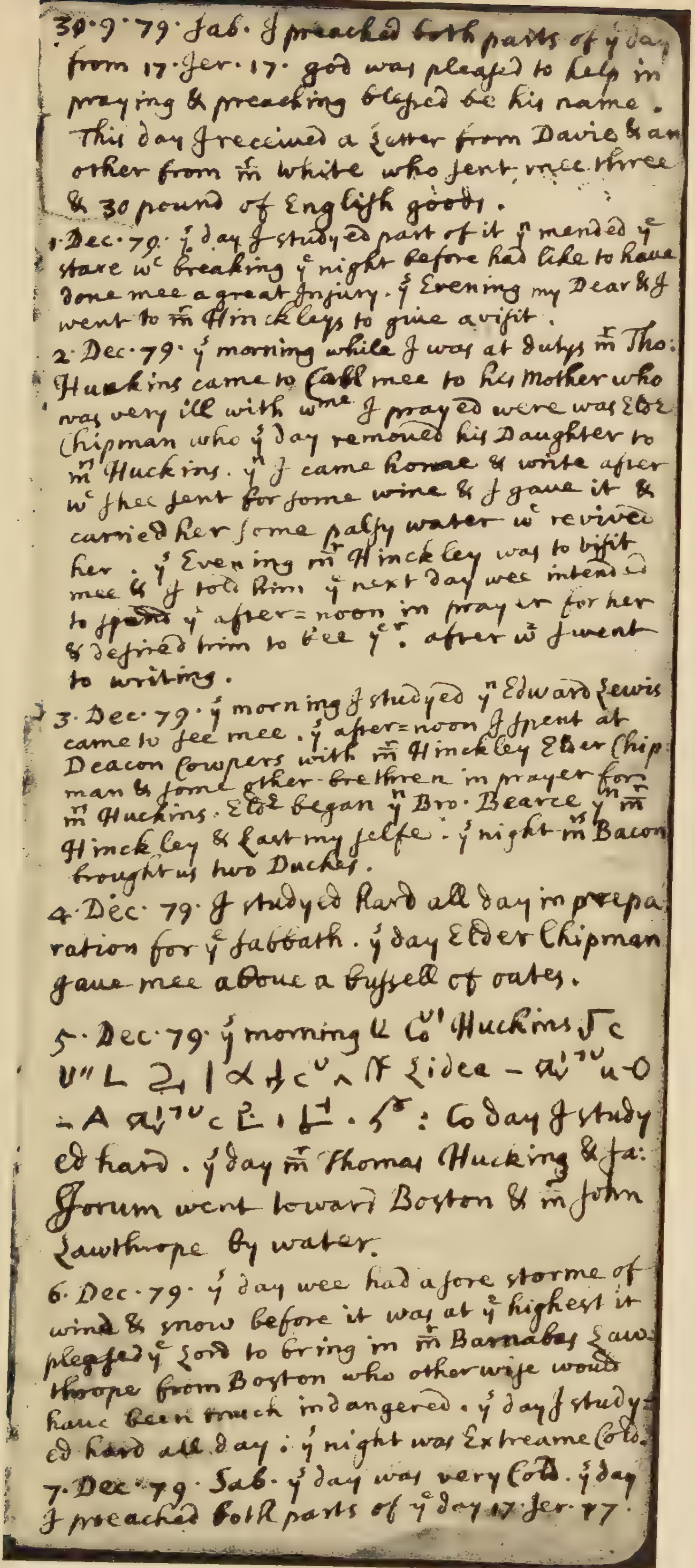
* This paper was read at the May, 1955, meeting.

[1] John Langdon Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University*, II (Cambridge, 1881), 370–379.



30. 9. 79. Sab. I preached both parts of ye day from 17. Jer. 17. god was pleaſed to help in praying & preaching bleſſed be his name. This day I received a Letter from Davie & another from mr White who ſent mee three & 30 pound of Engliſh goods.

1. Dec. 79. ys day I studyed part of it & mended ye stare wc breaking ye night before had like to have done mee a great Injury. ys Evening my Dear & I went to mr Hinckleys to give a viſit.

2. Dec. 79. ys morning while I was at dutys mr Tho: Huckins came to Call mee to his Mother who was very ill with wch I prayed were was Eldr Chipman who ys day removed his Daughter to mrs Huckins. yn I came home & write after wc shee ſent for ſome wine & I gave it & carried her ſome palſy water wc revived her. ys Evening mr Hinckley was to viſit mee & I told him ye next day wee intended to ſpend ye after=noon in prayer for her & deſired him to bee yer. after wc I went to writing.

3. Dec. 79. ys morning I studyed yn Edward Lewis came to ſee mee. ys after=noon I ſpent at Deacon Cowpers with mr Hinckley Elder Chip:man & ſome other brethren in prayer for mrs Huckins. Eldr began yn Bro. Bearce yn mr Hinckley & Last my ſelfe. ys night mrs Bacon brought us two Duckes.

4. Dec. 79. I studyed hard all day in prepa:ration for ye ſabbath. ys day Elder Chipman gave mee above a buſſell of oates.

5. Dec. 79. ys morning L Covl Huckins [illegible] Lidea [illegible]: Co day I studyed hard. ys day mr Thomas Hucking & Ja: Gorum went toward Boston & mr John Lawthrope by water.

6. Dec. 79. ys day wee had a ſore storme of wind & snow before it was at ye highest it pleaſed ye Lord to bring in mr Barnabas Lawthrope from Boston who otherwiſe would have been much indangered. ys day I studyed hard all day. ye night was Extreame Cold.

7. Dec. 79. Sab. ys day was very Cold. ys day I preached both parts of ye day 17. Jer. 17.

A Page from the Diary of Peter Thacher

Enlarged one-quarter

to draw on it quite extensively for his *History of Milton*, which appeared in 1887. The diary commences in January, 1678/79, and concludes for all practical purposes with a description of the arrival of Andros in 1686. The years between are covered in considerable detail, although many of the entries are reports of only ordinary doings. The great joy of this journal is its simplicity, its down-to-earth recording of the daily life of a country minister. There is none of the vanity and ostentation of Mather's diary, or of the life and doings of Boston that we find in Sewall's; but Thacher led no hermit's life and was well in touch with the outside world.

I propose first to outline Peter Thacher's background and then to draw on his diary for further information about him. He came of a family of clergymen. The first Thacher of whom we can be certain was a Reverend Peter, born in 1588, a graduate of Queens at Oxford in 1603, and a fellow of Corpus Christi in 1613. He became vicar of Milton Clevedon, Somersetshire, later moving to St. Edmunds in Salisbury. His son Thomas, born in 1620, came to New England in 1635 with his uncle Anthony[2] and was educated by Charles Chauncy, which was the nearest he ever came to Harvard. Our Peter's mother was the daughter of Ralph Partridge, the Duxbury minister and one of the most eminent clergymen of the day. Thomas Thacher was minister of Weymouth for twenty years, although his son Peter was born in Salem. In 1657 he was receiving the highest salary of any minister in Suffolk County, £100. He moved to Boston in 1664 and practiced medicine for a few years, preaching an occasional sermon as well. In 1669 he took over the pulpit of the Boston church later to be known as the "Old South." Cotton Mather stated that Thomas Thacher ministered to the body as well as to the soul, and this is verified by the fact that the first medical treatise published in this country was a broadside written by Thacher which gave directions for treating the smallpox.

As a small boy, our Peter fell into the headrace of a water mill and was carried through the wheel without suffering any injury, a most remarkable escape. He next appears in history as an undergraduate of the class of 1671. He took his second degree in June, 1674, and was chosen third fellow. During the winter of 1674/75, while serving as a tutor, he received the unusual privilege of living in Boston, for what purposes we do not know. He was a great friend of Samuel Danforth, son of the college treasurer who later became deputy governor, and followed him to England for a lengthy visit. We do not know why he went or what he did when there, but it has been said that he studied medicine. A letter written by his father to Thacher in England has survived, and one infers from it that he may have been looking for a parish in the old country. He returned to Boston in the spring of 1677. Within a year he was invited to preach at the Barnstable church, went there in 1679, and remained until he received a call to Milton in the fall of 1680. He soon accepted a permanent settlement and devoted the rest of his life to the Milton church. He had married Theodora, daughter of Reverend John Oxenbridge of the First Church of Boston, shortly after his return from abroad. His eldest son, Oxenbridge, became a Boston merchant, father of the lawyer Oxenbridge, and his son Peter became minister at Middleborough. There were also two daughters and a son by a second marriage. He died in 1727 after a very long and peaceful ministry, during part of which he preached once a month to the Indians at the Ponkapoag reservation. In 1723 he collaborated with Samuel Danforth (A.B., Harvard, 1683), minister at Taunton, and John Danforth (A.B., Harvard, 1677), minister at Dorchester, in *An Essay . . . concerning the Singing of Psalms . . .*, which favored psalm singing in the "New Way" and insisted that church singing must be harmonious. Cotton Mather, in Peter's funeral sermon (which incidentally was Mather's last), stated that he devoted much time to helping the sick and spent very considerable sums out of his own pocket on medicine for his parishioners.

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[2] Who gave his name to Thacher's Island, near Gloucester.

That is the gist of what history knows of Peter Thacher from sources other than his diary, and, considering his relative unimportance and the many years that have elapsed, it is quite a respectable résumé of a long and busy life. We know when he lived and what he did, but practically nothing about him as a living, thinking person.

The diary, now in the possession of this Society, is in two small notebooks, written in a fine but very legible hand, and portions of it are in cipher or shorthand. The second volume ends in 1686. In the early years of the last century a third volume existed: certain pages of church records were removed from it, and these are now in the possession of the Milton Historical Society, but the rest of the book is lost.

In 1907 George Winslow Thacher made or had made a very careful typewritten transcript of the surviving two volumes, which on account of its convenience I have used for this study. This has been microfilmed and a copy deposited in the library of this Society.

The first entry in this diary is January 2, 1678/79, when Thacher was living somewhere in the vicinity of Boston, Dorchester for a guess, as his landlady was a Minot, and she lived somewhere between Boston and Braintree. In February he moved his family to Boston to his own house. He lived next door to Mr. Allen, and if this is Reverend James Allen, his house was on Beacon Street somewhere near the present site of the Boston Athenæum. I cannot determine much about what he was doing at this period beyond substituting in the pulpit of various churches in Boston and its vicinity. He worked at settling his father's estate, examining the longhand and shorthand notes on it, and building up his energy on St. Patrick's Day by breakfasting on swan pie. He was very industrious in the preparation of his sermons and devoted much of his time to study. It is evident from numerous entries throughout the diary that he had some means of his own, and at this time he seems to have been living a pleasant life about town, with some study and preaching and some attention to business affairs. He often remarks about being ill, a condition which continues to a considerable extent throughout the period of the diary. In April he "played at nine pins in my alley" and paid five shillings sixpence for ninepins and a bowl, while in the following month he bought an Indian maidservant for £5 down and £5 due in three months.

He must have inherited his father's library,[3] 410 volumes valued at £110, for he moved it into his study in July. There is no question either of his piety or of his religious sincerity. He often spent the morning in private prayer and was very critical of his own sermons. "The Lord was pleased to warme my heart both in praying and preaching." "This evening God Warmed mee in family prayer." "Preached . . . was cold and dull in the morning, very faint at noon . . . but much enlarged in sermon and baptism." Sometimes all the family kept a fast, sometimes one member alone. There is an interesting note about his hired girl, Lydia Chapin, who "kept a private fast in the garret, making believe that she went abroad."

In September of 1679 he was one of the Old South's representatives to the synod at Boston, the other two being Thomas Savage and John Hull. The next month he moved with his family to Barnstable,[4] took over the pulpit on trial, and immediately ran into trouble. All the details are not clear, and we only have his side of the story, for the Barnstable church records mention his name but once. The church and the parish appear to have been dominated by Thomas Hinckley, then deputy governor of Plymouth Colony and later to be governor, and he was a man who expected to have his way. Moreover he was not liberal in his religious views, and, as I shall later show, Thacher was something of a practical Christian. Hinckley's henchman, John Chipman, was one of the ruling elders, and these two had been the ones who invited Thacher to Barnstable for the second time in the spring of this year, yet they failed to greet him upon his arrival, an interesting omission. I judge that he did not receive a formal call from the church, but from these two agents only, and the church remained divided over his choice, some quarter of the score and a half communicants opposing. I am inclined to think that some of this opposition may have been directed against him as Hinckley's choice, but there probably were other reasons as well. Toward the end Hinckley turned against him, but perhaps not openly. Thacher apparently made many friends, and the family fitted happily into the life of the town.

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[3] Which Thomas had inherited from his father-in-law, Ralph Partridge.

It is interesting to watch, through the diary, the working of Thacher's mind as he strives to decide whether or not to accept the call of a divided church. It was a major decision for, if he accepted, he would probably remain for the rest of his life. One can see the religious aspect of the matter. Was this the place to which the Lord had called him? Was he sufficiently worthy and capable of filling the needs of this church? There was also the practical and political side. Could he manage a divided church? Might his acceptance result in an actual division? The diary clearly shows these and similar thoughts running through his mind, and they were not selfish ones. It is obvious that he was thinking of the welfare of the Barnstable church and not merely of his own future.

In May of 1680 a call came from the Milton church, and he thereupon declined the Barnstable pulpit, but continued to preach there on a temporary basis. By July we find the Cape church trying to get him released by the Bay church, and shortly thereafter Thacher was surprised by the arrival of a delegation from Milton to help him pack and move. Despite this, he and Elder Chipman went to Boston in an endeavor to get Milton to release him, while at the same time Barnstable issued a formal call. It is somewhat hard to understand Thacher's hesitancy and lack of decision, except when we realize that he felt that he required both an external call, that is, from the church, as well as an internal one. The last evidently was his own final decision that this was the place to which the Lord had called him, and this was the question which was not yet entirely clear in his own mind. A surprising and rather delightful touch was given the proceedings by Elder Chipman's telling Thacher that Deputy Governor Hinckley thought it might be a good idea to cast lots in order to determine God's mind in this case. The church body gave much thought to this sporting proposition, but the suggestion was not followed. Hinckley and Elder Chipman met together with Samuel Torrey of the Weymouth church and the ministers of all the Boston churches, James Allen, Increase Mather, and Samuel Willard, for a discussion of Barnstable's second call. The diary, however, fails to record what they decided.[5] Finally, after a further period of hesitancy, Thacher and his family left the Cape for Milton, accompanied as far as Sandwich by sixty-nine parishioners on horseback.

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[4] He had visited Barnstable on two Sundays in the spring of 1678 and in July of that year had been given a call by Elder Chipman and Mr. Allen. He referred them to his father, and Reverend Thomas wrote out a number of requirements to be met before he would give his approval. Peter made another visit to Barnstable shortly before the synod.

One interesting sidelight is an entry which recorded Elder Chipman as saying that he and Hinckley were reputed able to make or break any minister of the Barnstable church. It seems probable that Thacher made a wise decision in not settling in Barnstable. The following year Jonathan Russell was called and he remained there for the rest of his long life. During his pastorate the parish finally divided on geographical lines, and it is possible that this factor may have had something to do with the lack of unanimity over the church's choice of Thacher. On the other hand I am inclined to think he had a touch of liberalism not entirely suited to all the members of the church.

While he was living on the Cape Thacher made various trips to

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[5] See their letter to Hinckley and Barnabas Lothrop, Boston, September 23, 1680, Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 4th Ser., V (1861), 43–48, in which they suggested that Hinckley and the church be more humble and not blame Thacher for what was largely their own fault.

Boston, usually on horseback, visited Thacher cousins in Yarmouth, and journeyed as far east as Eastham and as far west as Bridgewater, where he sold a piece of land which he owned there. He continued to study hard for his sermons, but was often interrupted by visits of parishioners. I judge that there was no doctor in Barnstable, for he records administering various remedies around town. At the same time he was often quite ill himself and at one time was forced to take a clyster of tobacco smoke in order to obtain relief.

Thacher and his family moved into the Milton parsonage in September of 1680. On June 1, 1681, he was formally ordained as minister of the Milton church, a position he was to hold for almost forty-seven years. The church gave him a unanimous call, and there is no hint of anything other than complete satisfaction on both sides, a far different condition from the troubled months at Barnstable. There is a note in the diary shortly after he was ordained about Mrs. Thacher's preparing for church membership. One would expect that, as the daughter of the minister of the First Church in Boston, she would have been accepted there before her marriage and would have had a letter of dismission to the Milton church. Thacher's life now becomes the placid existence of a country parson, and the years move serenely on, except for the many bouts of illness which continue to plague both him and his family. Milton, in those days a small country town of some 300 inhabitants, was within easy distance of Boston, and we find the Thachers going to town very often, for shopping, to sell butter and other produce, to Thursday lecture, or just visiting. Sometimes they stay in Boston overnight, more often they return to Milton. Thacher went quite regularly to the Boston lecture, often went to the Weymouth lecture, and sometimes to the one in Dedham. He continues to devote much time to study, visits around the parish, attends to his private business affairs, and sometimes goes picnicking or hunting in the Blue Hills. Just before he was ordained, he bought a gun, and a few days later the barrel and lock of a second one. There are only two references in the diary to hunting. Once he went with one of his brothers after pigeons and got five, while on another occasion he and three friends went deer hunting without success.

He brought two servants to Milton, the Indian slave girl Peg and Lydia Chapin, the faithful hired girl. Lydia was with him from 1677 to at least 1689, except for a short period when, having set her cap unsuccessfully at a Barnstable youth, she went home for a bit to get over the affair. Thacher appears to have the use of two family Negro slaves at this time, but within a month or so of coming to Milton he also took on a boy, who presumably was to do chores for his keep and a little schooling. In November, 1681, he still had the boy, and in addition hired a man at £12 a year,[6] and the following year, failing to get the indentured English servant he wanted, he bought a Negro slave for £20. Two slaves and three servants constitute much more of an establishment than we would expect for a New England country minister, and would, I should think, have caused talk in town, but there is no sign that it did.

Thacher was evidently engaging in trade on the side, probably only as an importer, but information on his activities is not very specific. He had a London agent who sent him various goods for sale, and in 1679, while still living in Boston, he learned that he had lost £40 worth at sea, quite a material loss. There are constant entries concerning borrowing and repaying of various, but usually minor, sums of money. He had a number of cows, and, by 1686, a considerable flock of sheep. I suspect that he was quite a horse trader. He sent two horses to the West Indies for sale, hoping to get a Negro man out of the proceeds, and next month traded his mare for a black horse. Within little more than another fortnight, or as he called it "this day forteen nights," he has bought two more horses.

There was certainly a fair amount of leisure and play, for one pleasant October day in 1681 Thacher went with a party to the "pillar of stones" in the Blue Hills on a picnic. He was loaded down with a quarter of lamb and other kinds of food. Later the party went back to his house and sat around and drank and smoked. The following week he went with a group from Dorchester to visit Captain Clap at Castle William in Boston harbor. He made a trip to Duxbury to visit his brother Ralph every so often and once went back to spend a day or two on the Cape. Barnstable friends dropped in at Milton, sometimes staying overnight.

Thacher's religious activities centered, of course, on the preparation of the lengthy prayers and sermons required twice each Sunday, except for the relatively rare occasions when some other minister would act as his substitute. This required many hours of study and preparation, probably in the nature of three days a week. Then there were the Boston lecture, parish visits, and the ministers' meetings. These last were usually held about every two months at the homes of the various ministers of the group. The one to which he belonged consisted of Cambridge, Dedham, Dorchester, Milton, Medfield, Hull, Braintree, Weymouth, and, apparently, Bridgewater, although the last town was in the Plymouth Colony. Hingham and Roxbury should be expected to appear in this group but are not recorded. These meetings were, I judge, essentially clerical refresher sessions, but there certainly was a social side as well. Ministers from a distance would spend the night (Thacher once had four of them sleeping in his bed), there would be good food and drink, and, I hope, some good secular talk as well. Mrs. Thacher bought strawberries for one of the meetings in Milton.

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[6] The town at this time paid Thacher a salary of £70.

Other religious duties which are recorded only occasionally were trips to assist at the ordination of a new minister and command appearances with the other elders at the Boston Town House to confer with what Thacher called the "Court of Assistance." The elders usually dined with the magistrates on these occasions. At such a meeting in November, 1683, Governor Simon Bradstreet asked the ministers what to do about the quo warranto out against the charter. They advised yielding gracefully as they thought that the more essential of the colony's rights might thus be retained.

There are indications which make one believe that Peter Thacher was somewhat liberal in his religion. He lived through a period when there was a great growth in the spirit of tolerance, and his life bridged the gap from the intolerance of an Endicott almost to the first glimmerings of Unitarianism. Sibley felt that Thacher believed "more in the graces and charities of a Christian life than in the severe teachings of a harsh and ungracious theology." This is a little unjust to the period, because by the time that Thacher was in college the intolerance of the early theocracy was rapidly breaking down, and in the latter days of his life practically complete religious freedom was being enjoyed by every well-behaved congregation. I will agree, however, that in this respect Peter Thacher kept a little ahead of his times, and I think that this can be proved by an entry or two from his diary. Once when he preached at the North Meetinghouse, a Quaker came in and sat through the sermon, telling Thacher afterward that, if he would preach another such sermon, he would come to hear it. After he moved to Milton he discoursed with a Quaker for two hours, and we may be sure that they argued about questions of faith. By far the most interesting entry of this nature is in January, 1681/82, where Thacher noted that he and a layman acted as moderators at a meeting held to debate the Quaker religion. This clearly shows not only his own spirit of liberalism, but also to how great an extent religious toleration had been achieved while the Bay Colony was still under the old charter.

It is obvious that Peter Thacher was quite well-to-do and must have had other sources of income than his salary. I could not at first understand how he was able to linger in England for a year, nor how he supported a wife and family while waiting for a church. Then I learned that his mother's father, Reverend Ralph Partridge, had a considerable fortune, owning lands and houses both in this country and in England. After his death Mrs. Thacher inherited the properties abroad, and it is quite possible Peter's visit to England may have been concerned with them. Thomas Thacher married, as a second wife, Margaret Webb, widow of Jacob Sheaffe, reputedly one of the richest of the early inhabitants of Boston, and in 1675 he was keeping a coach, said to be the only one in the country at that time.[7] The diary shows that there were tense moments in settling the estate of Thomas Thacher and that the stepmother at one time took legal action against Peter in connection with the Negro slaves, Frank and Nan.[8] These, I think, eventually went to his brothers, Ralph and Thomas, although Peter had the loan of them on occasions. We find all three brothers giving a release to the Sheaffe heirs against any claims due to their father's marriage and receiving a lump sum payment of £480. In 1684 Hezekiah Usher, the younger, brought suit against Peter after failure to reach an agreement on some unknown piece of business and lost the case. Thacher paid his lawyer, Lieutenant Holbrook, ten shillings for his services. A little before this he had bought a farm in Milton, and was paying six per cent interest on the mortgage. He owned a house in Boston, leased for most of this period to "Mr. Buckley," probably Peter Bulkeley, and the rent appears to have been £22 a year. He also owned a house and land in England which he eventually sold for £130.

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[7] According to William Harris, quoted in John G. Palfrey, *History of New England*, 5 vols. (1858–90), III, 304*n.*

[8] The *Records of the Suffolk County Court, 1671–1680*, Colonial Society of Massachusetts, *Publications*, XXIX–XXX (1933), II, 1170, show that the stepmother also successfully sued Peter to recover a cloak, presumably his father's and worth £3.

Despite Cotton Mather's statement about his medical practice there is little in the diary to bear it out, but it is quite possible that this was a development of later years. There is a great deal about illness and administration of simple home remedies, usually a laxative pill, but there are also several entries about sending for the doctor. Once when his daughter Theodora was very sick he thought it was probably the result of the cold milk and marigold jam she had eaten. The poor child was seven months old. Three months later she indulged in eating "chuckalett" with the result that might have been expected. Another time when his daughter had a fever he gave her as much powder of fox lungs as would lie on a threepenny bit. Once when his son had a fever they laid a fowl to his feet for four hours. On a day when Peter had a cold Mrs. "Dwite" gave him a conserve of red roses and egg yolk which furnished him considerable relief. We know that he studied medicine to some extent, for one day in August, 1679, he "read a little physick and mended the garden gate." Various notes about illness and administration of simple remedies abound, but when persons in Milton were really ill they sent to Dedham for Dr. Avery.

Scattered throughout the diary there are many little odd bits that add to our knowledge both of the living conditions of the period and of the secular activities of a New England clergyman. I was surprised to learn that Thacher owned an alembic and distilled spirits for his own consumption. There are various notes about food that are of interest, such as serving an Indian pudding as a main dish to guests, but he also noted dining on fresh beef and roast goose, followed by a duck supper. One morning he breakfasted upon salt fish and eggs, another on a chicken pie. I was greatly cheered to find justification for what is reputed to be an old New England custom: "Had . . . apple py for breakfast."

There are various little homely touches that make the diary so human, and I have culled a few of them here. One Sunday at church in January "I was near a hour and halfe in my first prayer . . . and an hour in sermon. I sweet much soe that my shirt was wet to my back."

"My dear and I went strawburying with some friends of Brush Hill. I was very sick for two hours in the evening. . . ." The family went by water to Barnstable in a ketch. Mrs. Thacher, the baby, and Lydia were all very seasick and "I was forced to bee nurse." On a trip to Boston he had the temerity to buy his wife a morning gown as well as "a bale of chuckalat." ". . . and found that my Indian girle had like to have knocked my Theodora in head by letting her fall wherefore I took a good walnut stick and beat the Indian to purpose till shee promise never to doe soe any more. After this I studied. . . ." One day the neighbors were bringing in the minister's wood. He gave them supper and "had the viol afterward." "This morning I broke of the gouse egges to see whether it was not rotten and was almost overcome by the stink of it. I took some wald-nut-water presently after it but it was a good while before I could get the smell out of my stomack."

There is great interest to me in the following lines: "I spent much time about the watch but could not make it doe." A few years ago I, too, had the pleasure of tinkering with Peter Thacher's watch, but I can report that I did "make it doe," and it still runs very nicely. (The watch which I overhauled was one that he owned at a somewhat later date, given to the Milton Historical Society by the Bostonian Society.)

I have now been living in close association with Peter Thacher for several weeks through the medium of his diary, and while I cannot say that I know him intimately, I certainly have more than a passing acquaintance. There is no question at all about the sincerity of his religion and his freedom from any touch of hypocrisy, but such was only to be expected from a minister of his period and background. The unexpected aspect is that of the businessman, how successful a one we cannot tell, but an owner of rent-producing properties and an importer of English goods, something which we would not at all expect in a country parson. He was, of course, hardly a typical country parson, for in addition to his own undoubted qualities, he was the son of a prominent Boston minister, and his wife was the daughter of another leading clergyman. He was a good friend of Cotton Mather, whose tutor he had been, and Samuel Sewall was his classmate. His social standing, entirely aside from his profession, was of the soundest. I wish that I knew more about his sporting activities and whether he kept up his shooting in the Blue Hills. I hope that he did. He liked his pipe and a drink with friends. Entries in this diary make me believe that he did not take himself overseriously, but I fear that perhaps he did not have too much sense of humor. We know that he appreciated good music. All in all, we have a very live and well-rounded man, a religious one, but also a most practical man of affairs, one who could give sound advice to the governor and the magistrates, who could associate easily with both high and low, and who, aside from his periods of illness, enjoyed life and the world around him.

Is it a coincidence that the last regular entry in the diary records the end of an era?

> December 19. 1686. (being Sabbath) Sir Edmund Androws arived within the Ise-lands. The next day (20. 10. 1686) the troup and the Boston Companys were in armes to waite his coming ashore, and the President and Counsel, and the Old Governor, and Deputy and magistrates were to waite his come ashore. When hee came to Land, rabble [*illegible*] three shouts, the Prisident Joseph Dudley Esquire went first to welcome him ashore, then the old Governor then Mr. Stoughton Esquire, then then T. D.[9] Esquire deputy Governor. After due salutation hee was gaurded by the horse and foot and these Gentle men into the Counsel-house and soe went into the Court chamber and took the Chaire and his Commission at lest part of was read. Then they goeing into the other room to dinner before dinner hee took the Ministers of Boston aside into the liberary and demanded one of the Meeting houses for the service of the Church of England to meet in said it might serve for him and them. They might meet at Eight in the morning and leave off at 10. . . .

A NOTE ON PETER THACHER'S SHORTHAND

The deciphering of Thacher's shorthand presents very considerable difficulties, not on account of the symbols themselves, but because of the abbreviations he made before enciphering. Sometimes they are phonetic, sometimes a special symbol he devised for a word, and often just plain unintelligible. He used John Willis' alphabet of about 1602, combining the symbols both forward and backward, based apparently upon ease of pen stroke. (This cipher was used for secrecy, not speed.) For example, for the word "give" or "gave" he used the letters G and V but wrote them in the reverse order, VG. For "wife" he wrote FW, although it is quite possible that he first made the W stroke and then added the F symbol above it and to the left. On the other hand his "Boston" was a straight BSN and "some," SM. Below are given two examples of his shorthand entries, first as copied from the diary, next broken down into word groups, then transcribed into literal alphabetical letters, and finally put into words. It is quite possible that I may have misinterpreted some of the symbols, but the results make perfectly good sense and so are probably correct. Various people, including the late Professor Henry V. Hubbard, a direct descendant of Thacher, have worked on this shorthand, and I have added but very little more. There yet remains much to be read in the diary by one who will have the time, patience, and skill to decipher it completely.

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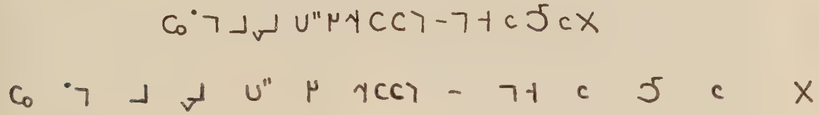
[9] Thomas Danforth.

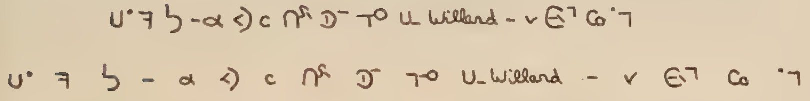
August 13, 1683



TH ED G VG MEE SM ASTTNS & DRS T LK T CHRIST

This day God gave me some assistance and desire to look to Christ.

November 29, 1683



ME DR WF & I EW T BSN LCR DRH MR WILLARD & W TRND TH ED

My dear wife and I went to Boston lecture heard Mr. Willard and we returned this day.

Benjamin Blyth, of Salem: Eighteenth-Century Artist

HENRY WILDER FOOTE*

As we all know, Mr. John Adams has recently given to the Massachusetts Historical Society a pair of portraits representing the John Adams who was the second President of the United States, and his wife, Abigail, daughter of the Reverend William and Elizabeth (Quincy) Smith.[1] These pictures are the earliest known portrayals of that famous pair and were drawn either about the time of their marriage, which took place on October 25, 1764, or, almost certainly, a couple of years later.

Two paper labels are pasted on the back of each portrait with inscriptions in what appears to be early nineteenth-century handwriting, the upper inscriptions on white paper, the lower and evidently later ones on brown paper. The upper label on the portrait of John Adams reads,

> John Adams
> 2nd President of the United States
> Picture drawn by Blythe,
> English Artist
> In America in 1763
> (Colored Crayon)

the lower one,

> John Adams
> Drawn by Blythe 1763
> (Coloured Crayon)
> Presented to Thomas B. Adams
> By his Mother

The upper label on the back of Mrs. Adams's portrait reads,

> Abigail Adams
> Wife of John Adams.
> Picture drawn by Blythe
> English Artist
> In America in 1763
> (Colored Crayon)

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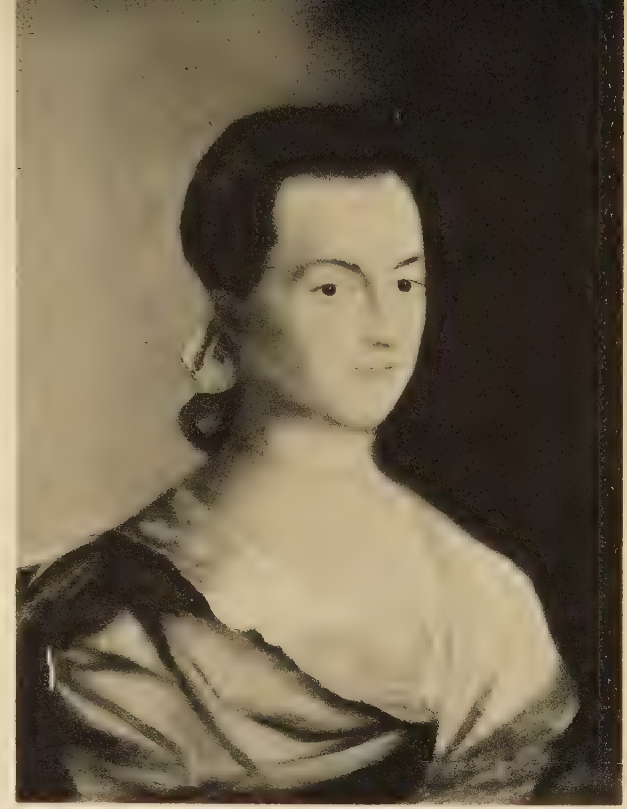
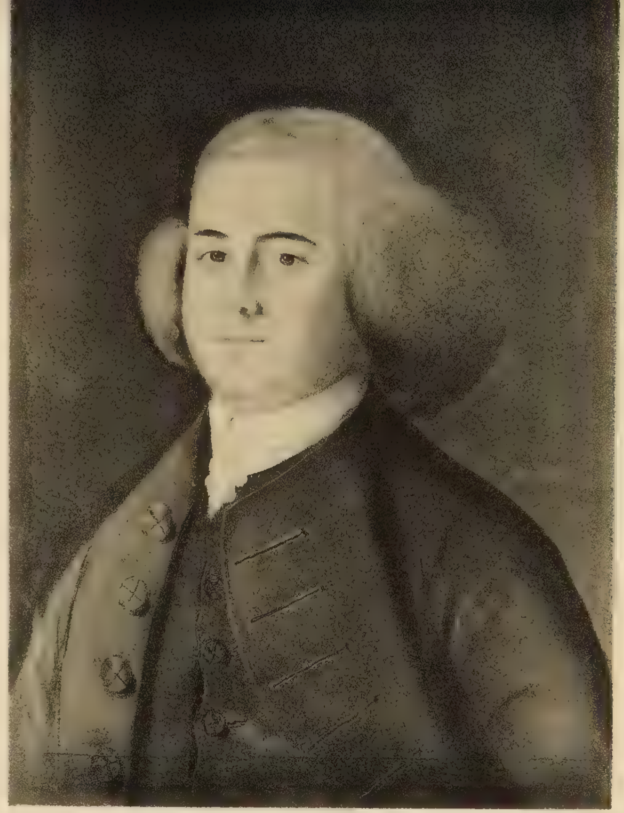
* This paper was read at the March, 1957, meeting and retains its original editorial style.

[1] See this volume, pp. 506–507.



Abigail Adams
by Benjamin Blyth



John Adams
by Benjamin Blyth

the lower one,

> Abigail Adams
> Drawn by Blythe, 1763 (English Artist)
> Presented to her son Thomas B. Adams.

This son, the first Thomas Boylston Adams, was her fifth and youngest child, born September 15, 1772, who was, therefore, a middle-aged man at the time of his mother's death in 1818, but the lower labels seem to indicate that the portraits came to him before that event.

Both sets of labels record what Mrs. Adams in her old age could recall about a minor episode which had occurred perhaps as much as a half-century earlier, and she was mistaken at some points. She added a final "e" to Blyth's name, and thought the portraits had been drawn in 1763. That is most improbable, for the young couple did not become engaged until late in 1763; John Adams, besides being much occupied with the stirring political events, was inoculated for smallpox and therefore in quarantine for six weeks in the following spring; and the marriage did not take place until late October, 1764. The pictures would certainly not have been drawn until shortly before that event, or at some time after it, and there are good reasons for believing that they date from 1766. But Mrs. Adams's most important failure of memory was her description of Blyth as an "English Artist in America." The only English artist with that surname who is recorded in Michael Bryan's *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers* (London, 1886) is one Robert Blyth of London, who produced a considerable number of etchings and engravings, but is not credited with any paintings, and who certainly never visited America before he ended his short life by suicide in 1784. Since Mrs. Adams first visited London in the summer of that year she may have heard mention of this Robert Blyth and have later mistaken him for the youthful Benjamin Blyth who, in fact, had drawn the pictures nearly twenty years earlier.

Who was this Benjamin Blyth? How did it come about that he was chosen to draw the young couple? And what did he accomplish besides these portraits of John and Abigail Adams? You will find very little information about him in any books about American artists and their works, in which only a few of his pictures are mentioned.[2] For ex-

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[1] See this volume, pp. 506–507.

ample, William Dunlap's *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States,* first published in 1834, made no mention of him until, in their revised edition of 1918, the editors, Frank W. Bayley and Charles E. Goodspeed, included in their addenda an account of him running to twelve lines and naming five portraits by him. Yet I have compiled a descriptive catalogue of about forty portraits which can be attributed to him, with varying degrees of assurance, as well as three engravings in which he collaborated with his contemporary, John Coles, of Boston. His portraits of John and Abigail Adams are, of course, the best known and the most interesting historically, but he drew portraits of a number of other persons eminent in their day, and some of his later ones are of superior artistic merit. I am glad, therefore, to take this occasion to put on record, I believe for the first time, as full an account of his career as the scanty sources permit.

There are a few references in the Salem records for the last half of the seventeenth century to persons named Bly (Bligh) or Blyth (Blythe, Blith), all of whom were laborers, one or two of them in trouble with the magistrates. Benjamin Blyth's line of descent is recorded in Perley's *History of Salem*[3] beginning with one Jonathan Blyth (died 1748), a shipwright and tallow-chandler, who married Sarah Gustin (died 1747) on July 20, 1704. Their eighth child, Samuel, was baptized in the First Church on August 27, 1721. He became a sailmaker by trade, and married Abigail Massey in St. Peter's Church on October 13, 1743. He died on March 17, 1774. Their first child was Samuel, II, baptized on May 13, 1744, who became a painter, of whom I shall speak again later. Their second child was Benjamin, the subject of this paper, who was baptized in the First Church on May 18, 1746. He was named for an uncle, Benjamin, who had died a few years earlier. He married Mehitable Cook, September 18, 1769, and they had three sons: Benjamin, III, baptized February 10, 1771; Frank, baptized January 3, 1773; and Samuel, III, baptized July 2, 1780. As this record shows, the family had long been settled in Salem, and its male members had been laborers or craftsmen who, by the time Benjamin Blyth reached manhood, were slowly improving their economic status.

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[3] Sidney Perley, *The History of Salem, Massachusetts . . . 1626–[1716]* (Salem, 1924–1928), III. 369.

The earliest appearance of Benjamin Blyth's name in print which I have discovered is in the advertisement which he placed in *The Salem Gazette* of May 10–17, 1769. It reads,

> Benjamin Blyth Begs Leave to inform the Public, that he has opened a Room for the Performance of Limning in Crayons at the House occupied by his Father, in the great Street leading towards Marblehead, where Specimens of his Performance may be seen. All Persons who please to favour him with their Employ, may depend upon having good Likenesses and being immediately waited on, by applying to their Humble Servant, Benjamin Blyth.[4]

A few words from this advertisement were inaccurately quoted by Felt in his *Annals of Salem,* without giving their source, but with his own added comment, " 'He painted with great success in colored crayons. Many of his portraits are still extant in the ancient families of this city.' The writer recollects to have seen a reproduction of this kind from his hand, which represented the celebrated Whitefield in the attitude of preaching."[5]

Blyth's notice to the public that he had set up a studio in his father's house may indicate that heretofore he had gone to the homes of patrons who wished him to draw their likenesses. Although in that spring of 1769 he was only twenty-three and still unmarried, he must have begun his career several years earlier. If the Adams portraits are dated 1764 he would have been only eighteen years old when he drew them; if they are dated 1766 he would have been twenty. But these pictures are quite certainly not his first attempts at drawing portraits, for they are not the work of an inexperienced hand. If it seems incredible that a youth just emerging from his 'teens, who could have had little, if any, instruction, could have drawn portraits as creditable as these, let me remind you of what was going on in artistic circles in Boston in the earlier half of the eighteenth century.

Between about 1695 and 1725 three or more as yet unidentified limners had painted at least two score portraits in Boston and vicinity. Peter Pelham, a competent London engraver, reached Boston about 1726 and painted a few portraits from which to make engravings, but perhaps he is best remembered today because, a few years before his death in 1751, he became the stepfather of the youthful John Singleton Copley. Pelham was followed by John Smibert, the first professional portrait painter to come from Great Britain to the colonies, who settled in Boston in 1729, married, and worked here until 1748, when his eyesight weakened, and old age led to his death in 1751. He supplemented his income from painting by maintaining a shop where he sold artists' supplies, and he had a large room in his studio where hung his own earlier copies of several European masterpieces. This room was, in effect, the first art gallery in Boston, if not anywhere in the colonies, and was an enlightening resort for aspiring young American artists, before and after Smibert's death, as both Copley and Charles Willson Peale testified. Robert Feke, the American-born self-taught painter, visited Boston twice, the second time in 1748, at the height of his career, and left more than twenty excellent portraits here. He was followed by the itinerant English painter, Joseph Blackburn, who paid a similar visit here in 1756, with similar results. It is probable that by the middle of the eighteenth century a greater number of portraits were to be seen in Boston than anywhere else in the colonies, and many of them equalled in artistic merit all but the best produced in Great Britain before the rise of Reynolds and Gainsborough.

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[4] *The Essex Institute Historical Collections,* LXXIX. 370.

[5] Joseph Barlow Felt, *Annals of Salem* (Boston, 1845-1849), II. 79.

This combination of influences stimulated several native-born youths to try their hands at art. The first was Nathaniel Emmons, already at work before Smibert arrived, whose portrait of Judge Sewall, painted in 1730, only a month before Sewall died, hangs in our Museum on the first floor of this building. He was followed by Joseph Badger, born in Charlestown, who painted a good many stiff but naïvely honest portraits in the seventeen-forties and fifties. Twenty years before Blyth, young John Greenwood had been apprenticed to Thomas Johnson who "kept shop on Brattle Street where he sold colors, made charts, painted coats of arms, and engraved music plates." By the time he was fifteen Greenwood had begun painting portraits, and he left a good many, still in existence, in Boston before his departure ten years later for Surinam, Holland, and, eventually, London, in all of which places he painted many more.

Nathaniel, son of John Smibert, sought to follow in his father's steps, and painted, when he was seventeen, the still extant portrait of Master Lovell, of the Latin School, as well as a score of other portraits before his lamented death at the age of twenty-one. And then came Copley, about three and one-half years younger than Nathaniel Smibert, and Copley's earliest portraits are signed and dated 1753, when he was only fifteen years old.[6]

Greenwood, Nathaniel Smibert, and Copley were near enough together in age to have been acquainted, and as boys they may have had some advice from John Smibert and Peter Pelham, though it can hardly have gone far, in view of the disability and death of those two men in 1751.

Their example which, in the case of Copley, had brought him a good living by the early 1760's, might easily have become known to Benjamin Blyth in Salem when, as a boy, he conceived the idea of taking up portraiture. The fact that almost all his portraits are drawn in colored crayons suggests a possible link with Copley. The latter's earliest known portrait in pastels is dated 1758, and he drew a number of others in the next decade. Portraits in this medium had previously been almost unknown in New England, and that Copley lacked self-confidence in the use of crayons is indicated by the letter which he wrote in 1762 to "Liotard, the famous Swiss pastelist, to order a set of 'the best Swis Crayons for drawing Portraits.' He also asked for instructions about using them."[7]

Now Blyth must have begun using colored crayons only a year or two after Copley wrote this letter and since it seems rather unlikely that he could have learned about them from any other source, the question arises as to whether he may not have journeyed from Salem to Boston to procure a set, and to watch Copley's method of using them. There is not a shred of evidence that he did so, but I can think of no more likely explanation of why Blyth so early adopted this medium.

And that leads on to the further question of how it came about that Adams employed this Salem youth instead of Copley, who was then in Boston and at the height of his fame, to draw his own and his Abigail's pictures. I think the answer may be found by tracing the steps of the Smith girls after the marriage of Abigail's sister Mary, three years her elder, to Richard Cranch, in November, 1762. Cranch was a lawyer, a few years older than John Adams, but the two were close friends who had frequently gone together to court the Smith sisters. For a brief period after their marriage Cranch and his wife had lived in Braintree, where he had business interests, but by 1766 they had moved to Salem. Quite naturally when John Adams had a law case in the Salem court in August, 1766, and another in November of the same year, he took his wife with him to visit her sister.[8] Cranch would have been in Salem long enough to have heard of Blyth, if not to have become acquainted with him, and either of the two visits might have been the occasion for drawing the portraits. Blyth, we may be sure, would have eagerly accepted and promptly carried out the task, and his charge would have been a modest one, better suited to what Adams was then earning than Copley's much higher price would have been. Furthermore, Copley already had all the commissions he could execute, and was often annoyingly dilatory in finishing his portraits.[9]

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[6] Barbara N. Parker and Ann B. Wheeler, *John Singleton Copley: American Portraits* (Boston, 1938), 4.

[7] *Ibid.*, 5 and 12–13.

This is the best surmise I have been able to formulate as to why and when Blyth drew these pictures, and, since it postpones their date from 1764 to 1766, it gives Blyth another two years of experience in drawing portraits.[10] The Adams portraits are certainly not the first attempts of a beginner, for, though they are no masterpieces of art, they are pleasing representations of their subjects, deftly depicted by the young draftsman, and are presumably fairly good likenesses—at least

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[8] Janet Whitney, *Abigail Adams* (London, 1948), 43.

[9] Copley in England later painted a full-length portrait of John Adams, which his wife thought "very large and a very good likeness" when she saw it in London in the summer of 1784. *Ibid.*, 181.

[10] Shortly after the delivery of this address, Lyman H. Butterfield came across an entry in the manuscript diary of John Quincy Adams, under the date of June 21, 1835, when the writer was in Quincy. It reads, "In the Evening visited Mr. and Mrs. John Greenleaf. . . . They have Portraits of my father and mother, in crayons, painted about the time of their Marriage in 1764, or as Mrs. Greenleaf says between the birth of my Sister Smith in 1765 and mine in 1767." Mrs. Greenleaf was the former Lucy Cranch, daughter of Richard and Mary Cranch, therefore a niece of Abigail Adams and a cousin of John Quincy Adams. She was brought up in Salem. No one in 1835 was more likely to have known when the portraits were drawn; and the period she named, between the birth of Abigail Adams's first child and that of her second, corresponds with the dates of the visits of John and Abigail Adams to Salem in 1766. But she either did not know or did not give the name of the artist.

The question of how the portraits came to be in the Greenleaf house is puzzling. They had been left to J. Q. Adams's younger brother, Thomas Boylston Adams, who died in 1832, and the latter's unmarried daughter, Miss Elizabeth Coombs Adams, inherited them or, at least, acquired them, because at a much later date she left them to her cousin's son, Charles Francis Adams, II. A possible explanation is that Miss Adams had some reason to lend them to her cousin Lucy Greenleaf, and that her uncle, J. Q. Adams, who can hardly have failed to know that they had belonged to his brother, was surprised to find them at the Greenleaf house.

John Adams is unmistakably the same man that Mather Brown portrayed twenty years later in his much finer portrait now in the Boston Athenæum.

Although these are the best known and most often reproduced portraits drawn by Blyth, he drew or painted a number of other persons who have at least a minor place in history. Since it is out of the question for me to discuss today all the drawings attributed to Blyth, I limit myself to a few which have especial interest. My descriptive catalogue of all the pictures attributed to him will be appended to this paper in the printed record.

Pictures which the artist signs and dates are helpful in tracing his career, but I have found only three portraits to which Blyth affixed his name. The earliest one represents George Cabot of Beverly and later of Boston, at about sixteen years of age, and is signed "B. Blyth pinxit, 1767." Nine years later Cabot was a member of the Provincial Congress of 1776; then United States senator from 1791 to 1796; Secretary of the Navy for a very brief period in 1798; and president of the Hartford Convention in 1814.

In the passage already quoted from Felt's *Annals of Salem*, "The writer recollects to have seen a reproduction of this kind from his [Blyth's] hand, which represented the celebrated Whitefield in the attitude of preaching," the wording, as well as the inaccuracy of his recollection, suggests that he had seen the portrait in question many years earlier, as far back as the opening decades of the nineteenth century. Indeed it would have been surprising if Felt, interested in local history, had not seen it, for it then hung in the Chipman house in Beverly. The inaccuracy of his recollection lies in his saying that he recalled it as drawn in crayons, as was usual with Blyth, whereas it is painted in oils. But his statement has value as evidence that Blyth at that time was still remembered as the artist who painted the picture.

This portrait now hangs in the Congregational Library in Boston, to which it was bequeathed in 1891 by Miss Eliza Chipman as "An original painting of Whitefield, which was taken when he visited this country, and which has hung ever since on the walls of the Chipman mansion." That mansion, at 634 Cabot Street, Beverly, was built and occupied by the Reverend John Chipman, a minister in Beverly for more than sixty years until his death, at the age of eighty-five, in 1775.

Whitefield paid four visits to the American colonies, on the last of which he died suddenly in Newburyport on September 30, 1770. If Chipman was one of Whitefield's admirers it would have been quite natural for him to ask Blyth to draw his portrait.

The picture, however, cannot properly be called an "original" for it is frankly copied from earlier English sources. Whitefield had been painted in England a decade or more earlier by Nathaniel Hone, a painter of sufficient distinction to have been one of the founding members of the Royal Academy in 1768, and his portrait had been reproduced in a small, undated engraving with the legend,

George Whitefield, M.A.
Hone pinxit V. M. Picot Sculpsit

This engraving must have been well known in Boston, where English engravings of celebrities had a ready sale and where there would have been a demand for pictures of Whitefield. The oil painting depicts Whitefield life-size, from the waist up, in the act of preaching, both hands raised in gesture to the level of his head, but it is a carefully exact copy of the small English engraving in every detail of pose, costume, and accessories, except for its portrayal of Whitefield's face. In the engraving the younger face of Whitefield is round and plump without much expression, whereas in the painting it looks thinner, older, and more animated. If this painting is indeed the work of Blyth, and I see no reason to doubt it, the artist must have carefully observed the evangelist's countenance during the brief period when he was preaching in Essex County just before his death.

Only one of the persons whose portraits Blyth drew has left any known record of the occasion. The one who did so was the second wife of Dr. Edward Augustus Holyoke. He was born in 1728, the son of President Holyoke of Harvard College. After graduation from Harvard he went at the age of twenty to Salem, to engage in the practice of medicine as an assistant to an older physician, and he continued in active practice for eighty years, retiring when he reached one hundred years of age, and dying the next year. His noble personality and his renown as a physician, as well as the extraordinary length of his activity, made him one of the most beloved and eminent citizens of Salem. His wife kept a diary in which she briefly noted current happenings. On March 12, 1771, she wrote "Doctor Sat for his Picture,"[11] and a fortnight later, on March 27, "First sat for my picture." That is all, and Blyth's name is nowhere mentioned, but the pictures, in excellent condition, are still in the hands of descendants, and are unmistakably his work. The portrait of Dr. Holyoke is in profile, showing the left side of an intelligent face. The nose is long and aquiline, and his natural hair is brushed back, receding from his forehead and temple. Mrs. Holyoke's portrait shows her nearly full front, a pleasing woman in early middle life, and both pictures are examples of Blyth's work at its best.

Another interesting portrait is the crayon drawing representing General John Thomas. He was a resident of Kingston, Massachusetts, who had begun his career as an army surgeon in Nova Scotia in 1747, and in 1755 and 1759 had been an officer in the military expeditions of those years. For the next fifteen years he practised medicine in Kingston, acquiring a wide reputation. His earlier military experience led the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts to appoint him a general officer in February, 1775, and in the following June the Continental Congress appointed him brigadier-general in command of troops in Roxbury. On the night of March 4–5 his troops occupied Dorchester Heights, and this action forced the British to evacuate Boston a fortnight later. He was then sent, with the rank of major-general, to Canada to command the Continental troops who had been repulsed in their attack on Quebec on December 31, 1775; but on the way home he died of smallpox at Chambly, Quebec. Blyth's portrait shows him as an elderly man in civilian dress, which indicates that it was drawn shortly before he joined the army. Our Society had long owned a collection of General Thomas's papers when, in 1923, this portrait was received as a gift from the Misses Sarah and Joanna Williams of Yonkers, New York, to whom it had descended. With the portrait came Blyth's bill, an interesting document which tells us what Blyth charged for one of his larger drawings, discloses the long delay in securing payment, and preserves the only handwritten signatures by Blyth which have come to light. This document is addressed, on the reverse, to

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[11] *The Holyoke Diaries, 1709–1856*, George Francis Dow, Editor (Salem, 1911), 75 and 76.

Cap^{t} George William
In
Boston

The upper half of the sheet reads as follows:

Salem Feb^{ry} 15th 1777

Sir,

Annexed To this I send you The Account of Gen^{l} Thomas's Picture which M^{r} Very will Deliver you. S^{r} You^{r} Most Humble
Ser^{t} Benj^{n} Blyth

The lower half of the sheet itemizes the bill.

1777	M^{r} Widow Thomas To Benj^{n} Blyth D^{r}	
Feb.	To one Crayon Picture of Gen^{l} Thomas £	4- 4-0
	To one Frame and Glass	1-16-0
	To Box	0- 3-0
		6- 3-0

Rec'd Salem June 28, 1777 by the hands of Geo Williams y^{e} above Sum in [*illegible*]t
Benj^{n} Blyth

On the reverse is this notation "M^{rs} Thomas mony to pay for Picture."

This picture of General Thomas is one of the larger of Blyth's crayons, measuring 25 x 20 inches. Most of them are found in one of two sizes, the larger ones approximately 21 x 17 inches, the smaller ones 15 x 12 inches. Because of their small size they seldom show more than the head and shoulders of the subject in a conventional pose. They are generally good in color but hard in outline, and where the hands of a subject appear they are little better than crudely drawn lumps of flesh. Yet although Blyth's technique did not develop much beyond the frequent repetition of a few mannerisms his drawings not only record with accuracy the costumes of the men and women of his period, but also give the impression of being good likenesses of identifiable and distinct personalities. He recognized the pictorial value of a striking aquiline profile, as shown in two of his best portraits, representing Dr. Holyoke and old Samuel Curwen, and he has put on the lips of more than one of his women sitters a quizzical half-smile which suggests that the owners of the lips also possessed a keen sense of humor. Since the primary demand made by a New Englander upon an artist was that his picture should be a good likeness, as Copley reported in a letter which he wrote to an English correspondent who had advised him to aim at more decorative elegance, it is probable that in this respect Blyth's drawings seemed satisfactory to his patrons. Yet, in contrast to Copley, Blyth remained a minor local artist, either because he did not possess Copley's innate gifts and impulse to work incessantly to develop them, or because Salem had little to stimulate him to greater efforts.

The other portraits attributed to Blyth must all have been drawn between the late seventeen-sixties and the early seventeen-eighties. The portraits representing Elias Hasket Derby, his wife, and his little son, date from 1775 or 1776. A pair of much larger oil portraits, depicting Benjamin Moses of Salem and his wife and daughter, are signed and dated 1781. They are not well painted, and he evidently was not skilled in the use of this medium.

About 1781 Blyth also made copies of the portraits of George and Martha Washington which Charles Willson Peale had painted late in 1775 for Governor John Hancock, and which were hanging in Hancock's Boston house on Beacon Street. Blyth's copies have disappeared but their purpose was to provide the forms from which John Norman made the engravings "Published by John Coles, Boston, March 26, 1782." The same year Blyth drew for Coles an allegorical picture published in an engraving, "Sacred to Liberty or an Emblem of ye Rising Glory of ye American State." Coles, who, after a brief career as an heraldic painter in Salem had set up as a publisher of engravings in Boston, had a poor reputation for character. I have no evidence that he, himself, ever drew any portraits, or had later connections with Blyth. Perhaps their association came to an end when Benjamin's brother, Samuel Blyth, sued Coles for an unpaid promissory note for £37. 7*s.* 6*d.* dated June 1, 1782.

The latest portrait drawn by Blyth appears to be the one which represents William Messervy as a small child. The date of Messervy's birth is supposed to have been about 1780, and he is shown at perhaps two years of age, which would date the portrait about 1782.

In the records of the Essex Lodge of Free Masons there is an item noting the admission of "Benjamin Blyth—He was an artist. Admitted to the Lodge, 1st March, 1781."[12] Presumably this is correct, but the compiler of the record mistakenly adds that he was "son of

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[12] William Leavitt, "History of the Essex Lodge of Freemasons," *Essex Institute Historical Collections,* III. 127.

Benjamin and Mary Legare Blyth, born 1740." The given name Benjamin recurs repeatedly in the Blyth family, and one of that name had married Mary Legare of Lynn on November 25, 1733. Perhaps he was the uncle after whom Benjamin Blyth the artist was named, for the artist was in fact the son of Samuel and Abigail (Massey) Blyth, and was baptized as such in the First Church on May 18, 1746.[13]

I have found no certain trace of Benjamin Blyth later than about 1782, or possibly early 1783, for though persons of his surname are mentioned several times in the records down to the end of the century most of the references are to the activities of Benjamin's older brother, Samuel.[14] There is no record of Benjamin's death, or of his wife's, or of that of any of their children. They disappear from Salem and I have no idea where they went or what became of them.

Nor did Benjamin Blyth leave any strong and lasting impression on the community. The Reverend William Bentley, who had been ordained minister of the East Church in Salem in September, 1783, mentions him only once in a rather curious entry in his *Diary*, more than a quarter of a century later. He wrote under date of October 25, 1809,

> Endeavouring from some imperfect materials to obtain a portrait of my old friend General Fiske. A portrait, three quarter face, was taken while he was in the Naval service, but unfinished, by Cole and Blythe. They were wretched daubers at best but they had much employment from the money of the privateer men. None of their portraits are finished but they sometimes have taken likenesses. These were the only persons who undertook at that time. That of Fiske very bad. It is servile. His vigour, his ready soul are not easily painted.[15]

Bentley's enigmatical opening words are presumably to be understood as meaning that his memoranda about the portrait of General Fiske were too slight and too out of date to enable him to find the picture, which he must have seen many years earlier, because Fiske had died more than twelve years before the date of this entry. Blyth's pastel portrait of Fiske's first wife, showing her as a young woman about the year 1770, is in the Essex Institute, but I have found no other reference to this hitherto unrecorded and still undiscovered picture of Fiske. In spite of his title of major-general his local reputation was that made as captain of two of the most successful privateers sent out from Salem early in the Revolution, hence the reference to his "naval service."

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[13] Perley, *History of Salem*, 369.

[14] See Appendix A.

[15] William Bentley (1759–1819), *Diary* . . . (Salem, 1905–1914), III. 470.

But for my present purpose the most revealing part of Bentley's entry is his misinformation about Blyth, with whom he evidently was unacquainted, perhaps because Blyth had left Salem before Bentley settled there. Bentley speaks of Blyth and Coles as though they had worked together in producing portraits, but Coles was not a portrait painter and there is no evidence that Blyth's association with him extended beyond the production of the three engravings which I have mentioned. Bentley no doubt had seen the two representing George and Martha Washington which Coles had published and which are, indeed, very crude and amateurish, but their defects are due to John Norman's lack of skill as an engraver rather than to the inadequacies of Blyth's copies of Peale's portraits. Bentley's comment that Blyth's portraits were "unfinished," though he admits that sometimes they were likenesses, and his caustic criticism of Blyth's failure to portray the "ready soul" of General Fiske in the portrait which he nevertheless sought to find, reveals a surprising lack of appreciation of the many portraits which he must have seen in the homes of his parishioners or neighbors. Apparently he was unaware that the picture of General Fiske's first wife was in Salem. It is true that to a person of his period who was acquainted with the far finer paintings of Copley and Stuart, Blyth's Salem pictures might have seemed amateurish and old-fashioned, but he evidently had not sufficient interest in them even to inquire as to the artist's name. His lack of interest is in marked contrast to Felt's comment on Blyth, a generation later, "He painted with great success; many of his portraits are still extant in the ancient families of this city."

Nevertheless, Bentley's whole passage indicates that memories of Blyth and of his modest achievements had faded rather rapidly in the town of his birth. He had never developed any great talents, but he did leave a creditable record of the face and form of those persons whom he depicted. There appears to be no evidence that he had any other occupation to supplement what must have been a very small income from his drawings, but he may easily have drawn two or three times as many portraits as we are now able to attribute to him, for we know that some have been carried to distant places and that others have been lost or destroyed by neglect.

And that, my friends, plus the annotations in the "Descriptive Catalogue of Portraits" to be appended to this paper when printed, is the sum total of what I have been able to discover about the artist who drew the portraits of John and Abigail Adams which now adorn our walls.[16]

APPENDIX A

Note on Samuel Blyth

Samuel, elder brother of Benjamin Blyth, is listed by Dr. Harold Bowditch in his paper on "Early Water-Color Paintings of New England Coats of Arms"[17] as one of the heraldic painters in Massachusetts who in the eighteenth century drew many such coats of arms for persons who felt that their social status warranted their assumption of such a distinction. As Dr. Bowditch points out, there were available a number of English books with engravings displaying the arms of almost every English family entitled to them, which colonial draftsmen could copy. The possession of one of these New England heraldic portrayals is no proof that the owner was entitled by descent to the arms displayed on his wall, but they do indicate something of the status which he had attained in his own community. Dr. Bowditch in his article reproduces three coats of arms attributed to Samuel Blyth, and one more copied from his original. A number of others attributed to him have been found elsewhere.

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[16] Since the delivery of this paper two bits of information about Benjamin Blyth's activities have been brought to my attention which answer the question as to where he went when he left Salem. Mr. W. M. E. Rachal, of the Virginia Historical Society, has sent me a reference to the list of marriages recorded in Norfolk County Court House (Virginia), which includes an entry reading, "Benjamin Blyth and Mary Dougle, widow, February 12, 1785." See "Marriage Bonds of Norfolk County," in *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series 2, VIII (1928), 171. And Dr. George C. Groce and Mr. Rachal have reported an advertisement which appeared in *The Virginia Gazette, or the American Advertiser*, published in Richmond (Wednesday, July 19, 1786), page 3, column 2:

> BENJAMIN BLYTH,
> LIMNER,
> BEGS leave to inform the Public,
> that he has opened a House near the City Coffee-
> House, for the performance of Limning in Oil, Crayons,
> and Miniature. . . . Those Ladies and Gentlemen, who
> please to favour him with their employ, may depend on hav-
> ing good likenesses, by applying to him at the aforesaid
> House, where *Gilding Ornament*, *Painting*, &c. &c. will
> be done in the neatest manner, and on reasonable terms.
> A BOY about 14 or 15 years old, that can
> be well recommended, is wanted as an Apprentice to the a-
> bove business.
> Richmond, July 18, 1786.

This advertisement, so similar in phrasing to his announcement in the *Salem Gazette* nearly twenty years earlier, was repeated in the *Virginia Gazette* on July 26, and August 2 and 16, 1786. It indicates Blyth's intention to settle in Richmond, and also suggests an answer to my question of what he had done in Salem to supplement his small income from drawing portraits. Presumably he had assisted his brother Samuel in gilding and ornamental painting. No further record of Blyth, or of any member of his family, has as yet come to light in Virginia. It is quite possible that further inquiry may discover some portraits drawn by him in Richmond.

[17] Colonial Society of Massachusetts, *Transactions* (Boston, 1951), XXXV. 172–210.

Besides these heraldic productions a few portraits have been attributed to him. In the W.P.A. *Massachusetts Portraits* the picture listed as representing Elizabeth Stevens (Number 2043) is recorded as his work. I believe that this is a mistake. The subject was married three times, to Nathaniel Dabney, to James Bridges, and to Ebenezer Stevens, and her portrait is listed in the *Essex Institute Catalogue of Portraits* as that of Mrs. Bridges, by Benjamin Blyth. In my Descriptive Catalogue I have listed the portrait as that of Mrs. Dabney because I believe that it was drawn by Benjamin Blyth soon after the lady's first marriage. The small crayon of an "Unknown Woman" given to the Essex Institute in 1876 by Henry F. Waters has his notation on the back, "painted by Samuel Blyth." This also I believe to be a mistake; the drawing closely resembles Benjamin Blyth's larger and finer portrait of Sarah Curwen. The picture at the Institute of Elizabeth Stafford as a small child may perhaps be by Samuel Blyth, and the Institute also owns a pastel attributed to him, representing an "Unknown Man." There is no clue as to its date. The subject is shown half front, wearing a white stock and light blue coat and waistcoat, but the picture is very poorly drawn, in such marked contrast to the pastels by Benjamin Blyth with which it is flanked on either side that it cannot be by Benjamin, but is presumably correctly assigned to Samuel Blyth. The late William C. Endicott owned a poor copy of the original portrait of Governor John Endecott which had been painted about 1665, and the label on the frame of this picture read "Copied by Samuel Blythe about 1783." He may have drawn other pictures, but with small success, for he certainly lacked even the limited measure of artistic skill attained by his brother Benjamin.

In the Salem records, however, there are more references to him than to Benjamin Blyth, and they report the varied activities of a jack-of-all-trades. In June, 1774, when the Provincial Congress met in Salem, St. Peter's Church built a canopied pew for the governor, and "Samuel Blyth painted the Governor's pew and received his salary as organist."[18] The same year he proposed "to keep a boarding school for females, near the Episcopal Church, where will be taught the branches, which had been common, with French and dancing." In the seventeen-eighties he was making spinets and harpsichords and Mrs. Mary (Vial) Holyoke recorded in her diary that in 1786 he sold a harpsichord to Mrs. Margaret Barton for £18.[19] A spinet of his manufacture is now in the Museum of the Essex Institute.[20]

He also continued his work as a commercial painter, probably in coöperation with his son, Samuel, Jr., who, in 1771 had given "notice that he does painting in all branches, including chaises and coaches." In July, 1782, he sent a bill for £35. 7*s*. 4*d*. to E. H. Derby for a house-painting job which included "Gilding Cupallo Ball," and "Eagle."[21] Felt, in the first volume of his *Annals of Salem* (307), relates the following anecdote which I think must refer to Samuel, rather than to Benjamin Blyth. In 1787, George Cabot of Beverly (whose portrait is discussed on pages 82–83) sought to promote the erection of a bridge connecting Beverly and Salem at the North Ferry. His proposal caused much discussion and animosity, noting which, "Mr. Blyth, a limner, who was noted for his ingenious play upon words, said, on this occasion, that he never knew a bridge built without *railing* on both sides."

Samuel Blyth's first wife died on August 20, 1787, and on November 13 of the same year he married Sally Rolland in St. Peter's Church. He died on January 15, 1795. It is evident that his enterprising spirit and varied activities brought him a more understanding recognition by his fellow townsmen than they ever gave to his brother Benjamin, though the latter, in his crayon portraits, left the community a record of artistic achievement which, though very modest by any standards of art, has permanent value in the history of Salem.

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[18] *Essex Institute Historical Collections,* LXXX. 346.

[19] *Holyoke Diaries,* 106 *n.*

[20] H. W. Belknap, *Artists and Craftsmen of Essex County, Massachusetts* (Salem, 1927), 29.

[21] *Essex Institute Historical Collections,* LXXVI. 45.

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF PORTRAITS AND ENGRAVINGS ATTRIBUTED TO BENJAMIN BLYTH

John Adams

Subject: John Adams (1735–1826). Second President of the United States.

Date: 1766.

Size: Pastel. 23 x 17½ inches.

Description: The head and bust of the subject are shown half front, his left shoulder advanced, his head turned slightly left, against a greenish background. He has a full face, blue eyes, and wears a gray wig, white neckband with small ruff, and coat and waistcoat of warm gray.

Ownership: This portrait of John Adams, and its companion picture of Abigail Adams, were given to their youngest son, Thomas Boylston Adams, at some time before Mrs. Adams's death in 1818. Both portraits passed to Miss E. C. Adams, daughter of T. B. Adams, who left them to her cousin's son, Charles Francis Adams, II, from whom they passed to his son Henry Adams. On the death of the last named they passed to his brother, John Adams, who gave them in 1956 and 1957 to the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

Exhibited: Metropolitan Museum, New York, summer of 1936.

Reproduced: George Bancroft, *History of the United States* (Boston, 1834–1875), IV. Frontispiece.

William Dunlap, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*, F. W. Bayley and Charles E. Goodspeed, Editors, (Boston 1918), III. 284.

Old-Time New England (January, 1936), XXVI. 90.

Clarence Winthrop Bowen, *The History of the Centennial Celebration of the Inauguration of Washington* . . . (New York, 1892), 18.

F. W. Bayley, *Little Known Early American Portrait Painters* ([Boston], 1918–1919), Number 2.

Works of John Adams. . . , Charles Francis Adams, Editor, (Boston, 1850–1856), II. Frontispiece. Engraved by S. A. Schoff.

Reference: Works Progress Administration, *American Portraits, 1620–1825, Found in Massachusetts* (Boston, 1939) (hereafter referred to as W. P. A., *Massachusetts Portraits*), Number 10.

Mrs. John Adams

Subject: Abigail (Smith) Adams (1744–1818), daughter of the Reverend William and Elizabeth (Quincy) Smith of Weymouth, Massachusetts.

Date: 1766.

Size: Pastel. 23 x 17½ inches.

Description: The subject's head and bust are shown three-quarters front, her right shoulder advanced, her eyes turned right toward the spectator, against a background which is shaded from dark blue on the right to light blue on the left. Her face is not exactly pretty, but is full of intelligence and vitality. She has brown eyes, and brown hair tied with a bow at the back of her neck, around which are three rows of pearl beads. She wears a blue dress with lace trim and a pale blue wrap over her left shoulder.

Ownership: See under John Adams.

Exhibited: Metropolitan Museum, New York, summer of 1936.

Reproduced: Bowen, *Centennial of Washington's Inauguration*, 18.

Daniel M. Wilson, *Where American Independence Began* (Boston and New York, 1904), 32.

Old-Time New England (January, 1936), xxvi. 91.

Century Magazine (April, 1889), xxxvii. 853.

Janet Whitney, *Abigail Adams* (Boston, 1947), Frontispiece.

Reference: W. P. A., *Massachusetts Portraits*, Number 5.

George Cabot

Subject: George Cabot of Beverly and Boston (1751/2–April 18, 1823). Merchant; member of the Provincial Congress, 1776; United States senator, 1791–1796; first Secretary of the Navy, May 3–21, 1798; president of the Hartford Convention, 1814.

Date: Signed (lower left) "B. Blyth pinxit, 1767."

Size: Pastel. 18 x 15 inches.

Description: The subject is a boy of about sixteen years whose hair is cut short above his forehead but hangs to his coat collar behind his neck. He wears a twisted white neck scarf, and a loose coat, one large button showing.

Ownership: This portrait formerly belonged to Colonel Henry Lee of Brookline, Massachusetts, from whom it passed to his daughter, Mrs. Frederic L. Shattuck, and to her son, Henry L. Shattuck, of Brookline, the present owner.

Reproduced: Justin Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston* (Boston, 1880–1881), III. 214.

L. Vernon Briggs, *History and Genealogy of the Cabot Family . . .* (Boston, 1927), I. Opposite 72.

Frick Art Reference Library, photograph Number 17185.

Reference: W. P. A., *Massachusetts Portraits*, Number 353.

Mrs. Joseph Cabot

Subject: Elizabeth Higginson (1722–1781), Salem.
Married Joseph Cabot, 1744.

Date: ?

Size: Pastel. 20 x 15 inches.

Description: Yellow-brown satin dress. White fichu trimmed with lace, white cap tied under chin. Bust, facing front. Bright blue background.

Ownership: Joseph Lee, Jr., Boston, 1939.

Reproduced: *Cabot Genealogy*, I. 58.

Photograph in the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

The W. P. A. *Massachusetts Portraits* attributes this to either Blyth or Copley, but it is not listed as Copley's either in Bayley's book or in that of Parker and Wheeler.

W. P. A., *Massachusetts Portraits*, Number 350.

The Reverend Thomas Cary

Subject: The Reverend Thomas Cary, born in Charlestown, Massachusetts, in 1745, died in Newburyport, in 1805. He was settled as minister of the First Religious Society in Newburyport in 1767, and remained there for the rest of his life. He married his first wife, a Miss Carter of Newburyport, in 1775. She died in 1779. His second wife, whom he married in 1783, was Deborah Prince of Exeter, New Hampshire. He possessed considerable property, as did each of his wives.

Date: On the right-hand upright of the stretcher to which the picture is fastened a faint inscription can be traced, reading "October [?] / 1773 / A Gift / of the / Revd / Thomas / Cary of / Newburypt / D Balch." The picture cannot have been drawn later than the summer of 1773, when the subject was about twenty-eight years old.

Size: Pastel. 22 x 17¼ inches.

Description: The subject is shown half front against a brown background, his left shoulder towards the spectator, his head turned slightly left.

He wears a white stock and black coat buttoned to the neck, over which is thrown a brown robe lined with red. He is a young man with gray eyes, a pointed nose and brown hair (no wig). The pastel is a very pleasing one, and looks like the work of Benjamin Blyth.

Ownership: First Religious Society, Newburyport, Massachusetts, but no record has been found as to when or from whom the church acquired it. It is not listed in W. P. A. *Massachusetts Portraits,* nor has it been reproduced.

Mrs. Thomas Cary

Subject: Wife of the Reverend Thomas Cary, *q.v.*, minister at Newburyport, 1767–1805. The portrait is almost certainly that of his second wife, Deborah, daughter of Captain Moses Prince, whom he married in 1783. She was born in 1744 and died in 1821.

Date: *c.* 1782.

Size: Oil on canvas. 22⅜ x 17⅛ inches.

Description: The subject is shown half front against a dark background, her right shoulder towards the spectator, her eyes turned right. She has dark brown eyes and dark hair, and wears a blue dress with white muslin fichu.

The portrait was apparently intended as a companion-piece to that of her husband, since it is approximately the same size, is similarly framed, and is so posed as to face him, after the customary manner. It is, however, painted in oil, and Mrs. Cary appears to be considerably older than her husband. This apparent difference of several years in age can be explained by noting that she had been born a year before he was, and that his portrait was drawn in 1773, whereas hers may have been painted nearly ten years later, just before her marriage. Her portrait lacks the charm of her husband's but it is possible that it may also be Blyth's work, since he painted a few pictures in oil, though they are less satisfactory than his pastels. Also, it is now in poor condition.

Ownership: First Religious Society, Newburyport, Massachusetts. No record has been found as to when or from whom the church acquired it. It is not listed in W. P. A., *Massachusetts Portraits,* and it has not been reproduced.

Captain John Collins

Subject: An inscription on the back of the portrait identifies the subject as

> Captain John Collins
> Born March 21, 1753

Married Mary Stuart Dec. 15, 1776
Died August 21, 1874 [*sic*]
By Benjamin Blyth
Salem 1746 [*sic*]

The inscription as thus cited contains two obvious errors, perhaps made by a careless copyist. If Collins was born in 1753 he would have been 121 years old in 1874; presumably the date of his death should read 1784. And certainly Blyth could not have drawn the portrait in 1746, the year of his own birth and seven years before the subject was born. Probably the correct date is 1776, about the time of Collins's marriage.

Date: 1776 ?

Size: Pastel pasted on coarse linen. 23 x 17 inches.

Description: The subject is shown against a shaded background, half front, his left shoulder advanced, his head turned left three-quarters front. He has dark hair and eyes, and wears a white stock, a blue coat with large buttons, and an embroidered white waistcoat, partly unbuttoned, into which his right hand is thrust.

Ownership: Mr. Joseph Kindig, III, York, Pennsylvania (1956). No record of earlier owners, but the pastels of Collins and his wife "came from Newburyport."

Reproduced: Frick Art Reference Library, photograph.

Mrs. John Collins

Subject: Mary Stuart, married John Collins, December 15, 1776. See note under John Collins.

Date: 1776 ?

Size: Pastel pasted on coarse linen. 23 x 17 inches.

Description: The subject is a young woman, shown against a shaded background, half front, her right shoulder advanced, her head turned right, nearly three-quarters front. She has dark hair and eyes, and a rather long nose. She wears a large white lace cap and a white dress, over which is a very light, thin fichu.

Ownership: Mr. Joseph Kindig, III, York, Pennsylvania (1956).

Reproduced: Frick Art Reference Library, photograph.

Samuel Curwen

Subject: Samuel Curwen was born in Salem, December 17, 1715; died Salem, April 10, 1802. Son of the Reverend George and Mehitable (Parkman) Curwen. Graduated from Harvard College, 1735. Prepared for ministry but afterwards engaged in mercantile pursuits. He married (1) Sarah ———, and (2) on May 24, 1750, Abigail Russell, daughter of Daniel and Rebecca (Chambers) Russell of Charlestown, Massachusetts, who died March 31, 1793, in her sixty-ninth year. Prominent Loyalist. Judge of the Admiralty at the beginning of the Revolution, and spent some time in England shortly after the war began, returning to Salem after peace was declared. After another visit to England, he returned to Salem, where he died, in greatly reduced circumstances, although he had been the recipient of a British pension. He was a man of varied pursuits, being much interested in natural history, an owner of a rich collection of coins and of a valuable general library. He habitually wore a scarlet cloak, heavy rings, and an English wig, and carried a gold-headed cane.

Date: 1772.

Size: Pastel. 22 x 17 inches.

Description: Head and shoulders, profile facing right. He wears a large grey wig, a white collar, a brown coat with metal buttons, fastened high in the neck. Dark background.

Ownership: Essex Institute, Salem. Bequest of George Rea Curwen, 1900.
Biographical Sketches of those who Attended Harvard College, Clifford K. Shipton, Editor, IX (Boston, 1956), opposite 512.

Reproduced: *Catalogue of Portraits in the Essex Institute* (1936), opposite 36.
Frick Art Reference Library, photograph.

References: *Portraits in the Essex Institute,* 38.
W. P. A., *Massachusetts Portraits,* Number 535.
Essex Institute Historical Collections (1934), 376, Number 58.
Bayley, *Little Known Early American Portrait Painters,* Number 2.
E. Alfred Jones, *The Loyalists of Massachusetts* . . . (London, 1930), Plate XV.

Sarah Curwen

Subject: Sarah Curwen was baptized in Salem, January 23, 1742, the daughter of George and Sarah (Pickman) Curwen. She died, unmarried, on February 26, 1773, at the age of thirty.

Date: Before 1772.

Size: Pastel. 22 x 17 inches.

Description: The subject's head and bosom are shown nearly full front against a dark background. She is a young woman, with a very long neck. She wears an ornament in her dark hair above her forehead and a blue low-necked dress edged with lace.

Ownership: Essex Institute, Salem. Bequest of George Rea Curwen, 1900.

Reproduced: *Portraits in the Essex Institute,* opposite 38.

References: *Portraits in the Essex Institute*, 38.
W. P. A., *Massachusetts Portraits*, Number 536.
Bayley, *Little Known Early American Portrait Painters*, Number 2.
Essex Institute Historical Collections (1934), 377.

Mrs. Nathaniel Dabney

Subject: Elizabeth Gardner (1750–1834). Married (1) Nathaniel Dabney, of Salem; (2) James Bridges, of Andover, 1787; (3) Ebenezer Stevens, of Andover, 1793.

Date: Between 1770 and 1775? The portrait is said to have been drawn while the subject was Mrs. James Bridges, between 1787 and 1793, but in the W. P. A. *Massachusetts Portraits*, Number 2043, is listed as "Stevens, Elizabeth," (*i.e.*, the wife of Ebenezer Stevens) and is attributed to Samuel Blyth. She is, however, shown as a younger woman than she was at the time of her marriage to James Bridges, when she was about thirty-seven years old, and it seems probable that the portrait was drawn about the time of her first marriage, to Nathaniel Dabney, when she was in her early twenties. Dabney was a Tory who took refuge in England and who was lost at sea on his voyage home in 1784. They had been married for a long enough period before his departure for her to have borne him at least one child. It is more logical to list her portrait as that of Mrs. Dabney rather than under the name of Bridges or Stevens.

Size: Pastel. 23 x 18 inches.

Description: She is shown three-quarters front, her head turned left. She wears a cream satin dress, over which is thrown a wrap of red silk trimmed with ermine. She has gray eyes, and brown hair in which are ornaments and a blue bow.

Ownership: Essex Institute.

Reproduced: Harrison Ellery and Charles Pickering Bowditch, *The Pickering Genealogy* . . . (Cambridge, 1897), I. 185.

Reference: W. P. A., *Massachusetts Portraits*, Number 2043, where this portrait is attributed to Samuel Blyth. The probable date and the skill shown in the drawing lead me to attribute the picture to Benjamin Blyth.
Portraits in the Essex Institute, Number 304.

Elias Hasket Derby

Subject: Elias Hasket Derby (August, 1739–September, 1799), Salem. Wealthy merchant and shipowner. Son of Captain Richard and Mary (Hodges) Derby. Married Elizabeth Crowninshield, 1761.

Date: 1775 or 1776.

Size: Pastel. 23 x 18 inches.

Description: The head and shoulders of the subject are shown, half front, his left side towards the spectator, against a brown background shaded from light to dark. He wears a snuff-colored coat, white ruffle at wrist, white stock; his brown hair brushed back and tied in a queue. He holds a quill pen and envelope in his right hand.

Ownership: Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts. Purchased, 1935.

Reproduced: Frick Art Reference Library, photograph.
Portraits of Shipmasters and Merchants in the Peabody Museum of Salem (1930), opposite 36.

References: *Essex Institute Historical Collections* (1937), 283, Number 43.
W. P. A., *Massachusetts Portraits*, Number 609.

Mrs. Elias Hasket Derby

Subject: Elizabeth Crowninshield (1734–1799), wife of Elias Hasket Derby. Married, 1761.

Date: 1775 or 1776.

Size: *c.* 25 x 20 inches.

Description: The subject is a woman in early middle age, shown nearly full front against a dark background. She has dark eyes, and brown hair brushed high over her head and decorated with a string of beads. She wears a blue dress with lace trim, beneath a pink wrap, and has a small bunch of flowers in her corsage.

Ownership: The portrait passed by inheritance to Dr. Richard Derby, of Oyster Bay, Long Island, New York, who presented it to be hung in Derby House, Salem, owned by the Salem Maritime Historic Site, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service.

Attribution: The portrait is unquestionably by Blyth.

Ezekiel Hersey Derby

Subject: Ezekiel Hersey Derby (1772–1852), son of Elias Hasket Derby.

Date: 1775 or 1776.

Size: Pastel. *c.* 25 x 20 inches.

Description: The subject is a small boy, about four years of age, shown nearly full front against a dark background. He has light brown hair, a fair complexion, and wears a blue coat with metal buttons, and ruffles at neck and wrists. In his left hand he holds a rose.

Ownership: The portrait passed by inheritance to Dr. Richard Derby, of Oyster Bay, Long Island, New York, who presented it to be hung in Derby House, Salem Maritime Historic Site, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service.

Attribution: The portrait is unquestionably by Blyth.

George Dodge

Subject: George Dodge (April 10, 1726–January 18, 1808), a rich merchant, of Beverly and Salem.

Date: The photograph in the Frick Art Reference Library gives the date of the picture as "Probably *c.* 1756." This is impossible, for Blyth was then only ten years old, and the person represented looks more like fifty than thirty years of age. The probable date is about 1770.

Size: 21¾ x 17 inches.

Description: The head and bust of the subject are shown against a dark background, half front, left shoulder advanced, head turned to left, three-quarters front. The subject has dark blue eyes and wears a full short wig, dark brown coat and waistcoat, with brass buttons, white shirt with turnover collar. The pose and manner of presentation are closely similar to that shown in the portrait of John Adams, *q.v.*

Ownership: The portrait, with its companion-piece showing Mrs. Dodge, *q.v.*, was inherited by the subject's daughter, Hannah, who married John Cabot of Beverly, Massachusetts, then by their daughter Lucy, who died unmarried and left the portraits to her brother John Cabot of Newton, Massachusetts, after whom they descended to his son George Dodge Cabot of Lawrence, Massachusetts, and then to his son George Dodge Cabot of Weehawken, New Jersey, the present owner.

Reproduced: Frick Art Reference Library, photograph Number 21463.

Mrs. George Dodge

Subject: Lydia Herrick (May 18, 1726–July 10, 1798), born in Wenham, Massachusetts. Married George Dodge, August 25, 1746.

Date: *c.* 1770?

Size: 21¾ x 17 inches.

Description: The head and bust of what appears to have been a tall, slender middle-aged woman are shown half front against a dark background, the face turned towards the spectator's right. She has brown eyes, and brown hair covered by a white cap edged with lace. Her dress is covered by a large white kerchief edged with wide lace. The costume is similar to that shown in the portrait of Mrs. David Ropes, *q.v.* The subject's face suggests an outstanding personality, with a sense of humor. This is one of Blyth's best pictures.

Ownership: George D. Cabot, of Weehawken, New Jersey. See under George Dodge.

Reproduced: Frick Art Reference Library, photograph Number 21464.

General John Fiske

John Fiske was born in Salem, and died there on September 28, 1797. Sea captain and merchant. He rendered notable service in the Revolution as commander of the Salem privateers *Tyrannicide* and *Massachusetts.* The portrait of his first wife, Lydia (Phippen) Fiske, *q.v.*, was drawn by Blyth about 1770 and is now in the Essex Institute. The only reference to a portrait of General Fiske by Blyth is in the passage from the Reverend William Bentley's *Diary* dated October 25, 1809, quoted in full on page 76, which proves that Bentley had seen the portrait a good many years earlier, but had lost all trace of it. It is not listed in W. P. A., *Massachusetts Portraits.*

Mrs. John Fiske

Subject: Lydia (Phippen) Fiske was born in Salem on January 7, 1747, the daughter of David and Priscilla (Bickford) Phippen. On June 12, 1766, she married, as his first wife, Major-General John Fiske, and died in Salem, October 13, 1782.

Date: *c.* 1770?

Size: Pastel. 20½ x 15½ inches.

Description: The subject's head and shoulders are shown against a gray background, three-quarters front, her head turned to her left. Over her brown hair she wears a lace cap with blue ribbon and pearl edging; a two-strand pearl necklace, low-necked blue dress, square cut, with narrow lace insert.

Ownership: Essex Institute, Salem, bequest of the Misses Marion C. and Elizabeth C. Allen, 1913.

Reproduced: Frick Art Reference Library, photograph.

References: *Portraits in the Essex Institute,* 58, Number 88.
W. P. A., *Massachusetts Portraits,* Number 754.
Bayley, *Little Known Early American Portrait Painters,* Number 2.

James Flagg

Subject: James, son of Hannah (Pitson) and Gershom Flagg, IV, born in Boston, October 28, 1739; died unmarried, in the West Indies, 1775.

Date: Probably between 1770 and 1775.

Size: 20¼ x 14¾ inches.

Description: The head and shoulders of the subject are shown nearly full front against a shaded brown background. He has a strong, vigorous face, ruddy complexion, brown eyes and level eyebrows, and appears to be about thirty years of age. He wears a short dark gray wig, white stock, and light brown coat and waistcoat, the upper two buttons of the latter being unfastened. A black bar, averaging about 1½ inches in width, is drawn across the bottom of the picture. The portrait is in pastel on paper, pasted on canvas, in the original frame, and is perhaps the work of Benjamin Blyth.

Ownership: The picture has descended in the family of his sister, Mrs. Josiah Wilder (Mary Flagg), to her daughter, Mary (Wilder) White, to her daughter Mary Wilder (White) Foote, to her daughter Mary Wilder (Foote) Tileston, to her grandson, Thomas N. Tileston, now living in Clinton, New York.

Reproduced: Frick Art Reference Library, photograph.

John Gibaut

Subject: John, son of Edward and Sarah (Crowninshield) Gibaut, born in Salem, 1768, died in Gloucester, Massachusetts, 1805. He was graduated from Harvard in 1786; was a sea captain and merchant for a short period; bought a farm at Gloucester, to which he moved, and was appointed collector of the port of Gloucester in 1801.

Date: *c.* 1782.

Size: Pastel. 21½ x 14¾ inches.

Description: The subject is a boy about fourteen years of age, shown from the waist up against a dark gray background, three-quarters front. He wears a black stock and a bluish-green coat and waistcoat with ornamental buttons. His right arm holds a book against his side, his right hand being thrust into his waistcoat.

Ownership: The Essex Institute, Salem, the gift of Benjamin Barstow, 1891.

Attribution: *Portraits in the Essex Institute*, 72, and *Essex Institute Historical Collections* (1935), 142, Number 109, attribute this picture to an "unknown artist," but W. P. A., *Massachusetts Portraits*, Number 859, attributes it to Benjamin Blyth.

Bayley, *Little Known Early American Portrait Painters*, Number 2.

Dr. Ezekiel Hersey

Subject: Ezekiel Hersey, born in Hingham, Massachusetts, 1709; Harvard A.B. 1728; married, 1738; died in Hingham, 1770. He was a prosperous physician who bequeathed "£1000 to the President and Fellows of Harvard College, the interest thereof to be by them appropriated towards the support of a Professor of Anatomy and Physics, and for that use only." This bequest was considerably increased by later gifts and bequests from Hersey's brother and widow, and stimulated the organization of a Faculty of Medicine at Harvard in 1783.

Date: Since Hersey is shown as an old man the portrait must have been painted not long before his death in 1770.

Size: Oil on canvas. 26 5/16 x 20⅝ inches.

Description: The subject is shown against a dark background, sitting in a high-backed chair, three-quarters front, his left shoulder towards the spectator, his head turned left almost full front. He has brown eyes, thin lips, and a prominent hooked nose. While not well painted the face gives the impression of being a good likeness of a shrewd, but kindly, old man. He wears a gray wig, a crimson coat buttoned to the neck, with broad turned-back cuffs and narrow collar, and a white neckband. His left elbow rests upon the arm of his chair, his fore-arm across his body, the very poorly painted hand holding a small round covered box, presumably one he used for pills or other medicines.

On the back of the portrait is an inscription recording the family line down which the portrait passed to Harold C. Ernst, who bequeathed it to the Harvard Medical School, where it now hangs.

References: *Catalogue of Harvard Portraits* (1936), Number 70.
W. P. A., *Massachusetts Portraits,* Number 1022.

Reproduced: *Sibley's Harvard Graduates,* VIII. Opposite 432.

Attribution: In both of the above references the portrait is attributed to Benjamin Blyth, but with a question mark. It certainly is not Copley's, and I know of no painter in this vicinity about 1770 other than Blyth who could have painted as good a likeness. Yet it does not much resemble Blyth's crayon drawings, and he painted so few portraits in oil that comparisons are difficult. Furthermore Hersey and Blyth did not live near each other, and either Blyth must have travelled to Hingham to paint the picture, or the two men must have met in Boston. Therefore, while the portrait may be Blyth's work, we have no definite assurance that such is the case.

Dr. Edward Augustus Holyoke

Subject: Edward Augustus Holyoke, born 1728, died 1829. See p. 11.

Date: 1771.

Size: Pastel. *c.* 15 x 12 inches.

Ownership: Miss Elizabeth Stuart Osgood, Salem, Massachusetts.

References: *The Holyoke Diaries,* 75.
Catalogue, Worcester Art Museum, *Exhibition of New England Painting, 1700–1775* (1943), 46.

Bayley, *Little Known Early American Portrait Painters*, Number 2.
Reproduced: *The Holyoke Diaries*, opposite 31.
Frick Art Reference Library, photograph.

Mrs. Edward Augustus Holyoke

Subject: Mary, daughter of Nathaniel and Mary (Simpson) Vial of Boston, born at Boston, 1737, died at Salem, April 15, 1802. She was the second wife of Dr. Holyoke of Salem, whom she married on November 22, 1759. She was painted by Badger at about the age sixteen. See Lawrence Park, *Joseph Badger* . . . (Boston, 1918).
Date: 1771.
Size: Pastel. 14½ x 11¾ inches.
Description: The head and shoulders of the subject are shown nearly full front against a plain background. She has brown eyes, and dark brown hair, a curl of which falls on her left shoulder, and she wears a blue dress. A very good example of Blyth's work.
Ownership: The portrait passed by descent into the Nichols family and is now owned by Miss Mary Eliot Nichols, Hathorne (Danvers), Massachusetts.
References: *The Holyoke Diaries*, 76.
W. P. A., *Massachusetts Portraits*, Number 1073.
Bayley, *Little Known Early American Portrait Painters*, Number 2.
Reproduced: *The Holyoke Diaries*, opposite 77.
Frick Art Reference Library, photograph.

William A. Homans

Subject: William A. Homans (1749–1839) of Beverly, Massachusetts. He was a major in the Revolutionary army, and later a merchant.
Date: *c.* 1780.
Size: Pastel. 20 x 14 inches.
Description: The head and bust of the subject are shown against a dark background, three-quarters front, his left shoulder advanced, his head slightly turned nearly full front. He wears a wig, a white stock with lace-trimmed jabot and lace cuffs, and a dark blue coat into the opening of which his right hand is thrust.
Ownership: The portrait, with its companion-picture representing Mrs. Homans and child, passed to the subject's granddaughter, who left it to the Beverly Historical Society in 1935.
References: W. P. A., *Massachusetts Portraits*, Number 1077, where it is attributed to Benjamin Blyth.
Frick Art Reference Library, photograph.

Mrs. William A. Homans, and child Phoebe

Subject:	Relief Brown (1755–1842), wife of William A. Homans, of Beverly, and their child Phoebe (born 1779).
Date:	*c.* 1780.
Size:	Pastel. 20 x 14 inches.
Description:	Mrs. Homans is shown nearly full front, holding her child of about a year old upright in her arms. The mother has a flower in her high-brushed dark hair, two dark cords about her neck, and she wears a purple low-cut gown with ruffles. The child wears a white dress on which flowers are embroidered.
Ownership:	The portrait, with its companion-piece, was left to the Beverly Historical Society in 1935 by the subject's granddaughter.
References:	W. P. A., *Massachusetts Portraits,* Number 1076, where it is attributed to Benjamin Blyth. Frick Art Reference Library, photograph.

Dr. Joseph Lemmon

Augustus Thorndike Perkins, in his *Copley* (Cambridge, 1873), lists as Copley's a portrait representing Joseph Lemmon, who "was an eminent physician, a graduate of Harvard College in 1735," but adds, "The whereabouts of this picture is unknown." F. W. Bayley, *Life and Works of John Singleton Copley* (Boston, 1915), 163, merely repeats this statement verbatim (without acknowledgement to Perkins). Parker and Wheeler, *John Singleton Copley,* 258, do not attribute the portrait to Copley but say, "Perkins, *Copley,* 1873, p. 81, unlocated in 1873. From a photograph at the Frick Art Reference Library we attribute this pastel to Benjamin Blythe."

The photograph (Number 16973) at the Frick Library comes from an unidentified source and the accompanying information only states that "Lemmon m. (1) ——— Swett, (2) ——— Gookin." His first wife was Hannah Swett, whom he married in 1742; his second wife was Jane Goodwin; his third was Elizabeth (Gookin) Skinner, whom he married in 1765. The location of the portrait is, therefore, still unknown. The photograph, however, shows what appears to be an excellent example of Blyth's work; it is reproduced in *Sibley's Harvard Graduates,* IX. Opposite 550. The subject's head and shoulders are shown half-front, facing the spectator's left. He wears a large white wig, white neckband, and a dark waistcoat, buttoned to his neck, beneath a lighter-colored coat.

Thomas Mason

Subject:	The portrait is supposed to represent a man named Thomas Mason, for whom no dates are given. Possibly he was the Thomas Mason

listed in W. P. A., *Massachusetts Portraits*, Number 1408, as having been born in 1750, but with no other information.

Size: 20½ x 16½ inches.

Date: ?

Description: The subject is a young man, shown head and shoulders against a brown background, his head turned three-quarters to his left, eyes front. He has light brown eyes and a fair complexion and wears a short wig, a light-blue coat, a braided waistcoat, and white stock.

Ownership: The Essex Institute, Salem.

References: *Portraits in the Essex Institute*, 128.
Essex Institute Historical Collections (1935), 266, Number 190. There is no information as to its source before it was given to the Institute in 1890, and it is listed in the *Catalogue* as by an unknown artist, but on page 270 it is attributed to Blyth.

Samuel McIntire

Subject: Samuel McIntire of Salem (1757–1811) married Elizabeth Field on October 31, 1778. He was famous as the architect of many fine houses in Salem and elsewhere.

Date: Since he is shown as a young man, perhaps not more than twenty-five years old, the picture may have been drawn in 1782, or possibly a little earlier.

Size: Pastel. 14⅛ x 9¾ inches.

Description: He has a rather florid complexion and blue eyes. His hair is tied in a queue with a black ribbon and he wears a white neckband and a blue coat and waistcoat.

Ownership: The portrait was bequeathed to the Essex Institute in Salem in 1938 by George W. Low, McIntire's great-grandson. It is the only known picture of Samuel McIntire.

Reproduced: *Essex Institute Historical Collections* (1938), LXXIV. 361–362.
Frick Art Reference Library, photograph Number 17094.

Reference: W. P. A., *Massachusetts Portraits*, Number 1366.

Thomas Melvill

Subject: Thomas Melvill (January 16, 1751–September 16, 1832), of Boston, son of a prosperous merchant. Thomas was graduated from Princeton in 1769, having been intended for the Presbyterian ministry; but he turned to business instead. He visited Scotland, whence his father had come, about 1772, but he returned to Boston in time to take part in the Boston Tea Party on December 16, 1773. He married Priscilla Scollay; was a major in the

Continental Army; held a position corresponding to that of collector of the port of Boston; and was a "fire-ward" with command of the volunteer fire companies of the time. He is said to have been the last man in Boston to wear the cocked hat and knee breeches of his early days, and to have been the subject of O. W. Holmes's poem, "The Last Leaf." He was the grandfather of Herman Melville, author of *Moby Dick.* In the volume entitled *Tea Leaves, being a Collection of Letters and Documents relating to the Shipment of Tea to the American Colonies in the Year 1773,* edited by Francis S. Drake (Boston, 1883), there is a brief biography of him (cxxix–cxxxv), and a small engraved reproduction of an oil painting then owned by his granddaughter, Mrs. Samuel Downer, of Dorchester, which shows him as a very old man, with white hair falling to his neck, and wearing a white neck-cloth, a high-cut waistcoat and coat with the broad collar of the opening decades of the nineteenth century.

Date: The pastel portrait of Melvill, now owned by the Bostonian Society, in the Old State House, Boston, shows him as a young man, still in his twenties; but since he is in civilian dress it presumably is to be dated later than the period of his brief service in the Revolutionary Army, perhaps as late as 1780.

Size: 23¾ x 17¾ inches.

Description: The subject is shown half front, his right shoulder towards the spectator, his head turned three-quarters front, against a shaded background. He wears a small white wig ending in a queue, tied with a black bow at the back of his neck. His shirt is open at the neck, and over it is thrown a green robe with pink lining, which is rather vaguely drawn and is now water-stained. He has a fair complexion and light brown eyes.

Ownership: The Bostonian Society, Old State House, Boston, Massachusetts. No record has been found as to when or from whom it was acquired.

Attribution: At the Bostonian Society and in the W. P. A., *Massachusetts Portraits,* Number 1429, the pastel is attributed to Copley. It is not, however, listed as his in any book about Copley, and, since Copley left Boston for Europe in June, 1774, only six months after Melvill's return from Scotland, and since Copley's father-in-law, Richard Clarke, was one of the merchants to whom the tea which was destroyed at the Boston Tea Party was consigned, it is most improbable that Copley would have drawn Melvill's picture. The probable date of the picture comes within the period of Benjamin Blyth's activity, but the portrait does not much resemble his other work. I hesitate to assign it to Blyth, though I am at a loss to suggest any other artist.

William Messervy

Subject: William Messervy (*c.* 1780–August 11, 1852) son of William and Hannah Messervy, of Salem, Massachusetts, was a sea captain. He was a member of the Salem Marine Society and of the East India Marine Society of Salem.

Date: *c.* 1782.

Size: Pastel. 15½ x 11 inches.

Description: The subject is shown from the waist up, nearly full front, as a small child in a blue dress, holding a rattle in his left hand.

Ownership: The portrait passed by descent to George P. Messervy, who gave it in 1904 to the Essex Institute in Salem.

References: *Portraits in the Essex Institute*, 129, where it is attributed to an "unknown artist," but it appears to be the work of Benjamin Blyth.
Essex Institute Historical Collections (1937), 386, Number 81.
W. P. A., *Massachusetts Portraits*, Number 1435.

Benjamin Moses

Subject: Benjamin Moses (1737–1803) married Sarah Carroll in 1761. He was sailing master on Salem privateers during the Revolution, and later a sea captain.

Date: Signed and dated "B. Blyth pinxit, 1781."

Size: Oil on canvas. 37 x 27 inches.

Description: The subject is shown half length, three-quarters front, standing with his right shoulder towards the spectator, his head turned nearly full front. He wears a white stock, frilled shirt-front and cuffs, a blue coat with metal buttons, and a braided red waistcoat. His right hand rests upon his hip, his left hand is thrust into his open waistcoat. A seascape is shown through a window on the right, with a square-rigged vessel in the distance.

Ownership: Essex Institute, Salem, purchased in 1931 from Miss Alice R. Meek, with companion-portrait of his wife and child.

Reproduced: Frick Art Reference Library, photograph.

References: *Essex Institute Historical Collections* (1937), 80, Number 382.
W. P. A., *Massachusetts Portraits*, Number 2563.

Mrs. Benjamin Moses and Child

Subject: Sarah Carroll, wife of Benjamin Moses, and daughter Rebecca.

Date: Signed and dated on the right side of the portrait, one-third from bottom, "B. Blyth, Pinxit 1781."

Size: Oil on canvas. 37 x 27 inches.

Description: The subject is shown seated, against a dark background, half front, her left shoulder towards the spectator, her face turned three-quarters to her left. Her brown hair is brushed back and covered with a lace headdress held by a pink band. She wears a coral (?) necklace, and a black embroidered dress with lace at her elbow-length sleeves. She holds, nearly full front, a child who has dark hair, wears a coral (?) necklace, a figured white dress with pink sash, and holds a rattle in her right hand. The picture has been repainted to some extent, especially the face and upper part of dress.

Ownership: Essex Institute, Salem, purchased 1931 with companion-portrait of her husband.

Reproduced: Frick Art Reference Library, photograph.

References: *Essex Institute Historical Collections* (1937), 80, Number 383.
W. P. A., *Massachusetts Portraits*, Number 2564.

Azor Orne

Subject: Azor Orne, baptized in Salem, July 21, 1731, died in Boston, June 6, 1796. He was a wealthy merchant in Salem; a delegate to the Federal Constitutional Convention, 1787.

Date: *c.* 1770?

Size: Pastel. 20½ x 17 inches.

Description: The head and shoulders of the subject are shown against a dark background half front, the face turned to the left, three-quarters front. He wears a white neckband above a black stock, a brown coat with gold braid, and a full white wig. In the nineteenth century the picture was framed in an oval.

Ownership: Miss Mary F. Boles, Marblehead, Massachusetts.

Attribution: In the catalogue, *Loan Exhibition of Early Marblehead and New England Portraits, Marblehead Art Association, July 24–31, 1924,* the portraits of Azor Orne and his wife were attributed to Copley. Mrs. Haven Parker, in a memorandum attached to a photograph of the portrait of Azor Orne in the Frick Art Reference Library wrote, "In my opinion, these two pastels of Mr. and Mrs. Orne are not by Copley. They appear from the photographs to be very like the pastels of Benjamin Blyth, who did many pastels in Salem at the end of the 18th century." On seeing the portraits in 1954 she was confirmed in the opinion that the portrait of Azor Orne was a drawing by Blyth but considered the portrait of his wife to be a nineteenth-century copy of Blyth's original drawing.

Reproduced: *Essex Institute Historical Collections* (Salem, 1924), LX. Opposite 219.
Frick Art Reference Library.
Not listed in W. P. A., *Massachusetts Portraits.*

Mrs. Azor Orne

Subject: Mary Colman, baptized January 11, 1729/30; married Azor Orne January 27, 1754.

Date: *c.* 1770?

Size: Pastel. 20 x 16 inches.

Description: The subject is a middle-aged woman whose head and shoulders are shown against a gray background, nearly full front, the head turned slightly to the spectator's right. She wears a white cap tied with a bow above her brown hair; a black ribbon around her neck, and a large white kerchief folded across her breast. Her costume closely resembles that shown in the portrait of Mrs. George Dodge.

Ownership: Miss Mary F. Boles, Marblehead, Massachusetts.

Attribution: The original of this portrait was undoubtedly the work of Blyth, but the existing picture appears to be a nineteenth-century copy of the original, which perhaps had been badly damaged. See, also, under Azor Orne.

Reproduced: Frick Art Reference Library, photograph.
Not listed in W. P. A., *Massachusetts Portraits*.

Colonel James Otis

Subject: Colonel James Otis (1702–1778). Judge of Probate Court, Barnstable County, 1763; Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, 1764–1776.

Date: Before 1778.

Size: Pastel. 19 x 15 inches.

Description: This portrait, which was described in *A Catalogue of the Paintings Belonging to the Massachusetts Historical Society* [Boston, 1888], page 7, as "nearly obliterated," has disappeared, and cannot be found in the Society, to which it had been given.

Reference: W. P. A., *Massachusetts Portraits*, Number 1566.

David Ropes

Subject: David Ropes (1739–1793), died in Salem. Merchant.

Date: ?

Size: 25 x 19½ inches.

Description: The subject is shown three-quarters front, his right shoulder towards the spectator, his eyes turned towards his left, against a gray background. He wears a gray coat edged with black braid; a red waistcoat with gilt buttons, partly unbuttoned; a black, three-cornered hat; and white neckband with a black scarf. He has reddish-brown hair.

Ownership: Essex Institute, Salem.

References: Bayley, *Little Known Early American Portrait Painters,* Number 2.
Portraits in the Essex Institute, 186–187, and *Essex Institute Historical Collections* (1936), 144, Number 262, where it is attributed to an "unknown artist," but it appears to be the work of Benjamin Blyth.
W. P. A., *Massachusetts Portraits,* Number 1836.

Mrs. David Ropes

Subject: Priscilla Webb (1741–1831), Salem. Married, in 1760, David Ropes.

Date: ?

Size: 25 x 19 inches.

Description: The subject is shown half front, her right shoulder towards the spectator, her head turned right nearly full front, against a dark background. She is a pleasing person with light-brown hair and gray eyes. She wears a light-gray brocade dress with a white lawn fichu over her shoulders and folded across her bosom, and on her head is a white frilled cap tied under her chin.

Ownership: Essex Institute, Salem.

Reproduced: Frick Art Reference Library, photograph.

References: W. P. A., *Massachusetts Portraits,* Number 1838.
Portraits in the Essex Institute, 193, where it is attributed to an "unknown artist," but it appears to be the work of Benjamin Blyth.
Essex Institute Historical Collections (1936), 151, Number 271.
Bayley, *Little Known American Portrait Painters,* Number 2.

Jonathan Simpson

Subject: Jonathan, son of Jonathan and Wait (Clap) Simpson, of Charlestown, Massachusetts; baptized at Charlestown, March 1, 1685; married (1) April 10, 1707, Mary, daughter of Thomas and Mary Baker of Boston; (2) Esther Wheeler. A prominent shopkeeper in Boston; deacon of Old South Church. Died in Boston, February 18, 1763. He was grandfather of Mary Vial who married Dr. Edward Augustus Holyoke of Salem as his second wife, *q.v.,* and this portrait has come down with hers to the present owner. Joseph Blackburn painted a picture of him in 1757; see Lawrence Park, . . . *Joseph Blackburn* . . . (Worcester, 1923), 48.

Date: Before February, 1763.

Size: Pastel. 19 x 16¼ inches.

Description: The head and shoulders of the subject are shown against a brown background, nearly full front, a heavily-built old man with a round, ruddy face. He wears a full white wig, white neckband and a brown coat and waistcoat.

Ownership: The portrait passed by descent to the Nichols family. Now (1957) owned by Miss Mary Eliot Nichols, Hathorne, Danvers, Massachusetts.

Attribution: The question of the artist to whom this portrait should be attributed is a puzzling one. Since the subject died on February 18, 1763, the picture must have been drawn before that date. Blyth was then only 16 years old and no other drawings by him at so early a date have been found. If it is his work his skill developed when he was very young, for the picture is a creditable, though not a distinguished representation of the subject. On the other hand, it is difficult to name any other pastellist who could have drawn it in 1762, or about that time. It can hardly be the work of Copley and has never been attributed to him; it is too early to be by John Johnston; and it is not listed in W. P. A., *Massachusetts Portraits,* though two other portraits of Jonathan Simpson are there listed. Without further information I can only say that it is just possible that it may be one of Blyth's earliest drawings, if at an early age he came to Boston to learn the art of portraiture by observing Copley's work.

Reproduced: *The Holyoke Diaries,* opposite 95.

Elizabeth Stafford

Subject: An inscription on the back of the portrait identifies her as "Elizabeth Stafford, sister of Joshua Stafford of Salem, Massachusetts. She married Harry White, Jr., November 27, 1803."

Date: *c.* 1781?

Size: *c.* 14 x 10 inches.

Description: The subject is a child, perhaps one and one-half years old, shown full front, seated on a blue couch, against a shaded background. She has brown hair, wears a white dress and holds a rattle in her right hand. The portrait is in poor condition, and not well drawn.

Ownership: Essex Institute, Salem, gift of Miss Maude Webber, Danvers, 1941.

Attribution: If the subject was born as early as 1780 the portrait may be the work of Benjamin Blyth; if she was born at a later date it may be the work of his brother Samuel.

Major-General John Thomas

Subject: John Thomas, born November 9, 1724, at Marshfield, Massachusetts, died at Chambly, Quebec, June 2, 1776. See pages 12-13.

Date: Early in 1775.

Size: Pastel. 25 x 20 inches.

Description: The subject is shown nearly full front, wearing a short wig, white stock, gray coat and waistcoat.

Ownership: The portrait passed to his son, Colonel John Thomas, of Kingston; to his son, John Thomas, of Irvington, New York; to his daughter, Eunice B. (Thomas) Williams, of Yonkers, New York; and to her daughters, the Misses Sarah and Joanna Williams, who gave it, in 1923, to the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

References: Bayley, *Little Known Early American Portrait Painters,* Number 2. W. P. A., *Massachusetts Portraits,* Number 2130.

Reproduced: Lithograph by Forest, in the Old State House, Boston.

Copies: Mr. Milton Halsey Thomas, of Princeton, New Jersey, owns a copy in oils, painted in 1934 by Michael de Santis.

Benjamin West

Subject: Benjamin, son of Samuel West, Jr., and Mary (Massey) West, baptized in Salem, February 14, 1730/1; killed at Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775. On the back of the portrait is a very faintly scratched inscription reading,

The Gentleman
The Patriot
The Soldier
The Hero

He was a cousin of Benjamin Blyth, their mothers having been sisters, and of Samuel Blyth, the heraldic painter, who drew a West coat of arms, still owned by descendants.

Date: 1774 or early 1775.

Size: Pastel, pasted on a board. 25 x 16 inches.

Description: The head and shoulders of the subject are shown against a dark background, three-quarters front, his left shoulder advanced, his head turned nearly full front. He wears a white neckband and the blue and buff Continental uniform, with a black cocked hat above a short wig. Unfortunately, the drawing is in a very dilapidated condition through lack of care, but what must have been a pleasing likeness can still be traced.

Ownership: The portrait descended to a Mrs. Sarah C. Batchellor, who spent her last years in the Deaconess Home for Aged Women, in Concord, Massachusetts, and who gave it to the Essex Institute, Salem, in 1920.

Copies: In the eighteen-eighties three copies were made, one of which was given to the Essex Institute by Caleb Foote, of Salem, in 1889. It is Number 350.

References: *Portraits in the Essex Institute*, 245–246, where the original pastel (Number 349) is "said to be by himself." That it was a self-portrait was a mistaken family tradition, formed by persons who had forgotten Blyth and his relationship to West. There is no evidence that Benjamin West ever drew any pictures, and this portrait can with assurance be attributed to his cousin, Benjamin Blyth.
Essex Institute Historical Collections (1937), 65, Number 350.
W. P. A., *Massachusetts Portraits*, Number 2407.

Joseph White

Subject: Joseph White (1748–1830). A sea captain, and later a merchant of Salem.

Date: Early 1770's.

Size: Pastel. 21 x 16 inches.

Description: The subject is shown half length, three-quarters front, against a gray-blue background. He has dark hair brushed over his forehead, and wears a blue coat and waistcoat, with a white stock.

Ownership: Essex Institute, Salem, the gift of Benjamin Barstow in 1891.

Reproduced: Frick Art Reference Library, photograph.

References: *Portraits in the Essex Institute*, 255–256.
Essex Institute Historical Collections (1937), 74, Number 364.
W. P. A., *Massachusetts Portraits*, Number 2441.
Bayley, *Little Known American Portrait Painters*, Number 2.

Mrs. Joseph White

Subject: Elizabeth, daughter of Benjamin and Elizabeth Stone (March 15, 1748/9–August 13, 1822); married Joseph White, October 18, 1770.

Date: Probably about 1770, or soon thereafter.

Size: Pastel. 21 x 16 inches.

Description: The subject's dark hair, in which is a jewelled ornament, is brushed back from her forehead. She wears a rose-salmon dress, cut low and trimmed with lace, and has a black velvet ribbon about her neck.

Ownership: Essex Institute, Salem, the gift of Benjamin Barstow in 1891.
Reproduced: Frick Art Reference Library, photograph.
References: *Portraits in the Essex Institute,* 255–256.
Essex Institute Historical Collections (1937), 74, Number 363.
W. P. A., *Massachusetts Portraits,* Number 2439.
Bayley, *Little Known Early American Portrait Painters,* Number 2.

The Reverend George Whitefield

Subject: The Reverend George Whitefield (December 27, 1714–September 30, 1770). He was born at Gloucester, England, and died at Newburyport, Massachusetts. A famous evangelist, who made four visits to the American colonies, on the last of which he died suddenly.

Date: 1770.

Size: 45¾ x 33⅝ inches.

Description: See pages 71–72.

The portrait, painted in oils, is unquestionably based on the picture painted in England by Nathaniel Hone (1718–1784), probably not later than about 1760. It had been reproduced in a small engraving, copies of which must have reached New England. The painting now in the Congregational Library, Boston, carefully copies this engraving in every detail of pose, costume, and accessories, except that the pointed window in the background of the engraving is no longer discernible, and that Whitefield's face, which, in the engraving, is plump and rather pudgy, looks thinner, older, and has more animation in the portrait.

It would seem probable that Blyth, called upon for a portrait of Whitefield, found it easier to use the well-known engraving in the manner indicated, but that he modified the face to give a better idea of the man as he appeared in his last days here. Blyth could easily have seen him, either in the pulpit or at a private sitting, and might have painted the portrait either just before or just after Whitefield's death.

Ownership: The Congregational Library, 14 Beacon Street, Boston.

In the *Bulletin* of the American Congregational Association for May, 1953, 17–19, there is a quotation from the Annual Report of the association for 1891, as follows:

> An original painting of Whitefield, which was taken when he visited this country, and which has hung ever since on the walls of the Chipman mansion in Beverly [Massachusetts], has been bequeathed to the Congregational Library by Miss Eliza M. Chipman. It is apparently the original of the engraving which we already possessed.

This last sentence is obviously a mistake, the more glaring because "the engraving which we already possessed" was an earlier one than that of Hone's portrait, the legend on the engraving reading,

G. Beard Pinx. I. Faber fecit
Sold by James Fulton at the Bible & Sun
next to the Rose Tavern without Temple Bar.

The portrait was badly blistered by fire about 1910, and was then placed in storage from which it was not removed until 1953, when its importance was recognized and it was skilfully restored to approximately its original condition.

Unknown Woman

Subject: An unidentified young woman.

Date: ?

Size: Small pastel, pasted on a board. 10½ x 8½ inches.

Description: The subject appears to be about twenty years old, and is shown against a dark background, half front, her right shoulder advanced, her head turned to her right, three-quarters front. Her hair is brushed high on her head, and is decorated with a spray of small flowers. She has dark blue eyes, a fair complexion, and a very long neck around which a black ribbon is tied. She wears a blue dress, cut low, and a wrap lined with pink shows over her left shoulder. In pose and coloring the picture closely resembles Blyth's larger and finer portrait of Sarah Curwen, but it is now in poor condition and badly spotted.

Ownership: Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts. On the back of the picture is an inscription reading, "Gift of Henry F. Waters, July 12, 1876. Painted by Samuel Blyth, Southward Coll." This attribution to Samuel Blyth is clearly a mistake; it is the work of Benjamin Blyth.

Reproduced: Frick Art Reference Library, photograph.

References: W. P. A., *Massachusetts Portraits*, Number 2565.
Essex Institute Historical Collections (1937), 81, Number 388.
Portraits in the Essex Institute, 262, where it is attributed to Benjamin Blyth.

ENGRAVINGS INSCRIBED WITH THE NAME OF BENJAMIN BLYTH

(1) An allegorical composition entitled,

Sacred to Liberty or an Emblem of ye
Rising Glory of ye American State,
Coles del. *Blyth Fecit.*

A tree on the seashore supports a heart-shaped escutcheon with thirteen stars; one of two genii depicted holds an inverted British flag and uplifts the striped flag of the "American State." Date *c.* 1781?

See: David M. Stauffer, *American Engravers upon Copper and Steel* (New York, 1907), I. 23–24.

Old-Time New England, XXI, Number 1 (July, 1930), 132.

(2) *General George Washington.*

Charles Willson Peale painted portraits of George and Martha Washington late in 1775, on order from John Hancock, of Boston. Benjamin Blyth copied Peale's portraits late in 1781, from which copies John Norman made engravings which were published by John Coles in 1782. See page 75. That of George Washington shows him nearly full front, in Continental uniform, without a wig, within an oval, beneath which are weapons of war and an oblong tablet with the words

Temperance
Prudence
Fortitude
Justice

and the inscription below reads,

His Excellency George Washington, Esqr
General and Commander in Chief of the Allied Armies,
Supporting the Independence of America.
Taken from an Original Picture in possession of his
Excellency Governour Hancock.
B. Blyth del J. Norman Sculp.
Published by John Coles, Boston, March 26, 1782.

This engraving is very poorly done, and is now rare. It is not listed in W. P. A., *Massachusetts Portraits.*

(3) *Martha Washington.*

Engraving by John Norman from Blyth's copy of C. W. Peale's portrait of Martha Washington, then owned by John Hancock.

I have not seen this engraving, which is very rare, but W. P. A., *Massachusetts Portraits*, lists (Number 2357) a copy owned in Boston in 1904, at which time it was described in *A Descriptive Catalogue of an Exhibition of Early Engraving in America* (December 12, 1904–February 10, 1905), published by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, as follows:

No. 387. Mrs. Washington. After C. W. Peale.
Bust, slightly to right. Oval, framed, resting
on a base, within ornamental rectangle. Below:
B. Blyth del J. Norman Sculp.
Mrs. Washington.
Published by John Coles, Boston, March 26th, 1782.

Appendix B

Selected Bibliographical or Other References to Benjamin Blyth or to Samuel Blyth

Bayley, F. W., *Little Known Early American Portrait Painters*, Number 2 ([Boston], 1917). Lists 16 portraits.

Bolton, Theodore, *Early American Portrait Draughtsmen in Crayons* (New York, 1923). Lists 13 portraits.

Bowditch, Harold, "Early Water-Color Paintings of New England Coats of of Arms," Colonial Society of Massachusetts, *Transactions, 1942–1946* (Boston, 1951), xxxv. 172–210.

Dunlap, William, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States* (New York, 1834), does not mention either Blyth, but in the revised edition of 1918, by F. W. Bayley and Charles E. Goodspeed, the editors included in their Addenda (iii. 283) a notice of him, running to twelve lines and naming five portraits by him, and reproduced the portrait of John Adams "from an engraving."

Essex Institute Historical Collections, lxxix. 370.

Frick Art Reference Library, 10 East 71st Street, New York City.

Fielding, Mantle, *Dictionary of American Painters, Sculptors and Engravers* (Philadelphia, 1926), 32–33. Lists "Sacred to Liberty" and the portraits of George and Martha Washington.

Stauffer, David M., *American Engravers upon Copper and Steel* (New York, 1907), i. 23–24. Lists engraving entitled "Sacred to Liberty" and the portraits of George and Martha Washington.

Thieme, Ulrich, and Becker, Felix, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler* . . . (Leipzig, 1910), iv. 10–11. Lists only the engraving, "Sacred to Liberty."

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Early Industry of the Neponset and the Charles

EDWARD PIERCE HAMILTON*

THE purpose of this paper is twofold: first, to attempt to examine the state of industry existing around Boston at the start of the Industrial Revolution; and second, to attempt to learn of what the little shops and mills consisted. Industry can be defined as a business which employs both capital and labor and is a distinct branch of trade. For the purposes of this study I have made the additional requirement that it employ power in its operation. The Industrial Revolution resulted from the replacement of hand labor by power-driven machinery, and it accordingly is entirely reasonable to assume that these industries upon which the start of this revolution was to be based must have required power in their operation.

The first Massachusetts textile mill at Beverly used a horse treadmill, but it was not a successful venture. Power in the modern sense was furnished during this period only by water. While it is true that Maryland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries supported a large manufacture of flour for export through the use of a very considerable number of windmills, in New England the windmill was utilized, with minor exceptions such as saltmaking, only for part-time grinding of local grain and that only in districts where water power was either scarce or absent. Timothy Dwight in his *Travels* reported a woolen mill driven by a thirty-horsepower steam engine in 1810, but this was very much the exception. The New England mill, practically speaking, was always driven by water power during the period we are considering.

It is a little difficult to state just when the Industrial Revolution started in America. One might well say in the year 1807, for by that date Eli Whitney was making firearms by machinery to such rigid standards that the parts of one gun were interchangeable with those of another. By 1815 the Boston Manufacturing Company at Waltham was making cotton cloth by power and the entire operation, which included the power loom, took place within a single establishment. This was a long step beyond Slater's spinning mill of 1790, which, while it may have been the herald of the approach of the Industrial Revolution, certainly did not introduce it. I have taken the year 1812 as the end of the period to be considered since it is near enough to the initiation of the Waltham enterprise, and particularly because of the War of 1812 which drew, at least partly, a curtain between this country and Europe and greatly accelerated the development of local industry.

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* This paper was read at the May, 1954, meeting.

The Neponset and the Charles Rivers offered excellent opportunities for water power in the immediate vicinity of the early settlements, and within four years of the founding of Boston we find a gristmill on each of these rivers. Both streams were large enough to furnish ample power for the little mills, yet neither was so large that it was difficult to tame. The Merrimack had to wait until the Industrial Revolution made it practical to spend the great sums necessary to dam and develop it, but a petty capitalist could succeed in putting the smaller rivers to work. The approach to the first part of this study, then, was to attempt to prepare a census of all the power developments on the Neponset and on the Charles and to see what, if anything, we could learn from it. All of the towns through which these rivers flow possess local histories, and there are county histories, which, although of an unfortunate period and dubious motivation, contain a very considerable amount of mill information. These local histories were far from the sole source of material, but they were the most fruitful.[1] History on the whole has paid little attention to the place of the local mill in our industrial development.

For every power site on the two rivers (at one time or another there were twenty-two separate dams) a chronological table was constructed of all the mills known to have existed there and the period of their existence recorded. By arranging these records in a tabular form on a common time scale, it became possible, figuratively speaking, to run up the river from mouth to source at any desired date from 1634 to the late 1800's and to know just what mill or mills then existed at each mill privilege.[2] For the purposes of this paper, dates between 1650 and 1812 were selected, and the accompanying tables present the census for each period for each of the two rivers and for both combined:

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[1] The general state of early industry is quite well covered by J. Leander Bishop, *A History of American Manufactures from 1608–1860* (Philadelphia, 1861) and Victor Clark, *History of Manufactures in the United States,* 2 vols. (Washington, 1916–28), while Albert Gallatin, *Report . . . on . . . American Manufactures* (Boston, 1810) and Tench Coxe, *A View of the United States of America* (Philadelphia, 1794) furnish additional data of interest. Timothy Dwight, *Travels; in New-England and New-York,* 4 vols. (New Haven, 1821–22) contains some interesting material on the subject of early industries. Clifford K. Shipton in his life of Peter Oliver in *Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College in the Classes 1726–1730* (Boston, 1951), pp. 737–763, gives some valuable information on the Middleborough mills, further amplified by an advertisement in the *Independent Chronicle,* March 16, 1780. There were many other sources which I shall not take space to itemize.

TABLE I

CENSUS OF MANUFACTURES

NEPONSET RIVER

	1650	1675	1700	1725	1750	1775	1800	1812
Grist	2	2	2	4	3	2	5	4
Saw			1	1	2	2	3	2
Fulling			2	4	2	3	1	1
	2	2	5	9	7	7	9	7
Chocolate						2	6	3
Copper								1
Cotton								4
Drugs & Dyes								
Forge				1				
Iron Works								
Nail Shop								
Paper					1	4	7	6
Powder		1	1	2	2			
Rolling								
Saw Blades							1	1
Screw								
Scythe							3	1
Slitting				1	1	1	1	
Snuff						1		
Wire								
		1	1	4	4	8	18	16

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[2] For such a chart of mills on the Neponset, see Edward P. Hamilton, *A History of Milton* (Milton, 1957), p. 79.

TABLE II

CENSUS OF MANUFACTURES
CHARLES RIVER

	1650	1675	1700	1725	1750	1775	1800	1812
Grist	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	4
Saw				1	1	1	1	1
Fulling		1	1	2	3	2	3	2
	1	2	2	5	6	5	7	7
Chocolate						1	2	1
Copper								
Cotton								3
Drugs & Dyes							1	1
Forge								
Iron Works				1	1	1	1	
Nail Shop								1
Paper						1	4	5
Powder								
Rolling							1	1
Saw Blades								
Screw							1	1
Scythe						1	1	1
Slitting								
Snuff							1	1
Wire							1	1
				1	1	4	13	16

TABLE III

CENSUS OF MANUFACTURES
NEPONSET & CHARLES RIVERS

	1650	1675	1700	1725	1750	1775	1800	1812
Grist	3	3	3	6	5	4	8	8
Saw			1	2	3	3	4	3
Fulling		1	3	6	5	5	4	3
	3	4	7	14	13	12	16	14
Chocolate						3	8	4
Copper								1
Cotton								7
Drugs & Dyes							1	1
Forge				1				
Iron Works				1	1	1	1	
Nail Shop								1
Paper					1	5	11	11
Powder		1	1	2	2			
Rolling Mill							1	1
Saw Blades							1	1
Screw							1	1
Scythe						1	4	2
Slitting Mill				1	1	1	1	
Snuff						1	1	1
Wire							1	1
		1	1	5	5	12	31	32

These tables of course cannot be precise, nor are they probably all-inclusive, but they certainly can be taken as highly indicative of the industrial progress being made, and as such are sufficient for our purpose.

Victor Clark has defined as "homespun" industries those which manufactured within the family for use in the home and as "household industries" those operated within the family for consumption by outside markets. It appears equally proper and suitable to apply the term "homespun" to those three basic mills which produced, practically speaking, solely for local consumption, and to require that our other little mills, in order to qualify as representatives of industry, must produce articles for wider distribution. The "homespun" mills are that most basic of all, the gristmill,[3] the fulling mill, which processed the woolen cloth that came from the hand loom, and the sawmill. Along the Maine and New Hampshire fall line the last mentioned was very far from "homespun" and sawed for a mighty export market, yet the vast majority of sawmills throughout the entire country at this period sawed local wood for local consumption.

The census tables can be briefly summarized by stating that the number of "homespun mills" remained much the same from 1725 to 1812, ranging from thirteen up to sixteen and ending at fourteen, while the mills representing industry increased over six times, from five to thirty-two. In 1750 these industries were ironworks, a paper mill, and powder mills, while by 1812 we find mills making iron axles, chocolate, crowbars, copper sheets and bolts, cotton warp, drugs and dyes, nails, sheet and bar iron, mill saws, screws, scythes, snuff, tool steel, and wire, truly an impressive array. Many or all of these products had previously been made in the vicinity by hand methods in little shops, but here we find them turned out by powered production methods in a relatively large way, and certainly in quantities too great for purely local consumption. One would almost be safe in saying that we need not wait for the Boston Manufacturing Company to usher in the Industrial Revolution; we have it already.

The question of how this industrial area of the Neponset and the Charles compared with those in other parts of the country is one to which I have given considerable study. I have not been able to arrive at a positive conclusion, but I believe that it was one of the very largest, particularly in the breadth of its coverage. The Patapsco or the Brandywine may have exceeded it in number of mills, but on these rivers there were mostly merchant flouring mills—large gristmills. It was in that area and during this period that Oliver Evans was making his great improvements, introducing belt conveyors and other labor-saving devices to the old gristmill machinery, which had undergone no material changes for at least two centuries. Old England was soon utilizing his methods. Evans is usually remembered for his somewhat fabulous self-propelled dredge or his work with steam engines, but his less remembered improvements in flour mills introduced a complete revolution into this industry and one which was complete by the early 1790's. An Evans-designed flour mill could run for hours without any human labor whatsoever.

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[3] In Pennsylvania and Maryland there were a number of large mills which ground flour for export and could not be classified as "homespun."

Connecticut would immediately be thought to be a leading rival, yet it appears that the growth of industry there really started only after the War of 1812. Pawtucket, Rhode Island, had a very considerable collection of little mills in 1796 when Timothy Dwight visited Providence. In all there were seventeen, six of which were "homespun" mills. The remaining eleven, the mills representing "industry," were largely ironworks of one sort or another, three snuff mills, and Slater's cotton mill. In 1810 the good Doctor remarked that he thought that there probably was no spot in New England with such quantity and variety of mills. New York appears to have had little industrial development up to this time and it is in Pennsylvania that we would find conditions approaching or exceeding those of Massachusetts.

Throughout Massachusetts many little mills existed on countless streams and brooks, but it does not appear that there was very much concentration at any one place, particularly of the mills representing industry. Worcester, for example, in about the year 1800 had eleven mills, but all except one were "homespun" mills.

One industry which existed in Massachusetts to a very large extent and yet was barely represented on our two rivers was that of iron production. The reason for this was that it was cheaper and easier to take the furnace and the forge to the near vicinity of the ore, even if the water power were not as satisfactory, than to transport the ore and charcoal any considerable distance. There were, however, on each river iron-processing plants which utilized crude iron produced elsewhere. It was only by the end of our period that Pennsylvania's iron output began to exceed that of Massachusetts. In 1784 this state had seventy-six ironworks, while Pennsylvania in 1790 had some fifty-three. In 1805 Pennsylvania is reported to have produced some 2,000 tons of iron, about the same as Massachusetts' output in that year.

It is obvious that by 1812 the Neponset and the Charles were supplying the power of an important industrial community of mills and factories, which, even though they were still small in size, were the pilot plants of the Industrial Revolution. Similar mills and factories were springing up on rivers all over Massachusetts. The first modern factory, the Boston Manufacturing Company at Waltham, was soon to start operations, and the great cotton mills of Lowell were only a dozen years away.

The second part of this paper, a study of what these little shops and mills were like, is now to be taken up. Information is rather scanty, but from one source or another we are able to get a fair idea of these mills and of their equipment. Power has always been utilized in this country to a very great extent, and we have seldom done anything by hand that could be done by power, while in Europe hand methods persisted long after they were made obsolete by progress. This was probably due to two causes, tradition and inertia on the one hand and a labor surplus on the other. As late as the 1890's the hand-operated pit saw was still in use in England, a method long abandoned in New England. There is no question that our first textile machinery was copied almost completely from the English, but there is reason to believe that our powder mills at least equalled if not exceeded those of England and the Continent. The Connecticut clock factories, which were starting as our period ends, had no counterparts abroad. The machine which produced cut nails was purely an American invention of the last years of the eighteenth century. (One firm with one shop in Malden and two others in Pennsylvania was able to produce 1,500 tons of nails a year in 1809.) I believe that Frederick J. Turner's theories of the frontier could equally well be applied to the industrial frontier, which, while it lagged far behind the true frontier in time and in space, still possessed the same spirit and the same state of flux. New methods and new machines were springing up, all based upon the concept of economy of human labor.

The "homespun" mill will be treated very briefly.[4] The New England gristmill usually consisted of one or two "run" (or pair) of stones, and the structure was small and simple, although sometimes a more ambitious merchant mill would have four "run" of stones. In many cases only Indian corn was normally ground, and sieving and bolting apparatus was primitive or entirely lacking. There of course were some large well-equipped merchant mills, but New England's wheat flour was largely imported, even as early as 1794. At the time of the Revolution a bread made from a mixture of rye and cornmeal was our staple, a fact we have from no less an authority than Governor Thomas Hutchinson, who described the bread to King George III during his first audience after reaching England.

The sawmill until the early 1800's always had a straight up-and-down saw,[5] which sawed at some 100-120 strokes per minute. Occasionally two or more saws would be arranged together as "gang" saws, so that two or more boards were cut each time the log passed by the saws. Until the circular saw appeared in about the third decade of the century, there had been practically no improvement of any importance made in this form of mill for over 250 years. The sawmill building was long and narrow and partly open on the sides. The Milton mill of 1765 was about seventy-two feet long by nineteen wide.

The fulling mill machinery consisted essentially of a wooden tub in which the woolen cloth was pounded by heavy wooden mallets while immersed in soapy water. We know from Oliver Evans how the fulling stocks of the late 1700's were built; I have no knowledge of what the mill itself looked like. A very simple and small structure would have housed the basic equipment, but if the cloth were also to be finished at the same mill a considerable amount of space was necessary for stretching it on the tenterhooks of the tentering frame for drying. By the early 1800's, some of the fulling mills also contained a power-operated wool-carding machine and this often resulted in their being listed as woolen factories, which they certainly were not. Gallatin describes a New Hampshire fulling mill in about 1810 as worked by two men and four apprentices during four months of the year only, during which time they were able to process 6,700 yards of cloth, or about sixty-five yards a day. This mill also dyed the cloth as well as fulled it and so probably did many other of the little shops. The average country fulling mill probably was quite small and had the appearance of a little gristmill. They were very common: shortly before 1810 New Hampshire had 140 of them and Vermont 163.

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[4] More detailed information on the "homespun" mills will be found in Hamilton, "The New England Village Mill," *Old-Time New England*, XLII (1951), 29–38.

[5] Brunel's circular saw was used in Portsmouth Dockyard, England, in 1805, and by 1830 Boston was making large circular saws, but the up-and-down saw was the usual one until at least 1850 and remained in use throughout the century.

The paper mill can be reconstructed quite completely.[6] There are contemporary sketches of at least three paper mills, all made between 1790 and the very early 1800's, Vose's on the Neponset, Boies's on the Charles, and Isaiah Thomas' near Worcester. They all show a simple two-story building of no great size, perhaps not over thirty by sixty feet, and the upper story had lattices, or perhaps hinged doors like a tobacco shed, to allow circulation of air in the drying loft. The earliest New England mills had a battery of either vertical stamps or pivoted hammers working in wooden mortars which broke down the rags into separate fibers, but by 1776 the Hollander beating engine, a machine still in use today, was replacing the earlier machinery. Another essential piece of equipment was the vat holding the liquid pulp into which the papermaker dipped his mold. The vat had a small stove built under it in order to keep the liquid warm. A large screw press was required to squeeze off excess water from the stack, called by papermen a "post," of wet partly formed sheets, each separated from the other by a sheet of "felt," actually a woven woolen cloth. Finally there might have been a large pressing hammer to finish the sheets, or a pair of glazing rolls, but it was also possible to finish the sheet by hand rubbing with a flint. Most of the mills had only a single vat; only two of Massachusetts' twenty mills of 1796 had two vats. The single-vat Dalton mill of Zenas Crane employed a papermaker and assistant at $3.50 a week, an engineer, who probably was a general handy man, at $3.00, and a boy who enjoyed a weekly wage of $.60 and board. Crane allowed himself $9.00, giving a total wage bill of $19.60 a week against a weekly production worth about $100.00. The only other material expense would have been for rags, but it is certain that he must have employed some girls to prepare the rags and to hang up the paper on racks in the drying loft upstairs. Since each girl cost only seventy-five cents a week and board, they would not have reduced the profits very much. Isaiah Thomas' Worcester mill was a two-vat one. It was driven by a large breast wheel, employed ten men and eleven girls, and produced 1,200-1,400 pounds of paper each week. It was one of the largest in Massachusetts at this time, the other apparently being Abijah Burbank's mill at Sutton, which was driven by a twelve-foot diameter breast wheel, had two Hollander engines, a "duster" (presumably a cleaning machine for preparing the rags), and a grindstone.

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[6] Dard Hunter, *Papermaking, the History and Technique of an Ancient Craft*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1947), gives much detailed information on the early papermaking processes.

The chocolate factory of the early days was a simple affair. The first shop in the country was installed in an eighteen by forty-two-foot addition built on to the Milton sawmill of 1765. In 1768 a second little shop was built on the Dorchester side of the river and it is known to have contained a "run" of stones and one kettle. The process for making chocolate or cocoa consisted of cleaning the beans, roasting them, and cracking and winnowing the shells. The beans were then ground, and the resulting paste made either into cocoa by removing the cocoa butter and drying to a powder or into chocolate by adding sugar and cooling into cake form. In addition to the millstones, a winnowing fan was probably power-driven, and the cracking of the shells may have taken place between nail-studded wooden rollers, although this last is a supposition. Beyond the stones no machinery was essential, as the other processes could be done entirely by hand. Yankees being Yankees, however, I am sure that a power-operated cracking machine and a winnowing fan soon appeared, but all of this apparatus could have been contained in a building the size of a small gristmill.

In 1798 Seth Bemis was preparing dyes and medicinal drugs at Watertown. As he was only twenty-one years old at the time, it seems probable that he set up his machinery in part of his father's paper mill. The basis of his operations was a power-operated rasping machine which he had built two years before. It was merely a revolving cylinder, probably of wood, studded with steel points, which tore up the logwood or medicinal roots into chips suitable for further processing. He soon added a chocolate mill and in 1803 started a cotton-spinning factory. In 1809 he was employing six English weavers on hand looms and during the period of the Embargo and the War of 1812 he manufactured cotton sailcloth with great success. This little factory was illuminated by coal gas in 1812, almost certainly the first such occurrence in this country.

The cotton mill, until after 1815 only a spinning mill, first appeared in Massachusetts at Beverly in 1789 and was inspected by Washington during his visit to New England in the fall of that year. The building was of brick, sixty by twenty-five feet, with three stories. Its 636 spindles were driven by a pair of horses, while the sixteen looms were hand-operated. In 1794 the mill employed a labor force of sixty, but it was never a financial success and ceased operations entirely by 1813. The total investment in the mill by 1791 was about $14,000, most of which the original proprietors never regained. A second Beverly attempt in about 1802 was operated by water power, and contained 432 spindles in a two-story building fifty feet by twenty feet in size. It also ceased to operate by 1813. The Northbridge (later Whitinsville) cotton mill of 1809 had 1,000 spindles in a two-and-a-half-story building thirty by forty feet in size. At this period an 800-spindle mill required five men and thirty-five women and children to operate it. The Boston Manufacturing Company in 1815 occupied a building of four stories, ninety by forty-five feet in size, and all the operations, including weaving, were power-operated. It was very much of a financial success and was the forerunner of the great establishments of Lowell and Lawrence. Our initial cotton mill machinery was copied outright from the English in almost every case, and probably the only early American textile innovation was the social aspect of employment in the Lowell mills.

The bar iron produced by the forge usually was six feet long and three inches by a half in cross section, and it was not practical to forge to thinner dimensions. There was a great demand for rod from which nails could be forged. This nailrod was a quarter-inch square or smaller and was the major product of the slitting mill. The bar that came from the forge was heated, reduced somewhat in thickness between revolving rolls, and then slit lengthwise into thin strips between rotating circular shears.

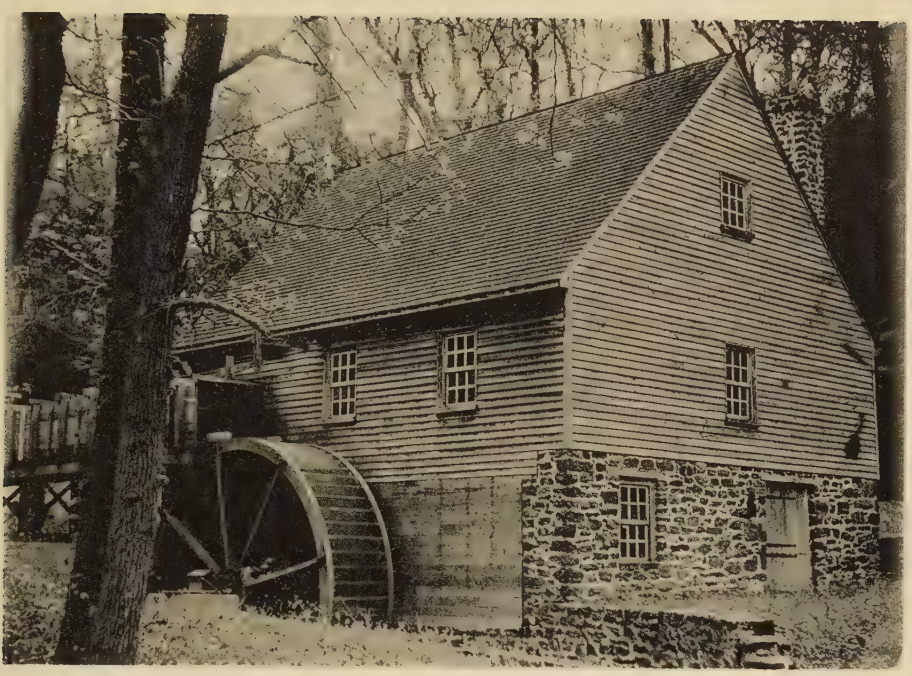
We have an excellent description of the machinery of Peter Oliver's rolling and slitting mill at Middleborough, built sometime before 1742, but no information as to its external appearance other than that it was driven by two very large undershot water wheels. A furnace to heat the iron was necessary, but this would only need to be a large blacksmith's forge, with either hand- or power-operated bellows. A rolling and slitting mill was one of the most expensive mills to build, but this was due to the imported rolls and their mountings, and not to the structure required to house them. I would expect a simple wooden building, like a small low barn, with a water wheel on each of two opposite sides. The early Saugus slitting mill had the two water wheels on the same side, necessitating additional gear work which was not required if the wheels could be on opposite sides. A small brick stack would have showed through the roof or been built at one end of the building. All of the machinery of Oliver's mill could have been contained in a low building twenty-two by thirty-six feet in size.

Paul Revere's copper mill at Canton, which was built in 1801, was a low building forty-eight by sixty-nine feet in size, but this was a large and expensive establishment for its day, with an invested capital of $35,000. It was the only mill in the country able to produce copper sheets. There appear to have been two sets of rolls, but the other machinery is problematical, although power-operated trip hammers and melting and annealing furnaces can be assumed. This building survived into the early 1900's and a photograph has fortunately been preserved.

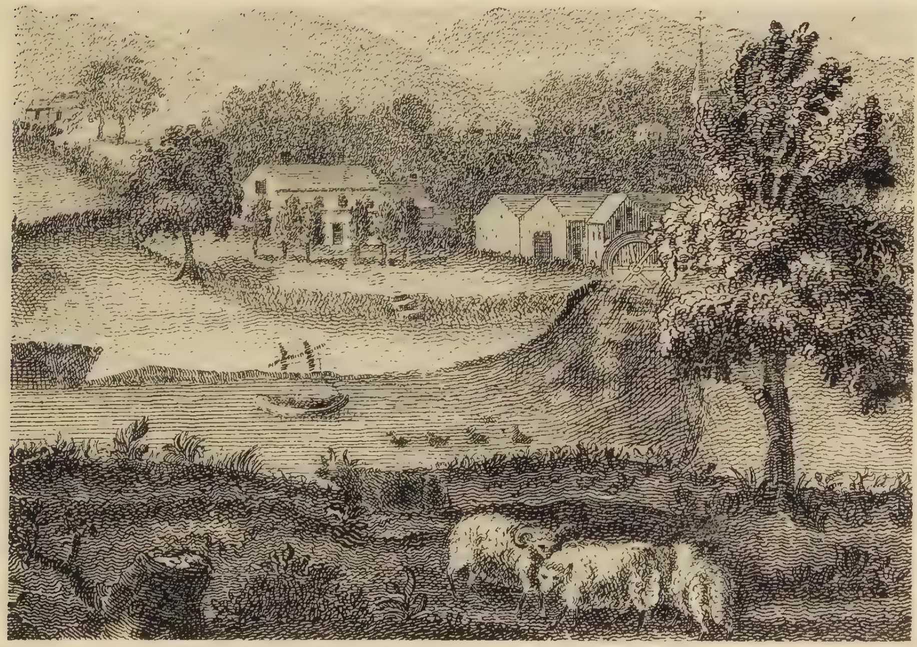
The scythe shop or similar small metal-forging shop was built around the power-operated trip hammer and the forge, merely a large blacksmith's forge, but probably with power-operated bellows. There almost certainly would have been one or more power-driven grindstones, but any small building would have housed all the machinery. A sickle factory built near Worcester in 1811 was a two-and-a-half story building forty feet wide by fifty feet long.

The Leonard and Kinsley ironworks at Canton, which started in 1788, were soon making 200 sawmill blades a year as well as 300 dozen scythes, quite a respectable output. They also turned out sleigh shoes, crowbars, and wagon axletrees. Steel was made here which was satisfactory for plows and mill saws, but was not so good as imported steel for edged tools. At another mill privilege nearby Nathaniel Fisher was also making scythes at about this same period.

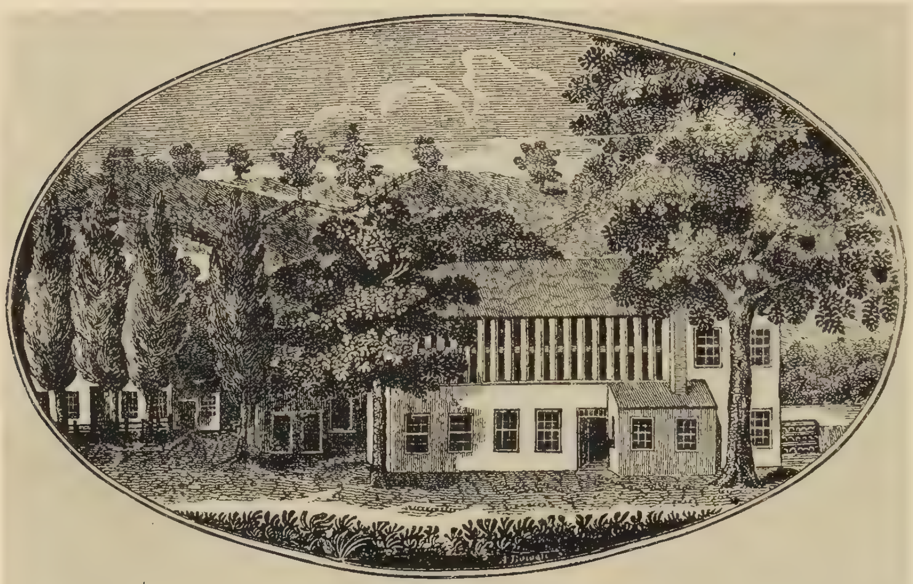
Between the two scythe shops mentioned above there stood a powder mill built in 1776 by Daniel Vose and Thomas Crane for the use of the colony. Like many another early powder mill, it blew up in 1779, and the stones were later used in a gristmill to grind corn. This is an indication that the early powder mill used stones similar to the gristmill, although it might equally as well have used a stamping mill



Grist Mill, Stratford Hall, Virginia
A Reconstruction

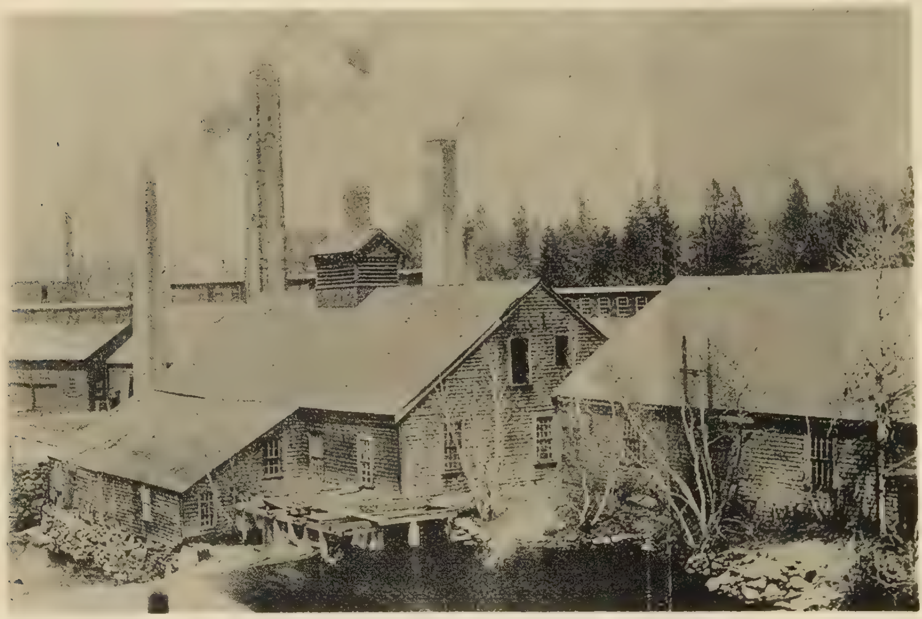


Boies's Paper Mill, Waltham, about 1790
Massachusetts Magazine, V (April, 1793), frontispiece



THE ISAIAH THOMAS PAPER MILL.
BUILT 1793.
Reproduced from an old wood engraving.

Isaiah Thomas Paper Mill near Worcester, 1793
Worcester Society of Antiquity, *Proceedings*, VII (1886), facing 115



Paul Revere's Copper Mill at Canton, 1801
Courtesy Edward H. R. Revere

or a stone rolling on edge as in the bark mill. A powder mill in Chelmsford in 1818 had a forty-pestle stamp mill. The powder-making process consisted essentially of pulverizing and incorporating together the simple ingredients. It is probable that the mill also had power-operated sieves much like those in flour mills. Whatever the machinery powder mills usually seem to have blown up sooner or later, although the first Milton mill lasted some seventy years before the inevitable happened. Victor Clark states that the American powder mills were at least the equal of the European ones and that more use was made of power in this country. This statement probably applies to a somewhat later date than that of the powder mills mentioned above.

There was a snuff mill at Milton about which nothing is known beyond the fact that it was there in 1761 and continued to operate until 1790. In 1782 General Simon Elliot had four snuff mills at the upper falls of the Charles River in Newton, which contained twenty mortars for crushing tobacco. These mills would almost certainly also have required some sort of bolting machinery similar to that used in a flour mill. I have seen a statement that the best mortars for pounding snuff were made of buttonwood or sycamore, but beyond that I have no knowledge of this kind of mill. I would visualize it as a small building with a water wheel shaft passing through it and carrying cams which raised and let fall the vertical stamps or pestles working in wooden mortars, or it may have had revolving pestles as in the reconstructed mill at Gilbert Stuart's birthplace in North Kingstown, Rhode Island.

As for the other little shops and factories, there is not much more that can be said and one must draw upon one's imagination. They were small, they were simple, and they used power as far as possible to replace manual labor. Their power was usually furnished by breast wheels, but early forms of the turbine were appearing by the end of our period. The first tub wheel, a crude turbine made of wood, recorded in Milton was in Edmund Baker's chocolate and gristmill of 1805, and in 1817 the first one made of wrought iron was installed in Sanderson's new paper mill. The machinery in all our little mills was simple and was, so far as possible, built of wood. Wooden shafts had iron pins set in their ends for bearings and the gears were made of wood, cogs and all. The machinery was built by the carpenter and the blacksmith—the machinist was yet to come, but he would soon be produced by the foundries and shops which were starting to turn out the iron machinery of the new textile mills.

These mills ran long hours: fifteen hours was a normal paper mill day and six days a week. In Milton Village by 1795 the mills were running Sundays, at least in times of low water, a fact which shows how great had been the change from the days of the Puritans.

Peter Oliver's slitting mill was only part of the very considerable industrial development at Middleborough. Originally owned in partnership with Jeremy Gridley, but solely Oliver's after 1758, it consisted in 1780 of the rolling and slitting mill, a gristmill with bolting equipment, a forge with three hearths, a sawmill, and a cider mill. There were at least eight water wheels operating under a head of about ten feet. In 1800 there was a blast furnace, and this, or at least an air furnace for melting, must have existed earlier, for Oliver was casting ordnance and cannon shot during the French and Indian War. At this period thin iron sheets and plates were not rolled, but were hammered out under a so-called "plating" hammer, and Oliver had such a hammer in the forge shop. There was little required for the basic needs of life that this industrial development did not either furnish or process—meal and flour from the corn and rye, lumber from the log, cast-iron pots, bar iron for the blacksmith shop on the property, nailrod for the nail makers,[7] iron sheets for shovels and warming pans, and finally the basic requirement for that old stand-by, hard cider. This was a valuable property which netted a profit of £400-£500 a year. It of course was confiscated at the start of the Revolution when Oliver left for England and was advertised for sale by the commissioners in March, 1780. The rolling and slitting mill continued to operate until 1830, when it was finally abandoned.

The Industrial Revolution started the decline of the little shops and mills. New methods required more machinery, more power, and greater magnitude of operation. The physical requirements meant new buildings or radical alteration of the old and the little mills gradually disappeared. Some lasted late enough to be photographed, but today they are almost completely gone and it is only through reconstructions such as the very excellent gristmill at Stratford Hall, Virginia, and the splendid Saugus Ironworks[8] that we today can visualize the size and appearance of the workshops of yesterday.

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[7] It must be realized that this slitting mill operated not just to process Oliver's own iron, but was a mill to serve the whole surrounding area, a great iron-producing region. There were "near 20 forges in the compass of 12 miles," and he could expect some business from all of them.

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[8] The Saugus Ironworks of the mid-seventeenth century were very advanced for their day and represented the then most modern practice. Much of the detailed machine design used in the reconstruction necessarily followed the practice of about 1740, the earliest period for which exact knowledge exists. Thus the Saugus works can be thought of as typical of the Revolutionary period as well as of the earlier one. There probably was very little change in the design of the machinery in the century existing between the two periods.

New Light on the Naval Side of Yorktown

RICHARD W. HALE, JR.*

IT is tempting to dramatize the material in this paper. I shall accept the temptation and paint a picture of a might-have-been of history by suggesting that if a signal had not been bungled, Cornwallis would not have been trapped at Yorktown, and American history could have been very different. Then, more soberly, I shall try to defend this interpretation by showing the evidence that appears to substantiate it and by explaining why that evidence has lain concealed until now.

First for the drama. Time: September 5, 1781, shortly after dawn. Place: inside the Capes of the Chesapeake, where, lulled in false security, the French West Indies squadron of de Grasse is unsafely anchored, open to devastating attack even by an inferior force, especially if that force has the advantages of a fair wind and a flood tide behind it. For such an attack would force de Grasse to choose one of two courses of action, either of them unsatisfactory. Should he stay at anchor, an enemy coming on with the advantages of wind and tide could cut his squadron to pieces, ship by ship, before those anchored inshore could weigh and claw out against the wind and through the tide to the rescue. Should de Grasse put to sea, on the other hand, his squadron in rounding Cape Henry would for some time be split into two parts, which could likewise be cut to pieces before they could join. Here was an opportunity for the British which might never come again, because there was no sound reason for de Grasse's being unsafely anchored in this way. Further inshore there were shoal waters where he could have anchored in impregnable defensive line. In fact, de Grasse did do that very thing later on, at the express order of George Washington. But Washington, with his gift for naval command which led Dudley W. Knox to write of his "naval genius," had not yet arrived on the scene. On the morning of September 5 the commander in chief was just leaving Philadelphia.

Here was a moment when a defeat of de Grasse would have been doubly crushing, for de Barras also was at sea, convoying from Newport the siege guns that were later to hammer Cornwallis into surrender. If a resolute and deft English admiral could have first smashed de Grasse, then caught de Barras at sea, what might not have been the results? But it is usually asserted that England had on the spot only a backward-looking admiral, who stuck to the rigid tactics that had caused ninety years of naval deadlock from La Hogue in 1692 to the Battle of the Saints in 1782. It is further asserted that what she ought to have had was a forward-looking admiral, aware, like Rodney and Nelson, Howe and Hood, of the tactics of the future that in little more than a decade would win all the naval battles of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars.

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* This paper was read at the February, 1957, meeting.

But these comments appear to be wrong. For the striking fact is that a resolute English admiral, who knew the tactics with which Hood and Rodney won the Battle of the Saints, Howe the Glorious First of June, and Nelson Trafalgar, did make a deft attack on September 5 and did come within an ace of victory. For that morning, out of the dawn to the northeast, came the combined North American and West Indies squadrons of Britain—fourteen West Indies sail of the line under Admirals Francis Drake and Samuel Hood, five North American sail of the line under Admiral Thomas Graves—with Graves in over-all command. True, there were but nineteen British ships to the twenty-three French that put to sea, but in the balance there was in Graves's mind a plan to even the odds. Of this we can be sure, for there were orders to give in his signal book, and proof in his experience in these very waters that he was ready to give them. From Richard Viscount Howe, the legendary "Black Dick," that great tactician and trainer of men, Graves had learned how to break the line by a lasking approach and by this tactical innovation, which he had himself tried in Chesapeake Bay the summer before, to end the ninety-year naval deadlock and to win a decisive victory.

Here, for a moment, it is necessary to stop and remind you of the techniques of sailing-ship warfare, in order to interpret the terms breaking the line and the lasking approach, which is one way of doing it. As you well know, the ship of the line, since the days of Henry VIII's *Great Harry*, fired broadsides. It was possible to do very little aiming of guns, and firing was straight out from the sides of the ships or with a relatively narrow traverse. Only the bow and stern chasers could fire fore and aft through wide arcs, and there were very few of these. A typical seventy-four-gun ship of the line would have some thirty-five guns on each broadside, and only two apiece at bow and stern. As a result, a ship in direct pursuit could give almost no fire, and the broadside was the crushing and powerful discharge of guns that won battles. The great aim of offensive naval tactics was to cross the enemy's bow or stern and rake her with a broadside; the great problem of offensive naval tactics was to get into such a position without being oneself raked.

These facts made defense easy, offense difficult. When single ship fought single ship, the pursued could often yaw, or swing from her course, and fire a broadside at her pursuer. Fired on an upward roll, so that the shot went high through the enemy's rigging, this broadside might well knock down spars or even masts. Then the pursued could resume flight, leaving the pursuer crippled and unable to follow. Similarly, and more effectively, lines of fleeing ships, giving each other mutual support, could swing as a unit across the course of a group of pursuers, concentrate their fire on the lead ships, cut up their rigging, and sail off. This would leave the fast enemy van ships crushed and the slower enemy ships, in the rear, toiling far behind. Therefore, it appeared to the traditional naval theorist that the offense was forced by the facts of sailing-ship warfare to make its attack in the same line-ahead formation as was used by the defense, sailing parallel to the enemy it was attacking. Hence the result, from La Hogue in 1692 to the Battle of the Saints in 1782, was ninety years of naval deadlock, in which English fleets unavailingly pursued French fleets over the oceans, but never caught them (except by such accidents as Hawke's victory in a storm at Quiberon), because they had to sail parallel to the enemy they were chasing.

Naturally, the best minds on both sides turned to search for some solution that would enable the offensive to overcome the stultifying effect of the defensive line on naval tactics. In France the Jesuit naval author, Père Hoste, evolved a theoretical solution to the whole problem. Noting that one sailing ship could approach another at a slight slant and still fire its guns, he suggested that a whole squadron sail down on the enemy in parallel slants. Such an approach would be broadside to broadside, and the attacker would not, as in direct head-on pursuit, run the danger of being raked. Instead, she could give the same punishment as she got, while closing the range and preparing to cross the bows of the enemy and rake. There might be variants of such an attack. A whole line of ships might slant down on the enemy in line of bearing, thus keeping the combat broadside to broadside and preserving the effect of mutual support given by line formation. Or again, one ship, larger than the rest, such as Graves's gigantic flagship, the *London,* might make such a slanting—or, as it was then called, lasking—approach. In either case, the purpose was to smash through the enemy's defensive line between ships and at that moment of breaking the line to fire two broadsides at once, raking the ship by whose stern one passed and the ship by whose bows one passed. Then, once the line was broken, crippled, and separated, single ships could be captured or sunk at leisure.

In the French service this was all theoretical. Signals did exist for such an attack. They even existed and were flown for a counter to it—tacking to rake the assaulting ship just before it broke the line. But only one French admiral, the Bailli de Suffren, had the will to fight that would make use of these ideas. The value of this information in giving new light on the naval side of Yorktown is that the French were alert to the danger of a lasking attack, whether by single ship or squadron, and that they reported that Graves in the *London* had made such a single ship attack before the September 5 action.

In the British Navy matters were different. That offensively minded but non-theoretical service took longer to come to intellectual grips with the problem. Père Hoste wrote at the end of the seventeenth century, but it was not until the end of the Seven Years' War in the middle of the eighteenth that English naval thinkers began effective and practical work on methods of breaking the line. One school of officers, led by Kempenfeldt and Howe, followed Père Hoste's line of reasoning. In practice maneuvers they set up systems of signals that would allow individual squadrons to make lasking attacks. Kempenfeldt was drowned when the *Royal George* sank, but Howe taught his special ideas to his North American squadron. It was ready to put these ideas into practice. Howe especially indoctrinated his officers with this rule—that when engaging the enemy on a lasking, slanting, or line of bearing approach, the overriding command was to engage the enemy. Signals might be made to keep the line of bearing even, so that no one English ship got dangerously ahead of the others and thus exposed herself to excessive fire. But engage the enemy meant engage the enemy. All else was secondary. Such were the ideas that Graves's five ships brought to the Capes of the Chesapeake that morning.

However, there were others ideas in the British Navy on ending the deadlock caused by the defensive line of battle formation. These were held by Sir George Brydges Rodney, the admiral formerly of the West Indies squadron who had gone home to England to enjoy his St. Eustatius prize money. He believed that if two English ships could concentrate their broadsides on one French ship, that French ship could be crushed. He believed that English ships, being better handled, could sail twice as close to each other as French ships could to each other. He therefore drilled the officers under him to sail in very close order and to put above all else the necessity of keeping in rigid line-ahead when the line-ahead signal was flying. By this Rodney believed he could concentrate English fire on the center of a French squadron and smash it into two, thus making rigid line-ahead an instrument of offense as well as of defense. Such were the ideas that the fourteen ships of Drake and Hood brought to the Capes of the Chesapeake that morning.

Now, to return to the morning of September 5, 1781. As the French, anchored inside Cape Henry, recognize that the sails on the horizon are Graves and the British, not de Barras and the siege guns from Newport, they hurriedly slip or even cut cables and put to sea, clawing confusedly around the cape against the light northeaster that is pushing the English down upon them. Thanks to Samuel Hood's insistence, the British fleet for once is at the right spot at the right time. It is true that Rodney, sailing to England for the winter from the West Indies, had taken with him too many ships to protect the booty from St. Eustatius he was convoying home. But Hood had insisted on bringing fourteen vessels north to pursue de Grasse, had anchored off New York on August 28 for information, and had resolutely refused to cross the bar with his ships. Instead, he had forced Graves to put to sea to join him in searching for de Grasse at Yorktown without any waste of time. Although Graves's five North American ships are outnumbered by the fourteen West Indies ships of Drake and Hood, he is in command by virtue of seniority and has his opportunity. Graves seizes this opportunity, whatever the history books usually say. He comes down wind upon Cape Henry, Hood well to windward in the van, Drake in the rear sagging to leeward. Then, seeing that he is too far to windward, Graves reverses his line, making Drake, who is nearer the French, the van, and Hood the rear. Then the flag for close action is flown. With Drake at the head, the British fleet pushes in at an angle on the French. Graves begins his lasking approach, bringing the *London* into a line of bearing rather than line-ahead. Then, as he looks astern, he sees, to his horror, Hood in the *Barfleur* not conforming to plan. At times the *Barfleur* is moving away from the support of her consorts and exposing herself. At times, when he signals for keeping line formation, the *Barfleur* keeps it in line-ahead instead of in line of bearing. The opportunity for breaking the French line fades away. In desperation, Graves summons a frigate to the *London* to send a verbal message by its captain, Duncan, to attack by a lasking approach in line of bearing. But by the time Duncan has received the message it is too late. All the twenty-three French ships have rounded Cape Henry, and with the wind astern there is no longer hope of crushing the French van before the French rear can come to its assistance. Reluctantly, Graves calls off the action, and vehemently he sends for Hood, to berate him for error or worse.

As soon as may be, Hood and Drake arrive. As the two admirals are piped over the side of the *London*, the angry Graves prepares to tell them in no uncertain terms what he thinks of them. But almost before he can open his mouth the fiery Hood gets in his words first. He accuses Graves of grossly missing an opportunity, asserting that Graves, by his signal for line-ahead, had prevented Hood from making the lasking attack he should have made. Clearly, this is no argument to have in public. Graves grimly leads the way to his cabin. There, in privacy, the three admirals have it out. And a grim-faced but silent Graves comes out, never to repeat publicly the accusations he had made on his quarter-deck before Hood and Drake came aboard.

For here is what happened. Graves had flown North American signals; Hood had given those signals West Indies interpretations. It was the essence of Howe's tactical plan that a line of battle should steer on a bearing, each ship supporting its neighbor, since the slant would not be too great for broadsides to be aimed forward. Therefore in the North American squadron, when signals for line-ahead and engage the enemy were flown, captains steered on a line of bearing, each ship angling in closer to the enemy, if they saw the admiral so steering. Thus engage the enemy overrode line-ahead. But for the West Indies squadron, indoctrinated with Rodney's idea of concentrating broadsides, line-ahead overrode engage the enemy. It had to, if ships were to close up to each other. This is where the bungle in signals comes in. The *London*'s log asserts that engage the enemy flew constantly and that line-ahead was flown only twice, for short intervals. Therefore Hood should have made his lasking approach, checking it only twice, when the *Barfleur* temporarily got too far from her next astern and next ahead. But the *Barfleur*'s log and the memory of White in his *Naval Reminiscences* both explicitly state that the two signals flew together from the *London* throughout the action. Thus Hood, according to the training Rodney had given him, was prevented from bearing down on the French, ardently as he desired to do so.

So the three admirals agreed upon a new set of signals that would unmistakably order a lasking attack. Unfortunately, in three days of maneuvers they found no chance to use them and thus missed a chance to catch de Barras before he arrived with the siege guns from Newport.

Here then, in dramatic form, is the story of how a mistake in signals saved de Grasse in 1781 from the destruction by Graves and Hood that came to him in 1782, at the Saints, by Rodney and Hood. Can this story be substantiated?

The evidence comes from widely separated sources. We have French reports, printed by the Yorktown Commission of 1931, of Graves's use of the lasking approach antecedently. We have the signal books of that era, published by the Navy Records Society, as well as the Hood and Rodney papers. The logs of the *London* and the *Barfleur* have been printed by the American Naval History Society. In a scrapbook—now in the Newberry Library in Chicago—made by Thomas Graves's brother William are the copy of a *New-York Gazette* and a manuscript letter from Captain Duncan (when commandant at Halifax), the latter telling the story of the word-of-mouth message by frigate from Graves to Hood. This scrapbook also contains annotated copies of all three editions of William Graves's *Two Letters*, his pamphlet defense of his brother, especially valuable for the rare third edition, which alone fully refers to the mix-up over tactics. White's *Naval Reminiscences*, with its confirmation of the discrepancy between the signal records of the *London* and the *Barfleur*, is, to my knowledge, available in this country only at the Newberry Library.

How did it happen that this story was buried? The answers are the decency of Graves, the spiteful self-defense of Rodney, and the vagaries of war and politics. As the *New-York Gazette* issue indicates, Graves was at first uncertain what to do about Hood and showed this uncertainty in his behavior. But he took a generous stand: he wrote Lord Sandwich, First Lord of the Admiralty, an informal complaint about Hood—but then stated he intended to take no formal action. As for his formal report, it glossed over matters. At this moment—September, 1781—Graves could afford to be generous. He was the commanding officer, his brother William, a member of Parliament, was in close touch with Sandwich at the Admiralty. The man who was in trouble if any was Rodney, who had to do some explaining why no more than fourteen ships had pursued de Grasse north and so many had been detached to protect the booty captured at St. Eustatius. Sandwich sent Rodney a copy of Graves's secret and informal letter, and Rodney did some lengthy expounding why he still preferred the concentration of broadsides to breaking the line.

Then, sudden political and military changes upset the situation. The North government fell, over a threatened investigation of naval affairs—Lords did investigate them, and someone should someday dig in the unpublished House of Lords files to find out if the committee of inquiry uncovered anything. Whigs came into power at the Admiralty, and Graves lost his secure position. At the same time both Hood and Rodney, the men who could have been more blamed for failure than Graves, won reputations. For at the Battle of the Saints, using not the concentration of broadsides but breaking the line, these two admirals crushed de Grasse on April 12, 1782. Indeed it was Hood, in the *Barfleur*, who captured de Grasse in the *Ville de Paris*. Winners of famous victories are not investigated; they are given peerages. So the whole matter of the naval side of Yorktown was dropped. As White's *Naval Reminiscences* show, it was agreed in the Navy not to bring up the matter but to treat it as a family scandal best not referred to outside the service.

Then, many years later, historians began to dig into all of this. First came Sir John Knox Laughton in his article on Hood in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. He got the Hood version of the signal for line-ahead without Graves's assertion that that order had been only temporary and subordinate to that to engage the enemy. So he unwittingly started a belief that Graves believed in fighting in strict line-ahead formation, when the opposite was true. That belief has colored almost all subsequent interpretations. The Navy Records Society version of the Rodney and Hood papers helps perpetuate this error by assuming that Rodney's reply to Sandwich referred to Graves's official report on the action instead of to the unpublished unofficial report. The discrepancy in the *London*'s and *Barfleur*'s logs went unnoticed when the American Naval History Society published them. And when the Navy Records Society printed the signal books of the period, and facts began to come to light, its able editors did realize that Graves was not a blind devotee of line-ahead, but was in the van of the new tactics. But how much so they did not realize, because they did not have available to them the clinching evidence of the Graves Scrapbook at the Newberry Library.

Until now, therefore, it has been a commonplace of American history that Graves, doctrinairely believing in strict line-ahead tactics, missed an opportunity. It should be stated instead that he was the first to try the new tactics for which Rodney and Hood mistakenly got credit, and that only a misread signal prevented him from snatching victory from the jaws of defeat.

A Strange Story about Marbury *versus* Madison in Salem, 1808

CHARLES PELHAM CURTIS*

I AM going to tell as good a story as I know, of what may happen when an able lawyer tries a case before a wise judge. As you will see, the lawyer was as bold as he was shrewd in behalf of his client, and the judge was as wise as he was learned in the law.

It is a story worth telling for its own sake, but I am telling it because it contains a small but curious historical enigma. I do not know the solution, but it is pregnant with surmises.

The scene is the United States District Court, holding its September term in Salem, in 1808. It is the year of the Embargo Act. Just outside the court room, there are ships at the wharves, mute witnesses to the law which the court is being asked to declare unconstitutional, for all exports were prohibited. President Jefferson was trying to show that economic sanctions were an effective substitute for war. But the Federalists, and most of the men of Salem, thought he was simply trying to destroy the commerce of New England.

On the bench is sitting Judge John Davis, a member of our Society and ten years later to become its President. He had been graduated from Harvard College in the class of 1781. He was forty-seven years old, and for the last seven years he had been District Judge, by appointment of President Adams. For the last five years he had served on the Harvard Corporation. He was a good Federalist, and a learned judge. He had been the youngest member of the Massachusetts Convention which had adopted the United States Constitution.[1]

The case before him was one of numerous forfeitures of ships for violation of the Embargo Act, then crowding the court. This one was the case of the brigantine *William.*

Appearing for the government was George Blake, the United States attorney, and his brother, Francis Blake. With them was a young Salem attorney, Joseph Story, who was to go to Congress that fall, and to the United States Supreme Court three years later. Perhaps he had not yet been recognized as the brightest luminary of our law, barring Marshall, and the most learned, barring nobody.

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* This paper was read at the January, 1954, meeting.

[1] See *D. A. B.*, s. v. John Davis (1761–1847), and Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 3rd Ser., x (1849), 186–203.

The brigantine *William* was represented by two of the leaders of the Massachusetts bar, Samuel Dexter and William Prescott, and associated with them was Christopher Gore. A word on each is in order, and on Mr. Dexter first, for he plays the lead in the story.

Mr. Dexter was a classmate of Judge Davis, in the class of 1781, and he had been its first scholar. He had gone to the bar, then to Congress and then to the United States Senate. President Adams appointed him Secretary of War in 1800, and of the Treasury in 1801. This was just before Jefferson was inaugurated, and Mr. Dexter continued as Secretary of the Treasury until January, 1802. But Dexter was, nonetheless, a Federalist. Later, it is true, some years after the case with which we are concerned, he was nominated for governor by the Republicans, but this was none of his doing, and only because he had split with his Federalist friends and approved the War of 1812. Mr. Dexter was a moderate Federalist.

William Prescott had been graduated from Harvard two years later than Judge Davis and Mr. Dexter. He had studied law under Nathan Dane and practised in Salem, but was now in 1808 about to move to Boston. He was the son of Colonel Prescott and the father of the historian. He was not a moderate Federalist. He attended the Hartford Convention.[2]

Nor was Christopher Gore a moderate Federalist. He was a member of the Essex Junto, "the ultra-conservative and ultra-sectional wing of the party."[3] He had just come back from the Federalist Convention in New York which that August had nominated Pinckney and King for the national election the coming November.[4] Morison describes him as follows: "Gore was a gentleman of wealth and culture who lacked the popular talents that Otis possessed in so marked a degree. He was over-fond of displaying his great wealth, his oratory and manners were stiff and formal, and his father had been a refugee Tory."[5] He was then President of our Society.[6]

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[2] See Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Life and Letters of Harrison Gray Otis, Federalist, 1765–1848*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1913), II, 132.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, 48. [4] *Ibid.*, I, 306. [5] *Ibid.*, I, 327.

[6] See Mass. Hist. Soc., *Proceedings*, 1st Ser., I (1791–1835), and a memoir by Rev. Samuel Ripley in *Colls.*, 3rd Ser., III (1833), 191–204.

Such were Mr. Dexter's associates in the case. His junior, who would be carrying his lawbooks, if indeed he brought any to court, was Lucius Manlius Sargent. He was young, and he did not become a member of this Society until many years later. I do not find that he graduated from Harvard, but she gave him an honorary A.M. in 1843, when Judge Davis received an LL.D.

Manlius Sargent—I assume that his friends called him Manlius as others did his descendant—is the source of our knowledge of what happened in Judge Davis' court that day. Over the name, "Sigma," he wrote an admirable memoir of Mr. Dexter in a series of articles which appeared in the *Boston Transcript* and which later reappeared in a small book. I borrowed a copy from Franklin Dexter, Samuel Dexter's great-great-grandson. In a moment I am going to give you the account of what happened in court in Manlius Sargent's own words.

The case had been called for the second Tuesday in September, the thirteenth, which, I take it, was the opening of the term. It came to trial on September 28. Story opened for the government, and Prescott for the defendant. Dexter and the two Blakes closed. They argued the constitutionality of the Embargo Laws, and it took them nearly four days.

On Monday, October 3, Judge Davis delivered his opinion. It "appeared," the *Essex Register* reported, "to be the result of deep investigation, and sound and deliberate reflection—it was luminous, learned, and eloquent beyond anything we recollect of the kind." The court room was "thronged with people of respectability from Salem and the towns in the vicinity," so the *Independent Chronicle* reported in Boston. They heard, to their chagrin, Judge Davis rule that the Embargo Laws were constitutional.[7]

Now for Manlius Sargent's account of what happened.

> After Judge Davis had decided, that the law was constitutional, and before that decision had been confirmed, by a higher tribunal, Mr. Dexter persisted, in arguing the question of constitutionality, to the jury, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the bench. At length, Judge Davis, under some excitement, and after repeated admonitions, said to Mr. Dexter, that, if he again attempted to raise that question to the jury, he should feel it to be his duty to commit him,

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[7] See the report of the *Essex Register* in the *National Intelligencer*, a Washington paper, of October 12, 1808, and another account in the *Independent Chronicle* of October 6, 1808.

> for contempt of court. A solemn pause ensued; and all eyes were turned towards Mr. Dexter. With great calmness of voice and manner, he requested a postponement of the cause, until the following morning. The Judge assented; some other matter was taken up; and Mr. Dexter left the court room.
>
> On the following morning, there was a full attendance of persons, anxious to witness the result of this extraordinary collision, between the advocate and the Judge. Being asked, if he was ready to proceed with the cause, on trial, the preceding day, Mr. Dexter rose, and facing the bench, commenced his remarks, by stating, that he had slept poorly, and had passed a night of great anxiety. He had reflected very solemnly upon the occurrence of yesterday; and he trusted it had not failed to exercise the thoughts of another, in all its bearings. No man cherished a higher respect, for the legitimate authority of those tribunals, before which, he was called to practice his profession; but he entertained no less respect, for his moral obligations to his clients. And, finally, after a few additional remarks, he stated to the court, that he had arrived at the clear conviction, that it was his duty to argue the constitutional question to the jury, notwithstanding the decision of a single judge, of an inferior grade; and that he should proceed to do so, regardless of any consequences. He then turned to the jury; and, undisturbed by the court, began, continued, and ended a most elaborate argument, against the constitutionality of the embargo law.[8]

And the jury acquitted the defendant, although the evidence of a violation of the Embargo Act was clear. The evidence has not survived, but Justice Horace Gray so stated in the course of an opinion he wrote, in dissent, in the case of *Sparf v. United States*.[9] Massachusetts juries were refusing to convict for violations of the Embargo Act, however clear the violation. So Alden Bradford says in his *History of Massachusetts*;[10] and so, too, Franklin Dexter, then the United States attorney, in his address to the Suffolk Bar on the occasion of Judge Davis' retirement in 1841.[11] John Quincy Adams wrote to William B. Giles that the District Court sat for seven or eight weeks and tried some forty cases. "Not one instance has occurred of a conviction by jury, and finally one of the jurymen is said to have declared, that he never would agree to convict any person under these laws, *whatever* might be the facts."[12] Mr. Dexter's argument to the jury must have been heard by the whole panel.

These proceedings before Judge Davis raise two questions which may bother some lawyers. This was a proceeding in admiralty. How came it before a jury? The answer is that at this time the question was rather whether a forfeiture in admiralty could be tried without a jury. In 1796, a writ of error was taken to the Supreme Court as to whether an information filed by the United States attorney for the forfeiture of a vessel exporting arms in violation of the act of May 22, 1794, was properly tried by the court sitting without a jury. The court held that since it was a proceeding in admiralty and a civil cause, no jury was necessary. This was the case of *United States v. La Vengeance.*[13] In 1805, the court was again asked the same question in the case of *United States v. The Schooner Sally*, which had been forfeited for engaging in the slave trade in violation of the act of March 22, 1794, the court sitting without a jury. The Supreme Court affirmed the forfeiture on the authority of the case of *La Vengeance*. I take it that Mr. Blake, the United States attorney, if Judge Davis had been willing, could have insisted on trying the case of the *William* before him alone, without a jury, but I doubt that it was necessary. Judge Davis' responsibility would have been the more onerous, and Mr. Dexter's hope of getting his client off less certain.

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[8] [Lucius Manlius Sargent], *Reminiscences of Samuel Dexter* (Boston, 1857), pp. 60–61.

[9] 156 U. S. 51 (1895).

[10] 3 vols. (Boston, 1822–29), III, 108*n*.

[11] Mass. Hist. Soc., *Colls.*, 3rd Ser., X, 194–195.

[12] John Quincy Adams to William B. Giles, Boston, January 16, 1809, *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, ed. Worthington C. Ford, 7 vols. (New York, 1913–17), III, 287–288.

The other legal question is why Judge Davis did not carry out his threat to hold Mr. Dexter in contempt for insisting on arguing the law, in this case, indeed, the Constitution, to the jury. Nowadays a judge could not very well not hold him in contempt, but in those days the juries were judges of the law as well as of the facts.[14]

Chief Justice Jay had said as much to a jury in 1794, in a case reported in 3 Dallas, a volume in which Judge Davis found two of the cases he referred to in his opinion, and he must have been familiar with Jay's charge to the jury. After saying that the law gave questions of fact to the jury and left the law to the court, Chief Justice Jay charged the jury, "But it must be observed that by the same law, which recognizes this reasonable distribution of jurisdiction, you have nevertheless a right to take upon yourselves to judge of both, and to determine the law as well as the fact in controversy."[15]

It may surprise even Massachusetts lawyers that the Massachusetts legislature, in 1808, the year of our case, passed an act giving juries the right "to decide at their discretion, by a general verdict, both the fact and the law in the issue." This state of affairs, anomalous to us now, was not repealed until 1836.[16]

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[13] 2 Dallas 297 (1796).

[14] See Mark DeWolfe Howe, "Juries as Judges of Criminal Law," *Harvard Law Review*, LII (1938–39), 582–616, and Justice Horace Gray's dissenting opinion in *Sparf v. United States*, 156 U. S. 51 (1895).

[15] *Georgia v. Brailsford*, 3 Dallas 1 (1794).

I come now to my small engima. The constitutionality of the Embargo Act had been raised. Indeed it was Mr. Dexter's chief, his only, defense. His "arguments upon that question," Manlius Sargent says, "were very elaborate." The first question which faced Judge Davis was, in his own words, "What is the power or authority of the court, relative to an objection of this description?" His opinion on this preliminary point is long, elaborate, and apparently exhaustive. He said, "I shall first recur to judicial determinations and opinions for light and guidance," and he carefully examined five cases, three of them in other Circuit Courts, two in the Supreme Court. None of them was of help. He went on, "Finding no direct judicial authority on the point, I shall next adduce opinions and reasonings, from a less authoritative source, but still highly respectable," and then quoted extensively from the *Federalist*.[17]

But he conspicuously failed to mention the greatest of all cases on judicial review, the case which is the cornerstone of the doctrine and was a binding precedent upon him and his court, John Marshall's opinion in *Marbury v. Madison*. Already it was more than five years old, having been decided early in 1803. Judge Davis' exhaustive examination of his five inconclusive precedents was like consulting Judy and ignoring Punch. This is my enigma.

It is a curious fact, and it has not gone unremarked. There is a footnote in *Hall's American Law Journal*, volume two, where Judge Davis' opinion was first reported and which was published in 1809, which shows that his failure to mention *Marbury v. Madison* was remarked almost immediately. This footnote reads, "Since this opinion was pronounced, it has been perceived that two other cases should have been noticed, both of them in affirmance of the general doctrine, exhibited in the cases cited in the text." One of these is the case of *Cooper v. Telfair*, which does not strike me as any more in point than the cases Judge Davis cited. But the other is *Marbury v. Madison*. Warren, in his history of the Supreme Court comments on its omission; so does Beveridge in his life of Marshall.[18] Neither offers any explanation. I am not sure that I can either, but I can make the omission more curious, and possibly significant.

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[16] See Howe, "Juries as Judges," p. 606.

[17] Reported in *Hall's American Law Journal*, II (1809), 255, and in *Federal Cases*, No. 16,700.

Had Judge Davis not read Marshall's opinion in *Marbury v. Madison*? The latest of the five decisions he cited was in 1800, eight years before. *Marbury v. Madison* was five years before. It is hard to believe that a judge of the District Court of Massachusetts, who was so soon to be the President of our Society, could be five years behind in his acquaintance with the decisions of his Supreme Court.

Beveridge says that *Marbury v. Madison* "received scant notice at the time of its delivery. . . . Even the bench and the bar of the country, at least in the sections remote from Washington, appear not to have heard of it."[19] But I suspect that Beveridge was relying on the fact that Judge Davis appeared not to have heard of it. For the footnote in which he remarks Judge Davis' failure to cite it is on the page in which he makes this statement. And is Massachusetts so "remote from Washington"? Warren disagrees with Beveridge.[20] Marshall's opinion was printed in full, in three instalments, in the *National Intelligencer*, a Washington paper,[21] and Warren says it was also printed in "many other papers." I do not find it in a Massachusetts paper. Not that I have examined them all, but I doubt very much if any one paper did, for space was limited to a few pages and the opinion was long. The *Boston Gazette*, on March 24, 1803, merely stated, "The opinion of the Supreme Court, on the motion for a Mandamus, &c. delivered by the Chief Justice last term, cannot fail of attracting the attention and admiration of our readers," without printing any part of it. And yet the opinion had been reported and was available in the reports of Cranch. Although their circulation was limited, for there were no official reports of the opinions of the Supreme Court until 1817[22] and Cranch, like his predecessor, Dallas, had to rely on sales, Cranch must have had a fair circulation among judges and lawyers.

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[18] Charles Warren, *The Supreme Court in United States History*, 3 vols. (Boston, 1922), I, 345*n*; Albert J. Beveridge, *The Life of John Marshall*, 4 vols. (Boston, 1916–19), III, 153*n*.

[19] Beveridge, *Marshall*, III, 153*n*.

[20] Warren, *Supreme Court*, I, 245*n*.

[21] March 18, 21, and 25, 1803.

[22] See William W. Crosskey, *Politics and the Constitution in the History of the United States*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1953), II, 1243–46.

But we have a better reason to think that Judge Davis knew his *Marbury v. Madison.* I cannot say it is certain, but in the auctioneer's catalogue of Judge Davis' library, which was sold in 1847 after his death, there appears the item, "Cranch, Reports of Cases in the Supreme Court of the United States, 6 vols., 8vo, Worcester, 1804–1812."[23] True, Judge Davis may have bought the volumes after 1808, but they came out one by one, as all law reports do. I think we must suppose what, after all, we have a right to expect, that a Judge of the District Court subscribed to them as they were published. If so, Judge Davis, either at home or in his chambers, had volume one of Cranch, in which *Marbury v. Madison* had been reported in 1803, five years before he failed to cite it in 1808.

The enigma darkens, but at least we are relieved of the painful thought that a Judge of our District Court who was to become our President was five years behind in the current decisions of his Supreme Court.

What about counsel? If *Marbury v. Madison* had been cited in any of their elaborate arguments, Judge Davis could not have failed to refer to it, and there would have been no need of his examining the five cases of which he said, "None of these cases decide the point under consideration." And he would scarcely have had to go back to the *Federalist,* certainly "a less authoritative source, but still highly respectable."

Could Joseph Story, not to speak of the other lawyers for the government, have been ignorant of Marshall's great and daring, and highly controversial, opinion? Story was young, but in three years he was to join Marshall on the court, and it was not long before he was recognized as the most learned lawyer and jurist of the age. I find it hard to believe that the author of the *Commentaries* on the Constitution was then so ignorant of constitutional law. *Marbury v. Madison* ran directly counter to the contentions of the government, which he was representing. The government did not want the Embargo Act declared unconstitutional. However, we must not be diverted into an inquiry into a lawyer's duty to advise the court of decisions adverse to his client's contentions.[24]

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[23] A copy of this catalogue is in the Boston Athenæum, No. 1826.

[24] See *American Bar Association Journal,* XXXV (1949), 837, Opinion 280, and Henry S. Drinker, *Legal Ethics* (New York, 1953), p. 78, where he says, "A lawyer is bound to

What of counsel for the defendant? Were they ignorant of the leading case in support of their argument that Judge Davis had the power and authority, and the duty, to hold this act of Congress unconstitutional? I find it impossible to believe that Mr. Dexter did not know about *Marbury v. Madison,* and I think I can convince you that he did.

Mr. Dexter, after having served in the House and Senate, had been appointed Secretary of War in 1800. In January, 1801, he had succeeded Oliver Wolcott as Secretary of the Treasury. This was two months before the end of the Adams administration, and Mr. Dexter continued to hold that office under Jefferson for another year until January 26, 1802, when Gallatin was appointed. So he was in Washington and in President Jefferson's Cabinet at the very time when Madison, the Secretary of State, refused to deliver Marbury's commission. He was still there in December, 1801, when Marbury applied to the Supreme Court for a writ of mandamus and Marshall granted his motion for a rule to Madison to show cause why the writ should not issue.

But there is another reason. There had been a fire in the building which Mr. Dexter had rented for the use of the War Department. Indeed, the Boston *Independent Chronicle,* needless to say a Republican paper, had charged Mr. Dexter with setting it![25] At any rate, the owner of the building sued Mr. Dexter on the covenants of the lease, and took the case to the Supreme Court, which held that since the lease had been made in behalf of the government it was not Mr. Dexter's obligation. The point is that the court's decision, read by Chief Justice Marshall, was announced at the same term of court, the February term of 1803, and was reported in the same volume of Cranch's Reports, volume one, as *Marbury v. Madison.*

And so I think we may ask ourselves the double question: Why did Mr. Dexter choose not to cite Marshall's great decision to Judge Davis, and why did Judge Davis choose not to refer to it?

Mr. Dexter wanted to get to the jury and to argue to them the unconstitutionality of the nefarious Embargo Act. Indeed, he had noth-

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tell the court of any decision directly adverse to any proposition of law on which he expressly relies, of which the lawyer on the other side is apparently ignorant and which would reasonably be considered important by the judge sitting in the case." Here the government had good reason to believe that Mr. Dexter was not ignorant.

[25] [Sargent], *Reminiscences,* p. 48.

ing else to argue to them, for it was quite clear that his client had violated the act. This was the best way to win the case. If he could do this, he was confident he could get a verdict, as he did, which would make an end of the case then and there, for there could be no appeal from the jury's verdict.

Henry Adams, in his *History of the United States*, failed to get the point. He forgot that the jury had given a verdict for the defendant, when he remarked, referring to Judge Davis' opinion, "Against this remarkable decision Dexter did not venture to appeal. Strong as his own convictions were, he knew the character of Chief Justice Marshall's law too well to hope for success at Washington."[26] As to Marshall's law, Adams was quite right. Some years later, in *Gibbons v. Ogden*, Marshall referred to "the universally acknowledged power of the Government to impose embargoes."[27] But as to the appeal, that was for the government, not for Mr. Dexter, to make, and the docket shows that the government did claim an appeal, which was allowed by the judge, but the government did not press it.[28] Why should it, after the jury's verdict?

The fact is, Mr. Dexter did not want Judge Davis to hold the Embargo Laws unconstitutional. For then Judge Davis would have taken the case away from the jury, then the government would have appealed to the Supreme Court, and after that the case would have exploded into a political controversy without any foreseeable legal conclusion. Mr. Dexter was too good a lawyer to hope that the Supreme Court would hold the act unconstitutional. Marshall was too wise to take such a bold step. As we know, the Supreme Court did not in fact hold another act of Congress unconstitutional, barring the fiasco of the Dred Scott case, until 1868, in the Legal Tender Cases, only to reverse itself two years later. And, as I have already said, Marshall did not think an embargo was unconstitutional. Marshall believed as firmly in broad national powers as he did in a broad power of judicial review.

Mr. Dexter thought it quite possible that Judge Davis, a staunch Federalist, at a time when popular as well as Federalist feeling was running flood tide against the Embargo, might hold the act unconstitutional, and thus, as I say, defeat his plan of trying his case to the jury. He did not think the government would be so candid as to cite *Marbury v. Madison.* He could hope that Judge Davis would not cite it. For it was quite possible that Judge Davis remembered the decision, not for Marshall's assertion of the power of judicial review, for which it was later to become the leading case, but only for Marshall's assertion of the court's power to issue a writ of mandamus to a member of the President's Cabinet, for which it was then notorious. This was what the Republicans were resenting. This was why the decision had been denounced and publicized, not as a denial of the powers of Congress, but as an invasion of the prerogatives of the Executive; and this was an aspect of the case which had no bearing on the case before Judge Davis.[29]

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[26] Henry Adams, *History of the United States of America . . .*, 9 vols. (New York, 1889–91), IV, 270.

[27] 9 Wheaton 1 (1824).

[28] Original papers in the U. S. District Court Clerk's office, Boston.

Marbury v. Madison was direct judicial authority for a far greater measure of judicial review than Judge Davis accepted, greater than the authorities he cited in his opinion, more authoritative than the *Federalist* papers.

This calls for a brief comparison of Judge Davis' opinion and his view of the extent of judicial supremacy with Marshall's doctrine in *Marbury v. Madison.* Judge Davis, after stating the necessity of passing on the contention that the Embargo Act was unconstitutional, said, "On this head, a preliminary inquiry, of material importance, presents itself: What is the power or authority of the court, relative to an objection of this description? Or, in other words, is a mere exceeding of the powers of Congress, in legislation, without a repugnancy to express provisions of the Constitution, among the proper objects of cognizance in the federal judiciary? In the consideration of this preliminary question, I shall first recur to judicial determinations and opinions for light and guidance."

He cited the five cases, all before 1800, and all before Marshall, and proceeded, "Finding no direct judicial authority on the point, I shall next adduce opinions and reasonings, from a less authoritative source, but still highly respectable."

Then he turned to the *Federalist,* and quoted from it at some length. That done, he concluded, "These extracts give a clear and satisfactory view of the opinions entertained by the writer, or writers, of those papers on this topic; and it is evident that the judicial authority is, in their estimation, precisely limited in regard to deciding on the validity of legislative acts, and of legislative action which their powers forbid, not to those which their powers may be supposed not to authorize."

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[29] See Charles G. Haines, *The Role of the Supreme Court in American Government and Politics, 1789–1835* (Berkeley, 1944), pp. 253 ff., and Warren, *Supreme Court,* I, 245–254.

He went on, "To extend this censorial power further, and especially to extend it to the degree contended for in the objections to the act now under consideration, would be found extremely difficult, if not impracticable, in execution. To determine where the legitimate extent of discretion ends and usurpation begins, would be a task most delicate and arduous. . . . Considerations of this nature have induced a doubt of the competency, or constitutional authority of the court, to decide an act invalid, in a case of this description. On the precise extent, however, of the power of the court, I do not give a definite opinion; my view of the main question, submitted by counsel, in this case, renders such a decision unnecessary."

Judge Davis then proceeded to state the reasons why he did not believe anyhow that a total prohibition of all foreign commerce, even for an indefinite period, was an invalid exercise of the power of Congress to regulate foreign commerce. Into this I need not go, except to remark that in some quieter time, under less stress of circumstance, Judge Davis might well have so ruled and made it the reason for his decision. Marshall would have agreed with him, and many years later, in 1918, Justice Holmes, dissenting to the decision that Congress was not regulating commerce when it forbade all interstate or foreign shipments of the products of child labor, showed that he would have disposed of the case in this way. Justice Holmes said, "Congress is given power to regulate such commerce in unqualified terms. It would not be argued today that the power to regulate does not include the power to prohibit. Regulation means the prohibition of something, and when interstate commerce is the matter to be regulated, I cannot doubt that the regulations may prohibit any part of such commerce that Congress sees fit to forbid."[30]

But *Marbury v. Madison*, the case which was not cited, was concerned, not with the power of Congress to pass the Embargo Act, but with the court's power to declare it unconstitutional. This is the only point for which *Marbury v. Madison* could have been cited. On that point Marshall's opinion went far beyond the position Davis took.

For, as you see, Judge Davis drew a sharp and decisive distinction between Congress' exceeding its powers by doing what its constitutional powers did not authorize it to do, and Congress' doing something which the Constitution expressly forbade it to do. This is a distinction which is out of place in a government of delegated and limited powers. The great case of *Marbury v. Madison* and the doctrine of judicial supremacy would amount to little if the courts could declare an act of Congress void only when it contravened or was repugnant to some express restriction or provision in the Constitution. Congress would then be judicially bound only to respect express prohibitions, and be left free to exceed the limits of its powers, subject only to its own political conscience. As Marshall said in *Marbury v. Madison*, "The powers of the legislature are defined and limited; and that those limits may not be mistaken, or forgotten, the Constitution is written. To what purposes are powers limited, and to what purpose is that limitation committed to writing, if these limits may, at any time, be passed by those intended to be restrained?" And certainly there is no express prohibition in the Constitution against Congress' giving the Supreme Court original jurisdiction to issue writs of mandamus, which was the question in *Marbury v. Madison.* Marshall had to imply Congress' lack of power to add to the court's original jurisdiction from the affirmative words in the Constitution which specified what original jurisdiction the court was to have.

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[30] *Hammer v. Dagenhart*, 247 U. S. 251 (1918).

If Mr. Dexter had cited Marshall's opinion the Judge would have been forced to accept the responsibility of ruling on the constitutionality of the Embargo Act, and possibly, so far as Mr. Dexter knew, would have held it void, instead of coming to the conclusion that he had no power to so hold. Mr. Dexter preferred a verdict from the jury.

I think this is why Mr. Dexter did not cite Marshall's opinion, and moreover, persuaded his Federalist colleagues not to mention it. This brilliant trial lawyer won his case as neatly and completely as possible by deliberately refraining from citing to the court the only direct and authoritative precedent in his favor. John Adams may not have been wrong when he wrote to a friend, in 1816, at Mr. Dexter's death, "I have lost the ablest friend I had on earth in Mr. Dexter."[31]

But why did not Judge Davis himself cite *Marbury v. Madison*, if we may suppose—and I hope you will agree, with some reason—that he had indeed read and remembered the whole opinion? Judge Davis must have been as anxious as Mr. Dexter was—though without his professional reasons—to avoid the political explosion which I think would surely have followed the assertion in 1808 by a lower court, the District Court of Massachusetts, that it had power to declare the Embargo Act void.

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[31] John Adams to F. A. Vanderkemp, Quincy, May 26, 1816, *The Works of John Adams*, ed. Charles Francis Adams, 10 vols. (Boston, 1850–56), x, 220.

Consider the situation. It was only three years since Justice Chase had been impeached and acquitted with only four votes to spare: 23 were required; 19 had voted against him. The Republicans were treating impeachment as a method of removal. So John Quincy Adams had written his father.[32] Marshall's indiscreet behavior in the trial of Burr was still fresh, only a year old.[33] In a few weeks was coming a national election which the Federalist candidates seemed to have a good prospect of winning.[34] Christopher Gore had just returned from the Federalist Convention, no doubt optimistic of Pinckney's prospects, although more than was warranted by the result, for Madison got 122 electoral votes to Pinckney's 47. It was no time to play with Republican fire.

Judge Davis, I think, considered it this way. Unlike Marshall, who in *Marbury v. Madison* chose to assert the power of the court and then not use it, Judge Davis preferred to avoid even the assertion; and to do this, he had to keep Marshall and *Marbury v. Madison* out of it. I surmise that Judge Davis was as relieved to have the jury make an end of the case as Mr. Dexter was insistent that it should. He, too, as well as Mr. Dexter, must have "passed a night of great anxiety." I feel sure that the case "had not failed to exercise" his thoughts, "in all its bearings," and among them the broad shoulders of a jury to bear political responsibility.

I have picked up an unconsidered trifle. It is a trifle, but it contains an enigma. I have not elucidated the enigma. I have succeeded only in darkening it. But the darker I have made it, the freer I have made you and me to entertain ourselves with surmises. Anyhow, I have told you a good story about an advocate who was as shrewd as he was determined, and about a judge who was as wise as he was prudent.

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[32] March 8, 1805, Adams, *Writings*, III, 106–114.

[33] See James B. Thayer, *John Marshall* (Boston, 1901), pp. 80–81.

[34] Morison, *Harrison Gray Otis*, I, 332.

The Forgotten Maine Boundary Commission

RICHARD W. HALE, JR.*

THIS investigation into the Northeastern Boundary Commission came to be made because of the following cryptic entry in some family accounts: "Papers of the Northeastern Boundary Commission—one dollar." Inquiries led to a suggestion that they were at the Library of Congress. Inquiries there met with an emphatic negative. Further information led to a belief that the papers might be in this Society. Inquiries led to another emphatic negative. Then an old letter turned up which gave a date for the deposit of the papers here. This led to yet another negative, this time with a promise of further search. Finally, last year, at the dinner of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, the Librarian of this Society looked at me firmly, and said the simple word, "Yes." Together we opened the box he had discovered in the basement of this building, and found in it the lost papers of the Boundary Commission set up under Article 5 of the Treaty of Ghent. That commission had adjourned in May, 1822, to await further call, having so utterly disagreed as to find further sessions at least temporarily useless. The secretary of the commission, the Honorable Salma Hale of Keene, New Hampshire, had then taken the papers home with him, in readiness for the call which never came, and there they remained, till his son took them to Boston, and his grandson deposited them with this Society.

The papers proved voluminous. They were the minutes of the commission, the arguments which the agents of Great Britain and of the United States had presented to the commission, the field books of the surveyors sent out by the commission, and even the bills of expenses of the surveyors, the agents, and the commissioners, not to mention the oaths taken by the commissioners and all who served under them. Were these records unique? They proved not to be, though the search for copies was full of interest. At the Public Archives of Canada, in the Chipman Papers, were found the duplicates made by Ward Chipman the elder, the Harvard graduate and New Brunswick

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* This paper was read at the December, 1954, meeting.

Tory who had been the British agent. At the National Archives in Washington, transferred from the State Department, were found duplicates kept by a series of American agents. In the State Library at Augusta, Maine, there is a third set of copies, made for the State of Maine when the boundary dispute took on acute form in the 1830's. These three sets of copies, however, were naturally selective ones. The great mass of surveying data is to be found only in the master set, now on deposit here. While the arguments, many of the field books, and the records of the commission were copied, a student of Maine's geographical history must come to Boston for the final word.

Nor were these records the only copies extant. Lengthy selections from the arguments, the commission's records, and the field books were printed in limited quantities, as evidence to lay before the King of the Netherlands, whom Great Britain and the United States in 1827 invited to become arbitrator for settling the boundary question the commissioners had failed to settle. However, this printed material has had a strange history. Because it was not issued in the regular manner, as either a Congressional or an Executive Document, it escaped recording by Ben Perley Poore[1] and seems to have disappeared into a bibliographical limbo, often to be overlooked even by careful researchers.

Scholars have not entirely neglected this material in copy. Ganong used the Chipman Papers for his monograph on the boundaries of New Brunswick, checking them against the papers of Thomas Barclay, former New York Tory, British Consul General in New York, and British commissioner under the Fifth Article of the Treaty of Ghent; Moore used the State Department copies for his work on arbitrations; Burrage used the copies at Augusta for his *Maine in the Northeastern Boundary Controversy.*[2] It might seem that this discovery of lost manuscripts had led to nothing more than solving the mystery of an entry in some family accounts, and, perhaps, to some future research in the surveying of Aroostook County, Maine.

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[1] Benjamin Perley Poore, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Publications of the United States, September 5, 1774—March 4, 1881* (Washington, 1885).

[2] William F. Ganong, "A Monograph of the Evolution of the Boundaries of the Province of Quebec," Royal Society of Canada, *Transactions,* 2nd Ser., VII (1901), Sect. II, 139–449; John Bassett Moore, *History and Digest of the International Arbitrations to Which the United States Has Been a Party,* 6 vols. (Washington, 1898); Henry S. Burrage, *Maine in the Northeastern Boundary Controversy* ([Portland], 1919).

However, at Ottawa, in the transcripts from the Foreign Office Papers, was found a letter from Ward Chipman explaining his intended course of argument before the commission. In the State Department files was found a puzzled letter from the last of the American agents, expounding his bewilderment at the British line of argument. These two, together with the geographical information in the field books in the commission's records, led to a line of thought which, although anticipated in part by Ganong, seems worth presenting here as something shedding light on the Northeastern Boundary controversy.

For there has been a curious gap in the historiography of the struggle between the United States and Great Britain over the line separating Maine and Canada. Much has been written—many libraries contain a literal shelf-full of books on the subject—on the so-called Aroostook War, the armed clash that was narrowly averted by the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842. There has been much investigation of the Treaty of Paris of 1783, and of how the broad general description of the boundary was agreed upon. Specific details have had close scrutiny. The arbitration of 1794 to 1796, determining which was the River St. Croix mentioned in the Treaty of 1783, was honored by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace with two fat brown volumes. There is still another fat volume that records how, after 1908, Canada and the United States erected a new set of boundary markers. But nowhere is there more than cursory mention of the work of the commission that from 1816 to 1822 tried but failed to delimit the frontier. Yet there, it seems, is the key to the whole controversy. Had that commission succeeded in its task, there would have been no contention. Why did it fail? No one, except the late William F. Ganong, seems to have ferreted out the reason.

The commission that was appointed in 1816 seemed to set out with fair prospects. Its duty was simple. It was supposed to survey boundary lines west and south from an apparently fixed point, the "Northwest angle of Nova Scotia." Since New Brunswick had been set off from Nova Scotia the year after the Treaty of 1783 was signed, this meant the northwest corner of New Brunswick. The point was defined as "that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of the St. Croix River to the highlands." Then the boundary was to go "along the highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the River St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, the north-westernmost head of the Connecticut River, thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude; from thence by a line due west on said latitude, until it strikes the River Iroquois or Catarquy." Here the only difficulty might seem to be that there was dispute over what was the River St. Croix. But that difficulty had been settled: in 1796 a commission had agreed which of two rivers was the St. Croix, which of two sources was the source, and had blazed a yellow birch tree to mark the point. If an international commission could decide that knotty question, if another international commission after 1815 was successfully deciding how the boundary line would run through Passamaquoddy Bay, surely the task of delimiting this boundary was easy.

As events proved, it was not. It had been possible to agree on what was the true St. Croix because there Champlain had erected his Habitation, on Dochet Island, and a little archaeological research had put beyond controversy which was the true St. Croix. It was possible to agree on islands in Quoddy Bay because the dispute was not worth prolonging, and John Holmes, the American commissioner, and Thomas Barclay, the British commissioner, could each make sacrifices to gain a compromise. But for the rest of the boundary the necessary sacrifices to secure a compromise were too great. The commission surveyors made two embarrassing discoveries: if the Treaty of 1783 were literally carried out, Great Britain would lose the Grand Portage; the United States would lose the "million dollar fort" at Rouses Point. Neither side would yield these militarily valuable possessions. For that reason the arbitration broke down.

The Grand Portage was the Indian trail which ran from Madawaska on the St. John River, up the Temiscouta River to Lake Temiscouta, and then, past a carrying place, down the Rivière du Loup to the town of Notre Dame des Portages. That was the only military land route between New Brunswick and Quebec until the 1870's, when the Intercolonial Railway opened up the gorge of the Matapedia River. If the Grand Portage should fall into American hands, Quebec would be cut off from Halifax for three months of the year in the event of any future war. And, as Colonel Charles P. Stacey has ably pointed out in his pamphlet, *The Undefended Border: The Myth and the Reality* (Ottawa, 1953), it was not until after the construction of the Intercolonial Railway that men put from their minds the possibility of war between the United States and Canada. Therefore, loss of the Grand Portage might seem the equivalent of losing Canada.

At first, as the commission's records show, both sides had thought all that was necessary was to go ahead with the survey. The English commissioner and the English agent appear not to have feared that the line north from the St. Croix would give the United States the Grand Portage. The American commissioner and the American agent seem to have been confident that the forty-fifth parallel had been correctly surveyed in 1772. Both sides, however, relied on faulty geographical knowledge, as soon was to be shown.

With that cordiality which distinguishes postwar relations, the commissioners, Thomas Barclay and Cornelius Van Ness, wrangled for a year over where to meet, finally got a pair of surveying parties ready in midsummer of 1817, and shipped them off to the source of the St. Croix. The yellow birch tree was found. Both sides suspiciously moved north, arguing about the proper correction for magnetic deviation. Here smart practice on the part of the British sub-surveyor, Odell, appears to have slanted the line to the west, gaining a few square miles for New Brunswick. The main party took so much time that the two chief surveyors, John Johnson, the Vermonter, and Joseph Bouchette, the Canadian, went on ahead. To their apparent amazement, mile after mile went by, with the waters still flowing south to the Atlantic. The St. John was reached, and crossed, and they still went north. Finally, they came to waters flowing east, into the Gulf, not the River, of St. Lawrence. At the news of this Barclay took alarm, but still hoped to save the Grand Portage by calling this point "the highlands." Continuing their exploration the next year well past Lake Temiscouta, Odell and Johnson finally stumbled on a point, only twenty-odd miles from the shores of the St. Lawrence, that drained to the north. Then, and apparently only then, was it realized that the Grand Portage from Madawaska to Temiscouta, the key to interior communications between New Brunswick and Quebec, would lie in American hands.

At that, Chipman, the British agent, made the decision from which sprang the form of the boundary controversies. He decided it was necessary to save face as well as the Grand Portage and that the only action he could take was to becloud the issue. He reported to the Foreign Office what his tactics would be, and why, and then set to work. Some help came from a broken theodolite; this would allow asking for a complete resurvey. More help would come from an act of idiocy on the part of the Americans in connection with the forty-fifth parallel. In 1818 it was discovered that a survey, made in the 1770's by New York and Canada, ran too far to the north, and that as a result the United States had built a fort at Rouses Point that was in Canada. Rather than give up the fort, the American agent instructed his astronomer to invent a new kind of astronomy that would place it south of some kind of forty-fifth parallel. By using such fallacious reasoning, the Americans were forced to give countenance to Chipman's casuistry. But Chipman's chief reliance was on getting his tongue in his cheek and stating that the St. John River did not run into the Atlantic Ocean—which is arguable since it runs into the Bay of Fundy—and that therefore it somehow ran into the St. Lawrence—which in retrospect seems sheer twaddle. Chipman argued so persistently that he accomplished his aim.

He got the commissioners to agree that the word "highlands" was not entirely clear, and that further geographical investigation was needed. American surveyors went north. They struggled up the Restigouche, to make sure the north line crossed it, and they went deep into the forests north of the St. John, to find out just where the watershed was. British surveyors took it much easier. Bouchette was fired, ostensibly for incompetence, though he remained Surveyor General of Lower Canada all his life. Actually, it would seem, he was fired for having written *A Topographical Description of the Province of Lower Canada* (London, 1815), a book indicating where the north line would probably go. He was replaced with Odell, of theodolite and deviation fame, who could be trusted to do all the stretching needed to save the Grand Portage. One British surveyor climbed Mars Hill, and reported truthfully he saw a sort of mountain range reaching westward. Another British surveyor went to the region of Jackman, where the watersheds of the Chaudière, the St. John, the Penobscot, and the Kennebec come close to each other. He also truthfully reported seeing a sort of mountain range that would run east, north of Moosehead Lake and Lake Chesuncook. With that, the British rested their nominal case and asserted that the highlands meant by the treaty ran from Mars

Hill to a point northeast of Jackman, a hundred miles south of the American version of the highlands.

This case was furthered—in so far as muddying up went—by yet another dispute. It was possible to argue which was the source of the Connecticut. Add to this that the Americans weakened their whole case by being as unreasonable about the Restigouche's running into the Atlantic as the British were about the St. John's not running into the Atlantic. Clearly, Chipman had succeeded in his policy. It was possible to wreck the commission's work, and as the treaty required, refer the matter to an arbitrator. It was also possible to conceal from the Americans that this was done to stall for time, and to throw the decision into the hands of an arbitrator, who could almost certainly "split the difference" and give Great Britain the Grand Portage. As late as 1822, the American agent was reporting to the Secretary of State that he expected to win consent to his proposals because the argument of the British agent was patently silly.

Those familiar with the Northeastern Boundary dispute know what happened. The arbitrator was the King of the Netherlands. He made the common-sense suggestion of cutting the north line off where it hit the St. John, running up the St. John till past the Grand Portage, and then heading north to the watershed. The British agreed; the United States Senate did not. After eleven years of controversy, and the amusing incident of an independent country's springing up between Canada and New Hampshire, the United States finally settled for less than was offered, gaining back the Indian Stream Republic and losing some land north of the St. John, which became the boundary all the way. Then New Brunswick and "Lower Canada" pitched in, and had their private quarrel. New Brunswick, having argued that the northeast corner of Nova Scotia was at Mars Hill, in order to keep Americans out of the St. John Valley, now turned around and argued that the northeast corner of Nova Scotia was on the watershed between the St. John and the St. Lawrence. It won this argument. It lost some land by a practical compromise, but its present boundary runs north of the Restigouche. That, in itself, is a good commentary on the worth of Chipman's claims, successful as they were in saving the Grand Portage.

Yet how can it be asserted that not only the statesmen in London and Washington but the surveyors themselves expected to find the highlands not too far from the Grand Portage? Surely Bouchette must have realized that the St. John River bent around north of the St. Croix, and that the Grand Portage went over the very watershed in question. Surely he knew that the St. John portages were the regular canoe routes used by the French for years. And surely he must have known where the carrying places were on the Rivière du Sud, the Rivière Ouelle, and the Temiscouta. Unless these objections can be answered and explained, the whole argument falls flat.

The answer is simple. Bouchette did have an inkling the Grand Portage might be on the American side of the line, but surveyors' reports to the commission expressed surprise that it was necessary to go so far north to find the watershed. The explanation is not too difficult, either. Although the French and, of course, the Indians knew a good deal about the interior geography of Maine, there is strong evidence that that knowledge had not been transmitted to the English rulers of Canada, the Tory settlers of New Brunswick, or the Yankees, who entered eastern Maine only after the end of the French and Indian War and who went deep into northeastern Maine only after the Revolution. Mr. Frederick Allis, in his recent monumental volumes on Maine lands, has shown that it was news to William Bingham's agents that the highlands were as far north as they proved to be, and that Park Holland had a very rough time without supplies getting to the north end of the Bingham purchase in 1794.[3] As for the New Brunswickers, they merely settled on the lower St. John; the few Frenchmen they kicked out became the Madawaska Settlement on the upper St. John. Why should any recent immigrant go up the St. John? The English were lumberers, not fur traders, in New Brunswick, and it was not till after 1815 that lumbering got that far up the river. And as for the English Canadians, why should they cross the Grand Portage? In summer, the sea route to the Maritimes was the better anyway, and who would be fool enough to travel in winter?

It is true that the Lower Canada Assembly did have the Grand Portage road opened up again. But it seems that no one ever worried exactly where the Grand Portage was. Canadian history, that of Maine, that of New Brunswick, all show the same pattern: geographical knowledge that had been won by Frenchmen travelling in canoes had to be won all over again by Anglo-Saxons who walked through the woods, ax in hand, pack on back. That is reinforced again and again by the itineraries of the surveyors. The bills they turned in for travel expenses were those of men who used canoes merely for transporting supplies. Men of one culture disliked learning from men of another. All Anglo-Saxons concerned with the boundary were blind to geographical facts until they came face to face with them. The Northeastern Boundary dispute was the result of Ward Chipman's reaction to the discovery that the "North West corner of Nova Scotia" was where it was. He took the only method open for getting the whole question renegotiated—that of muddying up the issues—and was successful.

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[3] *William Bingham's Maine Lands, 1790–1820*, ed. Frederick S. Allis, Jr., Colonial Society of Massachusetts, *Publications*, XXXVI-XXXVII (1954), I, 217.

The Scuffle in the Rotunda

A Footnote to the Presidency of John Quincy Adams and To the History of Dueling

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS*

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS was President during the heyday of dueling in the United States. Sensitiveness among gentlemen required apology for an insult or else satisfaction on the "field of honor." Few spirited politicians could afford to let pass anything that smacked of an insult, much less a direct slap in the face. Not to demand satisfaction for an affront, or not to grant it when required by the injured party, could result in social exclusion, would be most likely to ruin a most promising political career. So well established was this American custom and its European background, that there were manuals and "codes of honor" for it. The authorities argued that the more polished a society the more sensitive was a gentleman to insult, and what politician or officer of the armed forces of the United States would admit that he was not a gentleman? Practiced pistoleers and frontier bullies and journalistic adventurers could be even more "sensitive" than polished gentlemen; they could and did conjure up insults in order to get rid of a more urbane enemy. They were even quicker to take advantage of a plausible one.

Laws against dueling, like those of Virginia, were of little avail. Public opinion never analyzed the motives of a duelist or the causes of a duel. If a surviving antagonist were indicted for murder no jury would find him guilty even if he had killed the aggrieved party. Distinguished statesmen in both England and the United States—not to mention the greater prevalence of the duello in France and other European countries—felt constrained to meet on the field of honor. William Pitt, George Canning, Lord Castlereagh, and even the Duke of Wellington while Prime Minister had found it necessary to fight duels. In the United States at least four such encounters resulted in national tragedies. Except for Burr's egregious provocation, such affairs seemed to benefit a man rather than injure him politically, if he survived. Even Burr, taking refuge in the West and South, found favor there. One of his friends had been Andrew Jackson, one of the most celebrated and implacable duelists in the United States, as well as a nervy marksman.

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* This paper was read at the November, 1953, meeting.

John Quincy Adams did not believe in the duello. He regarded it as a barbarism but for a long time he felt that it was absolutely impractical to try to prohibit it by law. "What influence of fear of punishment," he asked himself, "can be exercised over men who begin by deliberately staking their lives upon a feather?"[1] He did not raise his voice against what Thomas Hart Benton called the most high-toned duel of his experience, the famous meeting between Secretary of State Henry Clay and Senator John Randolph, but he must have passed painful moments while it was being fought out on Virginia soil near the south end of the Falls Bridge.

When President Adams' supporters advanced objections to General Jackson as a candidate for President because of his duels, Duff Green, the most fiery opposition journalist, charged them with rank hypocrisy: at least Jackson had never made profession against the practice, as John Quincy Adams had. "By retaining Mr. Clay [as Secretary of State] Mr. Adams has violated his own professions on the subject of dueling." He cited tellingly—and he could have been still more telling had he remembered the vote of the presidential contest in the House of Representatives in 1825—President Adams's nomination of Judge Andrew Scott for reappointment in the territory of Arkansas after that worthy had challenged and killed Judge Selden, a brother judge of the same bench. "While his hands were still reeking with blood, Mr. Adams, the *religious Mr. Adams,* the boasted *man of peace,* whose fame is soiled by no work of blood, nominated him to the Senate, to fill, for another term, the bench which he had just polluted!!!"[2]

One wonders that John Quincy Adams himself was never involved in a duel during his long and contentious lifetime. He was given to very frank appraisals—and often to ulcerous judgments—of contemporaries who did not meet his approval. None of the subjects of such descriptions ever challenged him, because he confined his objurgations and epithets to his Diary, never printed until long after their deaths and his. But during his Presidency an incident occurred by which his political enemies sought to bring public opinion to bear upon him and his administration through the unwritten code of the duello. It began at one of the White House receptions on April 2, 1828. Practically anybody of decent appearance and carriage could go to these fortnightly levees or "drawing-rooms." According to the custom it was easy enough to get a card, or even to walk in without an invitation of any kind. The President and Mrs. Adams made no effort themselves to exclude from the "peoples' palace" persons who were at war with them politically. That was left to the good taste and judgment of the individual concerned.

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[1] *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Comprising Portions of his Diary from 1795 to 1848,* ed. Charles Francis Adams, 12 vols. (Philadelphia, 1874-77), IX, 500. See also IX, 503; X, 51–52. Although these private opinions were registered in his Diary later (1838), at the time of debates in the House of Representatives, they may be said to represent his steady opinion throughout his life.

[2] *United States Telegraph,* March 17, 1828.

One such person who did not scruple to attend White House functions, nor to bring his visiting relatives to them, was Russell Jarvis. He was editorial scribe of the daily *Telegraph,* which the opposition leaders had combined to set up in Washington to attack the administration, and partner of Duff Green, the President's most vituperative enemy. The jabs and jibes of these devastating journalists had got under Adams' skin, but he succeeded in confining his feelings to his Diary. Not so every member of his family.

Jarvis was a thirty-seven-year-old New England democrat born in Boston. As a child he had removed to Claremont, New Hampshire, been graduated from Dartmouth College, and later attended Tapping Reeve's famous law school in Litchfield, Connecticut, where John C. Calhoun had studied after receiving his degree at Yale. Jarvis once had served as editor of the *Boston Patriot,*[3] a pro-Adams paper. A staunch Adams man, he had been secretary to a meeting at Boston that elected delegates to nominate him for the Presidency.[4] Not having received any reward he had gone over to the opposition. On Wednesday evening, April 2, 1828, he and Mrs. Jarvis visited the White House drawing room with a party from Boston, including, among others, his wife's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Cordis, and two other ladies, whom he personally introduced to Mrs. Adams. After being courteously received they passed on into the East Room. There they found themselves not far from John Adams 2d, the President's son and private secretary, who was chatting at the moment with the Reverend Caleb Stetson, pastor of the First Parish at Medford, Massachusetts. This church was attended by the Brooks family, to whose daughter Abigail, Mr. and Mrs. Adams' youngest son Charles was engaged.

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[3] P. P. Degrand to John Quincy Adams, Boston, March 13, 1824, Adams Papers (Massachusetts Historical Society). Quotations from the Adams Papers are by the permission of the Adams Manuscript Trust.

[4] Degrand to Adams, Boston, March 17, 1823, Adams Papers.

"Who is that lady?" inquired Mr. Stetson, glancing at the group a few feet away.

"That," responded son John in a voice loud enough to be overheard by the visitors and so intended, "is the wife of one Russell Jarvis. *There* is a man who, if he had any idea of propriety in the conduct of a gentleman, ought not to show his face in this house."

"Take care," warned the clergyman, "he may hear what you say."

"I do not care if he does," replied young Mr. Adams.

The visitors had heard all right. They immediately and politely took their leave of Mrs. Adams and left the house.[5]

The duello was still highly popular in Washington, and there was plausible cause for personal satisfaction. It might also be a most useful incident in an election year. Jarvis checked with Mr. Stetson to identify John Adams 2d beyond all doubt as the person whom he had overheard. Then he took time to think over the "insult," perhaps to consult with Duff Green and leaders of the opposition.[6] Here was a wonderful chance to strike at the President, with popular applause, by challenging his son to a duel. If the young man did not accept, or took shelter under his White House employment or relationship, public opinion particularly in southern and western states might brand him as a coward.

Six days after the presidential reception, on April 8, 1828, Jarvis wrote a note to John Adams. It was delivered by Alexander C. McLean, one of the party who had accompanied the ladies in the Jarvis party at the White House levee. McLean was charged to receive any explanations. Young Adams repeated to the intermediary what he had said to Stetson about Jarvis, and contemptuously refused to have any further correspondence.

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[5] Testimony in "Case of Russell Jarvis," H. R. Rept. No. 260, 20th Cong., 1st Sess. Hereinafter cited as "Case of Russell Jarvis."

[6] Duff Green, in a signed communication to the *U. S. Telegraph*, May 8, 1828, asserted that Jarvis consulted with nobody.

According to the "code of honor" the next step for a "gentleman" who had received no satisfaction was to return the insult personally and unmistakably so as to provoke a challenge if possible. Jarvis resolved on this recourse.[7] Because the *Telegraph* was the printing organ of the Senate, he had good reason to frequent the Capitol. There he watched for John Adams; we may guess that he did not fail to confer with his employers and political bosses. The President's secretary appeared on Tuesday, April 15, bearing routine messages to the House of Representatives and the Senate. Having completed his errand to the lower house, he was passing through the Rotunda on his way to the Senate. At that conspicuous place, where members were always coming and going between the House and Senate, Jarvis jumped him.

Precisely what happened in the ensuing fracas is difficult to state with perfect accuracy. Jarvis claimed he pulled John's nose and slapped one side of his face with an open hand without any attempt at bodily injury—the approved provocation to a challenge. He declared later that he was merely requiting John Adams's "insult" to "the ladies." He had no intention, he explained, to violate the rights or dignity of the House of Representatives and was ready to offer any necessary atonement due to that body.[8] John on his part disclaimed any intention to reflect on the ladies: it was only Jarvis on whom he had commented so pointedly at the White House. He said that, in the Rotunda, Jarvis struck at him and tried to wrest his cane from him. Not succeeding, Jarvis had retreated. John had then turned and ran at him with his cane, but bystanders separated them before he could chastise his assailant.[9]

Of several witnesses to the scuffle, only one, William Emmons of Boston, later supported Jarvis's statement that he pulled John's nose, but that was doubtless Jarvis's intention, whether he succeeded or not. Clement Dorsey, a member of the House from Maryland, who had helped to separate the two antagonists, later testified that Mr. Adams's assailant said: "It is all—it is enough—you know my name—you know the place of my residence."

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[7] ". . . Mr. Jarvis resolved to avail himself of the first opportunity to demand, personally, an explanation; resolved, if it were denied, to inflict such personal indignity as would relieve *him* from the duty of seeking further satisfaction." Duff Green, in *U. S. Telegraph*, May 8, 1828.

[8] "Case of Russell Jarvis," pp. 12–14.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 15–20.

President Adams drew comfort from Dorsey's later statement to him that John had conducted himself in as manly a spirit as could be.[10]

What was to be done about the incident? No one wanted to play into the hands of the enemy which was provoking it. At first President Adams was inclined to do nothing: to leave it to the Congress to administer censure or punishment for this "outrageous" attack by an "assassin" on the President's personal officer while engaged in his official duties. But both houses of Congress were hostile, dominated by the coalition of Calhoun with the supporters of Andrew Jackson, and warmly sympathetic to the campaign of the Hero of New Orleans for the Presidency. Congress was not likely to do anything at all.

All the Cabinet officers thought that the President ought to hold a Cabinet meeting right away, perhaps send in a message to Congress, in whose purlieus the assault had taken place. A Cabinet meeting took place on April 17. The President began by reading the draft of a message to Congress, if such should be called for.

It was Henry Clay, the administration's only qualified duelist, who came to the President's aid and that of his son. No one could question the courage of Clay's honor or his experienced judgment in these affairs. He would avoid personal implications by raising the more serious question of inviolability of the constitutional relationship between the executive and legislative branches of the government. He would invite the responsibility of Congress for redress of the offense. Professing to assume that "personal feelings" might be influencing his chief, the Secretary of State had prepared a draft of his own for a proposed message. It was about the same as the President's—at least so Adams thought—and he adopted it with a few verbal alterations. He then asked his advisers whether he ought after all to send in any message, and if so when.

"At all events," volunteered Clay, "I think a message should be sent, and that immediately."

Attorney General William Wirt was not so sure. "I think there would be more calmness and dignity," he said, "in passing by the transaction without notice."

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[10] Adams, *Memoirs*, VII, 508, 519.

Clay warmly opposed such silence. "The act is of a most dangerous character as an example," he retorted, and continued solemnly: "It tends to introduce assassination into the Capitol. It might be practised for the robbery of a confidential message from the Executive to the Legislature. It is indeed too probable that in the present disposition of both houses of Congress they may do nothing to remedy the evil. But there is a duty for the Executive, independently of what Congress may do—to maintain his own dignity and security in the performance of his functions. I understand that both parties in Congress are hesitating what to do about this case, distrustful of each other. . . . I feel sure nothing will be done unless responsibility be put on them—by a message. The very forbearance to send one will be used as an argument for doing nothing. They will refer a motion to a committee. The committee will make a partial report, perverting the facts, giving the wrong to your son's offensive remark. There is now in the House of Representatives no member of weight of character to lead them, in any prepared direction, without some external impulse. Forbearance on the part of the Executive is laudable, but you can carry it to an extreme."

After listening to these views at length (they are recorded in Adams's Diary) the other members of the Cabinet, including Wirt, concurred.

Adams feared that some motion or resolution on the subject might have been already offered in the House or Senate, that a communication from him therefore might prejudice its progress, and thus cause an unfavorable effect. But he yielded to the advice of his Cabinet. This time he sent the message not by his son John but by Daniel Brent, chief clerk of the Department of State. Henry Clay went ahead of it to the Capitol to make sure the coast was clear, to decide by what he found there whether the paper should finally be handed in. He ascertained that no motion had yet been offered in the House. Senator Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky told him that none had been brought forward in the Senate either. This proved to be a mistake, and Clay afterwards discovered that Senator Samuel A. Foot of Connecticut had already (April 17) moved for a committee to look into the notorious incident, with power to send for persons and papers (his resolution was tabled next day, on his own motion, the Senate deciding to wait and see what the House would do). Clay directed Brent to present the President's message; he accordingly delivered it to both houses on April 17.[11]

The President mentioned the fact that his private secretary had been "waylaid and assaulted" in the Rotunda by a "person" in the presence of a member of the House who interposed and separated the parties. He thought it proper to communicate the occurrence to Congress so that it might consider in its wisdom any "animadversion" or regulation or legislation to insure security in the official intercourse between President and Congress, and to prevent disorders within the Capitol itself. "In the deliberation of Congress upon this subject," he said, "it is neither expected nor desired that any consequences shall be attached to the private relation in which my secretary stands to me."

The House of Representatives immediately referred the special message to a select committee consisting of four pro-Jackson members, George McDuffie of South Carolina, chairman, Philip B. Barbour of Virginia (brother of the Secretary of War), John Bell of Tennessee, and James W. Ripley of Maine; two administration supporters, Benjamin Gorham of Boston, Massachusetts, and Ralph I. Ingersoll of Connecticut; and one Clinton Democrat, Thomas J. Oakley of New York, supposedly a neutral. In what amounted to a party vote, the Senate voted 24–22 to lay Foot's proposed resolution and the President's message on the table pending action by the House. The only opposition Senator who would admit at this time that Jarvis's attack was entirely unjustifiable was the veteran Nathaniel Macon of North Carolina, known as "father of the Congress" because he had served continuously in one house or the other since 1791.

The *National Journal*, the administration paper, referred to the "assault within the Capitol" as an "outrage." The *Telegraph* justified "the pulling of the Prince's nose" and praised "signal chastisement" of the "Royal puppy."[12] As the news spread through the country, like ripples rolling slowly out from a splashing stone, accounts took on either a tinge of scorn for the President's son and ridicule for the father, or of proper indignation and offended dignity—all according to the political affiliations or patronage of the reporting newspapers.

It soon became clear that the opposition did not relish the investigation. The *Telegraph* now asserted that its real purpose was to magnify a personal dispute into an affair of great political importance in order to create popular excitement against General Jackson as candidate for the Presidency. It was also another stratagem—i.e. a red herring—to divert attention from a report which a "certain Paul Prying Committee" was about to make, the opposition committee on retrenchment and reform that was attempting to show up to the electorate the extravagances of the Adams administration.[13]

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[11] *Ibid.*, VII, 508–513.

[12] *National Journal*, April 19, 26, 1828; *U. S. Telegraph*, May 1, 8, 1828.

There was by now a good deal of excitement, particularly in Washington.[14] John's mother, the First Lady, feared for his safety. White House servants attending a street fair had heard a certain Dr. Hagan threaten the President's son with personal violence.[15] The President, who was used to wordy threats of assassination, was not too disturbed on that score, without more positive signs of danger.

Meanwhile Russell Jarvis had sent into the House of Representatives a memorial of his own, to be referred to the committee of investigation.[16] He published the same in his newspaper.

The President's message had put responsibility for any redress of the "outrage" on Congress rather than on himself or any member of his family. "The opposition party will have to do something to manifest their disapprobation of Jarvis's conduct," Senator Bell assured the President, "for the sake of their own credit." This proved to be the case.

The President himself no longer had any confidence Bell was correct, but at least the problem had been shifted off his shoulders and in some measure from the breast of his son. "They brought him [Jarvis] here for the purpose of assassination," he noted in his Diary, "and they cannot punish him for laboring in the vocation to which they called him."[17]

The congressional investigators held hearings. They summoned both parties, John and Jarvis. They called witnesses. They allowed Duff Green to appear as attorney for Jarvis and to cross-examine John in great detail.

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[13] *U. S. Telegraph*, May 1, 1828.

[14] "A very extraordinary and unnecessary experiment . . . a storm in a teapot," declared James Hamilton, of South Carolina, in the House of Representatives on May 23, 1828. *National Journal*, May 24, 1828.

[15] Adams, *Memoirs*, VII, 513.

[16] "Case of Russell Jarvis," pp. 12–14.

[17] Adams, *Memoirs*, VII, 513–514. "Slander and Assassination are working hand in hand against us. . . . The assault upon your brother . . . was the act of an Assassin. I have myself lived more than three years under threats of assassination, from more than one hand, which I have constantly despised." Adams to Charles Francis Adams, Washington, April 20, 1828, Adams Papers.

The committee's report, presented by McDuffie of South Carolina, was really a moral victory for the President. Everybody agreed that Jarvis had followed John Adams out of the Hall of Representatives and assaulted him in the Rotunda. That was all they could agree on. Nobody attempted to conclude just what happened in the scuffle: whether Jarvis really pulled John's nose and slapped his face, or whether John succeeded in chastising his assailant with his cane. "Whatever may have been the cause of provocation," concluded the committee without exception, the assault was an act done in contempt of the authority and dignity of the House. It was a violation of its peculiar privileges. It challenged the immunity of the person selected by the President for taking his official communications to Congress.

A bare majority of the committee agreed the act merited the censure of the House. Another bare majority, differently constructed, agreed that it was not expedient to have any further proceedings in the case. The committee, so to speak, had pronounced the defendant guilty but had refused to suggest punishment.

Philip P. Barbour, champion of states' rights, presented a long and learned minority report arguing that the House did not have any authority to punish: such would be dangerous to rights of the individual.[18]

Almost a week later, on May 23, 1828, Benjamin Gorham of Massachusetts moved in the House an amendment to the committee's report by proposing that the sergeant-at-arms be ordered to bring Jarvis before the bar of the House for reprimand and discharge, and that the Speaker be requested to withhold from the culprit for the remainder of the session and during the next session the courtesies usually extended to the editors of newspapers. Nothing was done except to order the proposed amendment laid upon the table.[19]

The congressional investigation and report had allowed political passion and public opinion to cool down a bit. It is clear that Jarvis had made a tactical mistake in accosting his enemy within the precincts of the Capitol while engaged in official business. It was plain, even to the opposition, that the offense merited censure even if the committee was unwilling to prescribe censure. The need for a duel had evaporated.

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[18] H. R. Rept. No. 260, 20th Cong., 1st Sess. See also *Register of Debates in Congress*, IV (1827–28), Pt. 2, 2718–23; *Niles' Weekly Register*, May 24, 1828.

[19] *Register of Debates in Congress*, IV, Pt. 2, 2754–58.

On the last day of the session John Long of North Carolina placed on the table of the House the following resolution: "*Resolved*; that the Constitution of the United States ought to be amended so as to prevent the practice of dueling."[20]

The resolution remained inertly on the table when the House adjourned, May 26, 1828. It was not even mentioned in the official *Register of Debates*. Who could word such a constitutional amendment anyway? What prospect was there that it could receive a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress and be ratified by three-fourths of the states in the Union? Who could guarantee that even if passed it could be enforced?

That very month of May, 1828, Dr. Branch A. Archer (later famous in Texas annals), challenged by Mr. Otway Crump at Powhatan, Virginia, killed the latter in a duel at fifteen paces.

The Jarvis-Adams encounter lingered on with fading colors in the public attention during the excessive heat of the election campaign of 1828. But Congress never reverted to the subject when it convened in December, 1828, following the election of Andrew Jackson over John Quincy Adams. The scuffle in the Rotunda, though not yet the practice of dueling, passed into the limbo of history.

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[20] *National Journal,* May 27, 1828; *U. S. Telegraph,* May 27, 1828.

The Centenary of the Dowse Library

Walter Muir Whitehill*

To most members of the Massachusetts Historical Society the Dowse Library means not so much a collection of books as the pleasant room where the Society meets on Thursday afternoons. Indeed the nature of the room and the use to which it is put encourage this confusion, for when a sufficiently good paper is read the attention of the audience is concentrated upon the speaker rather than straying to adjacent bookcases. On a bright day the room is flooded with warm afternoon sun, and as the high-backed armchairs are comfortable, heads often nod. Indeed the chairs of the Dowse Library enjoy a local reputation for bringing rest to the weary that is equalled only by the leather easy chairs on the first three floors of the Boston Athenæum. At the conclusion of the monthly meetings the attraction of Madeira, fruitcake, and cigars elsewhere rapidly draws members out of the room. The few who linger are either chatting with friends or examining the latest rich plunder that the Librarian is modestly displaying in the showcases under the windows. Never in the course of the hundred meetings that I must have attended in the Dowse Library can I recall anyone having paid serious attention to, or even shown curiosity regarding, the books that line its walls. In working hours—when the flag is not flying and the sign CLOSED EXCEPT TO MEMBERS is in a cupboard rather than on the front door—the situation is quite different, for the Librarian often goes to the Dowse Library for books directly connected with the purposes of the Society. While there are many shelves of finely bound Pickering editions of purely literary works—interspersed with such agreeable rarities as first editions of *The Faerie Queene* and *Paradise Lost*, volumes from Walpole's library at Strawberry Hill and the 1551 first English edition of More's *Utopia*—one also finds Nicholas Monardes' *Joyful News out of the New-found World* (London, 1596), Edward Winslow's *Good News from New England* (London, 1624), John Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginia* (London, 1632), Thomas Morton's *New English Canaan* (Amsterdam, 1637), William Wood's *New England's Pros-*

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* This paper was read at the November, 1956, meeting.

pect (London, 1639), Edward Johnson's *Wonder-working Providence of Zion's Saviour* (London, 1654), represented by Robert Southey's copy bought by him in 1811, and the London 1787 edition of Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia.*

From the portrait hanging over the fireplace, we are all unconsciously familiar with the features of Thomas Dowse, known in Boston during the first half of the nineteenth century as "the literary leather-dresser," who died on November 4, 1856, one hundred years ago last Sunday. The facts of Dowse's life, unlike those of his appearance, are not easily found. The Society has none of his papers. All that it can muster is a somewhat pompous genealogical effusion, more suitable to Ashburton Place than Boylston Street, by his great-great-nephew William Bradford Homer Dowse, which begins portentously: "The family of Dowse, from which Thomas Dowse, the donor of the Dowse Library to the Massachusetts Historical Society, was descended, is one of antiquity." The compiler then dredges up every Englishman named Dowse who ever bore arms or was knighted before the coronation of James I, whether related to the subject or not, without producing a single fact of any startling interest. When one turns to the Index of Memoirs in Stewart Mitchell's 1937 *Handbook of the Publications* there is a reference to the name Dowse, Thomas, followed by the italicized qualification "[*Not a member*]." This leads the inquirer to wind rather than light, for the memoir[1] consists of a eulogy "pronounced" by the great Edward Everett, in which a fulness of patronizing praise mingled with elegant condescension tries to compensate for a shortage of telling biographical data. Never averse to turning a resounding phrase, Everett fell to with his accustomed energy when invited to deliver a eulogy of Thomas Dowse at a special meeting of the Society held in the Music Hall on December 9, 1858. The following extract[2] is typical of his thirty-seven page discourse.

> The events of Mr. Dowse's life were few and simple, of no great interest in themselves, and important only as furnishing the basis and cohesion of that quiet action, by which he carried on the even and beautiful tenor of his existence. He was born in the lower walks of society; one might almost say, the lowest of those removed from actual dependence and penury. He enjoyed scarcely the humblest advantages of education; and was placed in no position to give promise of future eminence, had he been designed and endowed by Providence for an

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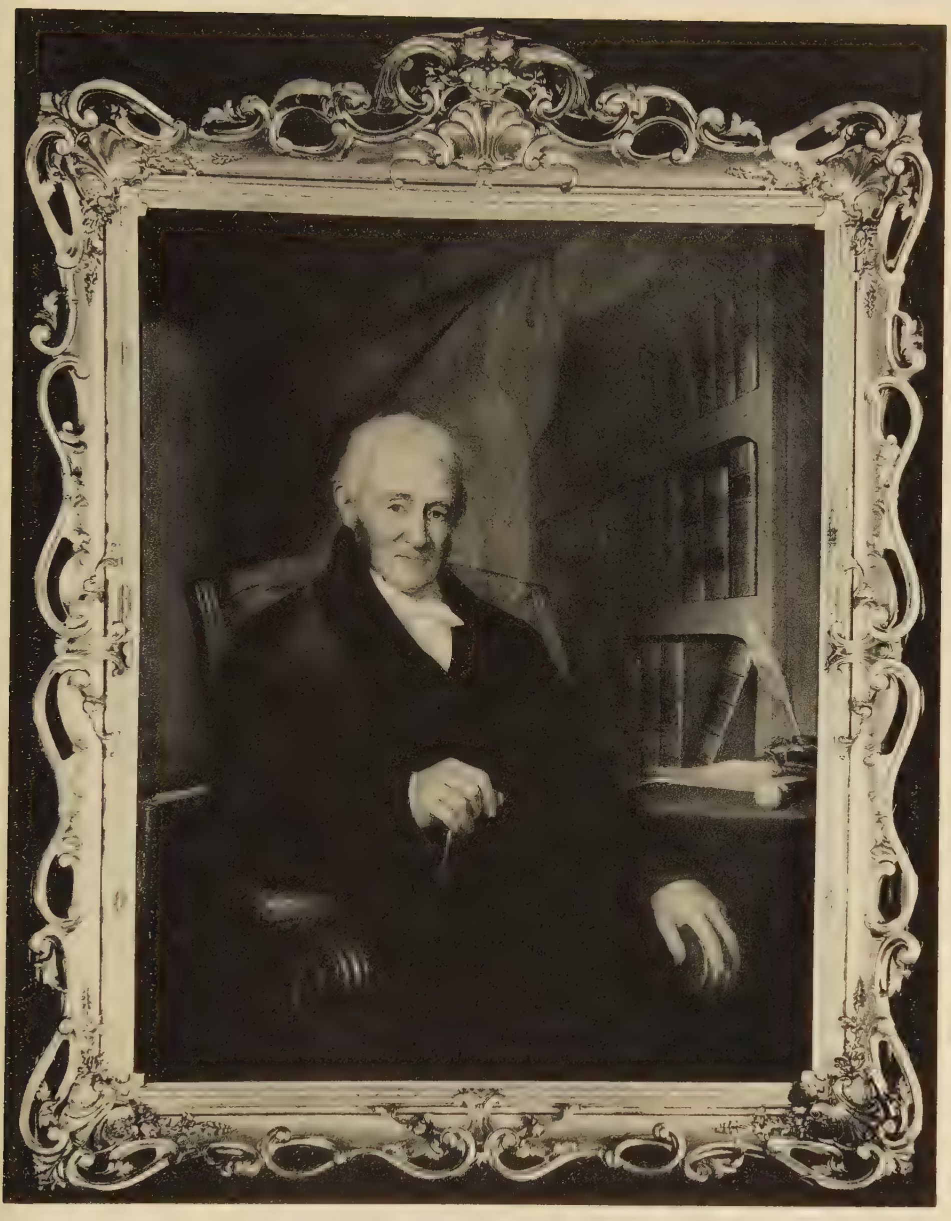
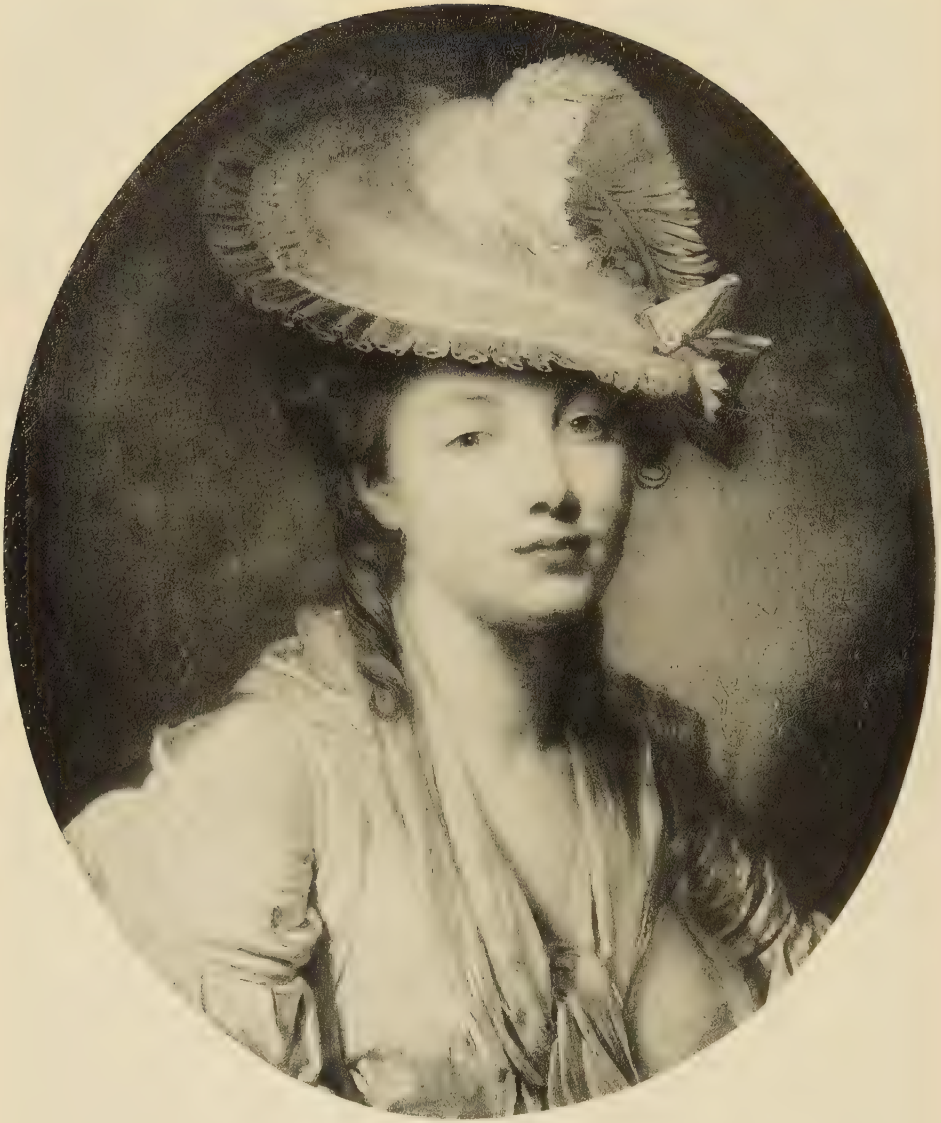
[1] Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings*, III (1855–58), 361–398.

[2] *Ibid.*, III, 362–364.



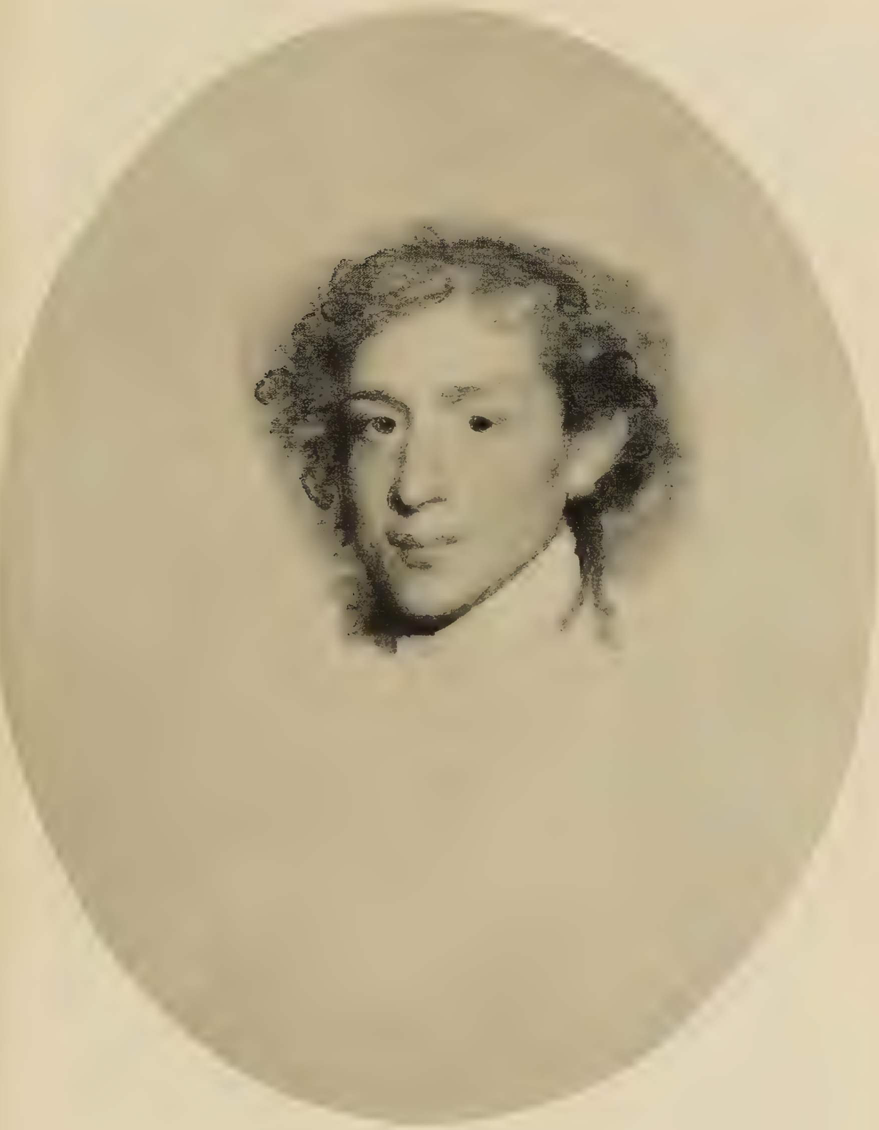
THOMAS DOWSE
by Moses Wight



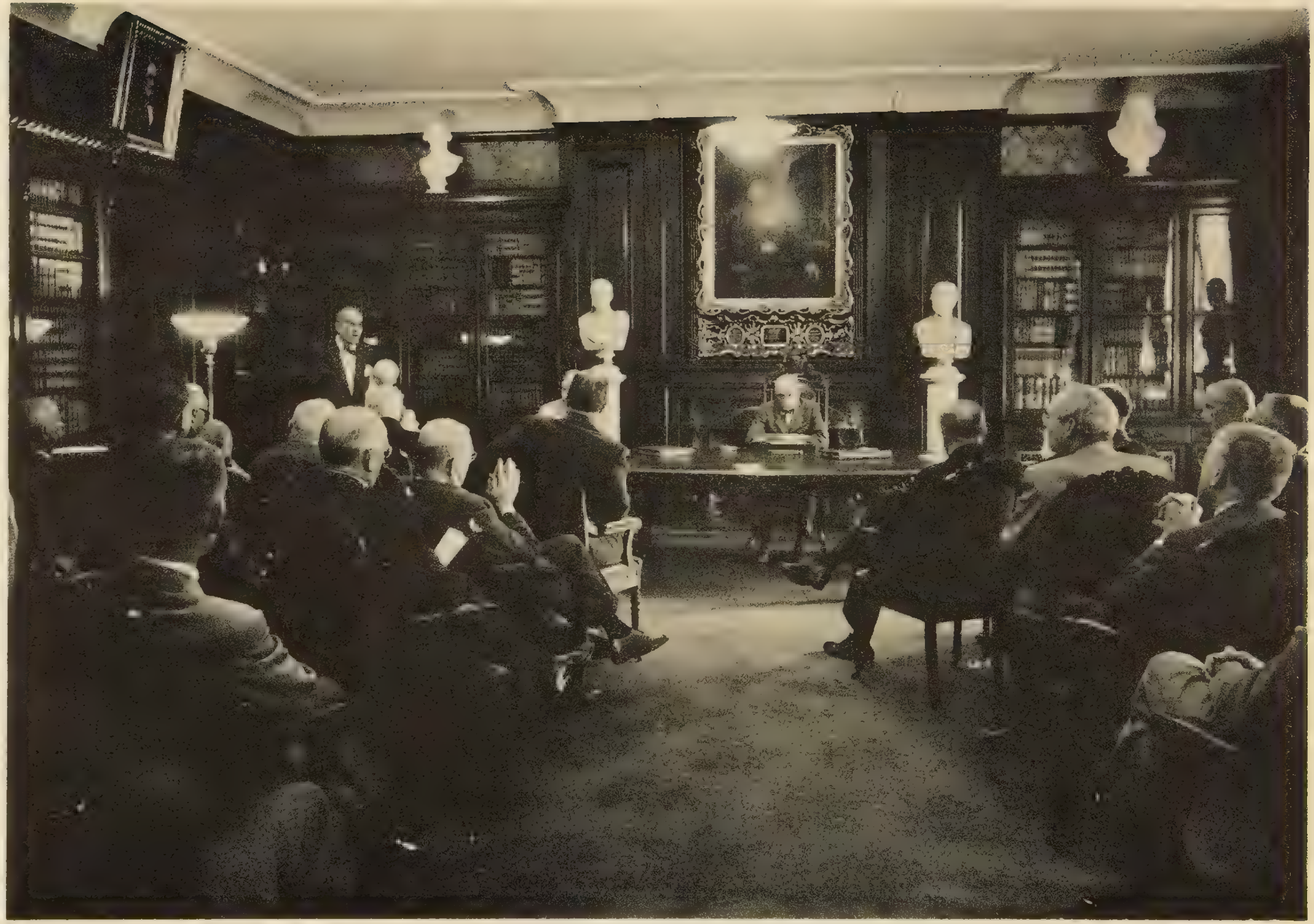
La Femme au Chapeau Blanc

by Jean Baptiste Greuze

Deposited by the Boston Athenæum in the
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



EDWARD EVERETT
by Gilbert Stuart



THE DOWSE LIBRARY

Photographed by Alfred Eisenstaedt. Courtesy *Life* Magazine eminent career. He was not favorably situated in early life to engage in any of the pursuits by which men attract notice and earn reputation: but he early entered on a course of manual labor not well adapted to stimulate the mental powers; a career which might be successful, but which in scarce any possible event could lead to distinction. Hugh Miller, a stone-mason in the old red-sandstone quarries of Cromarty, George Stephenson in the depths of the coal mines at Black Callerton, may seem to be placed on the lowest round of the ladder of advancement; but it was one which led by regular, though at first arduous, ascent to the heights of fame. The young leather-dresser's apprentice could, however successful, scarcely grow up to be any thing but a respectable master-workman. His humble industry, pursued under the livelong disadvantage of a serious bodily infirmity, was crowned with success. The diligence, energy, and intelligence with which he carried on his laborious calling, resulted in the accumulation of a handsome property; of which, from an early period, he began to employ a liberal share, not in the ordinary luxuries of building, equipage, and domestic establishment, but in the gratification of a taste for books, for art, and for Nature in her simpler beauties, and genial, home-bred relations. As his fortune continued to grow, instead of struggling to rise in social position or increased importance in the eyes of the community, he availed himself of his ample means only to redeem added hours from manual labor, in order to devote them to reading. Late in life, he rose, not to the places which a vulgar ambition covets but cannot fill, but from his work-bench to his study-table. The shop-windows were still open beneath his library, though the work was carried on by others in his employ. The decently carved lamb still stood upon its lofty pillar before his door, symbolizing his quiet nature, while it advertised his humble trade, for years after the growing infirmities of age had obliged him to leave hard work to younger hands. Advancing years stole upon him, and still found him occupied with an instructive book; turning a costly volume of engravings, of the beauty of which he had a keen perception; contemplating with never-cloyed zest the valuable collection of copies in water-colors of ancient masters, the acquisition of which formed what may be called the fortunate accident of his life; strolling among his flower-beds, listening to the hum of his bees, whom he would not allow to be robbed of their honey; superintending the planting of his shrubbery, and pruning his trees. Under still-increasing infirmities, he reaches, he passes, the accepted term of human life; and the sobered thoughts which suit its decline take more exclusive possession of his mind. He begins to make frequent visits to Mount Auburn, in preparation for that visit on which we bore him company, from which there is no return. Humble mechanic, owing all the solace of his lonely existence to the success with which he had been able to ennoble manual labor by intellectual culture, he thinks it no presumption, toward the close of his life, and when no selfish motive of attracting worldly applause could by possibility be ascribed to the act, to raise at Mount Auburn a simple and solid shaft in honor of his brother-mechanic,—the immortal printer; he digs his own sepulchre at the foot of the monument thus piously erected to the memory of Franklin; bestows his precious library, the fruit of all his labors,

> the scene of most of his enjoyments, the concentrated essence, so to say, of his existence, on the Massachusetts Historical Society; at their request, yields his placid and venerable features for the first time to the pencil of the artist; and sinks to rest.

After this kind of thing one sympathizes with Emerson's comment on Everett's Lexington oration of 1835: "He is not content to be Edward Everett, but would be Daniel Webster. This is his mortal distemper."[3]

Additional oratory aside, the facts of Thomas Dowse's life are relatively simple. He was born in Charlestown on December 28, 1772, where his father, Eleazar Dowse, plied the trade of tanner and leather-dresser. Edward Everett made Thomas the seventh of eight children; W. B. H. Dowse's notes call him the youngest of thirteen. In any case he was one of a large family which, on June 17, 1775, was burned out of its house, alternately described in earlier accounts as "their humble dwelling"[4] and "a comfortable home on Main Street."[5] After a temporary stay in Holliston they settled in Sherborn, where Eleazar set up shop. There Thomas grew up and worked for his father until he came of age. A fall from an apple tree when six years old, followed by rheumatic fever, left him lame for life. This accident drove him to reading, and gave him, years later, a singular sympathy for Sir Walter Scott. One of Thomas Dowse's few recorded remarks concerns Scott: "Lameness drove us both to books,—him to making them, and me to reading them."[6] As he is said to have exhausted all the books in Sherborn before he was eighteen, he longed to travel. At twenty-one he had a chance of a free passage from Norfolk, Virginia, to London, provided he could get to Norfolk at his own expense. He scraped up the money for the passage to Norfolk in a coasting vessel, only to have the coaster so long detained in Boston by contrary winds that there was no point in his sailing in her. Consequently, instead of seeing England, he went to work for a Roxbury wool-puller and leather-dresser named Wait. After ten years as a journeyman, at wages ranging from twelve to twenty-five dollars a month, he proposed in 1803 to set up for himself and, Wait agreeing to supply the capital in return for half the profits, he went into partnership, in Cambridgeport, with one Aaron Gay. Although the partnership was dissolved a year later, Dowse remained in Cambridgeport for the rest of his life. By 1814 he had done well enough to build the three-story wooden house at the corner of Main and Prospect Streets, an ambrotype of which is inserted in the gilt frame of his portrait above the fireplace in the present Dowse Library. For his remaining forty-two years he appears to have followed a quiet and ordered routine, working actively at his trade in business hours until about 1846, when he reached the age of seventy-four, but devoting all his profits to assembling the library that was his delight in the early mornings and in the evenings. He never married, though Everett suggests that he thought of it when in his fifties;[7] in later years a Mr. and Mrs. Watriss kept house for him.[8] Although he had certain friends who found their way to the second-floor library at the back of the Cambridgeport house, Dowse rarely went into company or attended public gatherings. As Everett put it:

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[3] Emerson's *Journal*, April 22, 1835, quoted by Paul Revere Frothingham, *Edward Everett Orator and Statesman* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925), p. 394.

[4] Mass. Hist. Soc., *Procs.*, III, 366.

[5] W. V. Kellen, "Memoir of William B. H. Dowse," *ibid.*, LXII (1928–29), 67.

[6] *Ibid.*, III, 369.

> Mingling but little in society, still less did he take part in the larger gatherings of men; scarcely ever attending church,—though the hours of Sunday were given to a graver choice of books, of which his library contained an ample store. To every form of communication with the public by the written or the spoken word he was absolutely a stranger. He never addressed a public meeting; for he never attended a public meeting, except to exercise the right of suffrage. He never wrote a paragraph for the press; never was a candidate, successful or unsuccessful, for office; and never, that I am aware of, took any active part in the political discussions of the day; at least, in the course of nearly forty years' acquaintance with him, it never occurred to me to hear him express an opinion on any question of party politics.[9]

In spite of the patronizing tone that Everett could never avoid, he seems to have visited Dowse in Cambridgeport from time to time. In 1847, while enduring the unhappy presidency of Harvard College, he recorded in his diary for June 18 that

> This morning we went to see Mr. Dowse's Books, wife and I:—A truly beauti-

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[7] *Ibid.*, III, 380.

[8] Julius H. Tuttle, "The Society in Retrospect," *ibid.*, LXI (1927–28), 96. Their daughter, Miss Watriss, seems to have attended the February, 1928, meeting of the Society as a guest to hear Mr. Tuttle's paper.

[9] *Ibid.*, III, 390–391.

> ful collection of English literature:—running rather too much on bibliographical rarities.

One can infer that this was a haven of refuge from "fighting wild beasts in this my new Ephesus,"[10] as he described his dealings with the undergraduates, whose genius for detecting the easily harassed can be likened only to that of a dog for nipping timid postmen. In the eulogy Everett noted that

> Though somewhat reserved in speaking of his books, and generally contented with simply calling a friend's attention to a curious volume, he sometimes added, in a low voice, "A rare book."[11]

Although Thomas Dowse knew no language other than English, and centered his collecting on English literature, his books included the best contemporary translations of the Greek and Latin classics, and of the best German, French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese literature, with a good representation of the philosophers and theologians. Having himself tanned skins for bookbinders, Dowse carried his craftsmanship into his collecting, for he chose in general fine copies, admirably bound, even though they were primarily selected for their contents. In later years Dowse remarked to George Ticknor: "When I was twenty-eight years of age, I never had any means but the wages of a journeyman leather-dresser, at twenty-five dollars per month; I had never paid five dollars for conveyance from one place to another; I never had worn a pair of boots; and I was at that time in the possession of several hundred good books, well bound."[12] The extent to which his life lay in his library will be seen from the appraisal of his estate, which showed $82,458——$20,000 in real estate and the remainder in personal property, exclusive of the library, whose cost was estimated at over $40,000.[13] In recent years, with Dr. Rosenbach selling books at the prices Yale University delights to pay, forty thousand dollars would not go far. The difference between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is shown in a note under item 263 of Dowse's catalogue, where George Buchanan's *Ane Detectiovn of the Duinges of Marie, Quene of Scottes, touchand the Murder of hir Husband* is described as "one of the rarest of books; a copy having been known to sell at public sale for £1.15s."

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[10] Frothingham, *Edward Everett*, p. 292; Everett Papers (Mass. Hist. Soc.), CLXVI, 110.

[11] Mass. Hist. Soc., *Procs.*, III, 386.

[12] *Ibid.*, III, 388.

[13] *The Will of Thomas Dowse, of Cambridgeport* (Cambridge, 1856), p. 7.

In 1856, when Thomas Dowse was in his eighty-fourth year, he took steps to ensure the preservation of the library that had been wife and children and friends to him during most of his long life. A catalogue was set in type by John Wilson & Son,[14] and Dowse discussed the future of the library with his friend and neighbor George Livermore, a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society since 1849. It may be assumed that Livermore's influence was responsible for Dowse's decision to offer it to the Society. Dowse was not himself a member, as we so blatantly indicate in the index of memoirs. It is highly doubtful if it would have occurred to the Society in the forties or fifties to elect a self-educated leather-dresser, however fine a library he might have had. Something of this state of mind is indicated in George Wolkins's amusing paper on the Prince Society, which studies the injured feelings of Samuel G. Drake and the squabbles that led to the forming of the New England Historic Genealogical Society in 1844.[15] Moreover, Dowse was not a man to seek recognition for himself. He had long admired Edward Everett; indeed, Stuart's unfinished portrait of the young Everett and Chantrey's bust of Sir Walter Scott were the only decorations that he permitted in his library. Everett in turn had, in an address on the "Advantage of Knowledge to Workingmen" as far back as 1831 described Dowse's library as "a treasure of taste and knowledge, not surpassed, if equalled, by any thing of its kind in the country."[16] Everett had been a member of the

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[14] Twenty-five copies were eventually printed for private distribution, with the title *Catalogue of the Private Library of Thomas Dowse of Cambridge, Mass., Presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society, July 30, 1856* (Boston, 1856). The Boston Athenæum copy, presented by George Livermore to James T. Fields on April 14, 1857, contains an emphatic manuscript note by Livermore "Not published" below the inscription. In 1870 the Society issued the remaining sheets with its own title page.

[15] Mass. Hist. Soc., *Procs.*, LXVI (1936–41), 223–254.

[16] Edward Everett, *Orations and Speeches on Various Occasions*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Boston, 1850), I, 323–324: "I scarce know if I may venture to adduce an instance, nearer home, of the most praiseworthy and successful cultivation of useful knowledge on the part of an individual, without education, busily employed in mechanical industry. I have the pleasure to be acquainted, in one of the neighboring towns, with a person who was brought up to the trade of a leather dresser, and has all his life worked, and still works, at this business. [Mr. Thomas Dowse, of Cambridgeport.] He has devoted his leisure hours, and a portion of his honorable earnings, to the cultivation of useful and elegant learning. Under the same roof which covers his workshop, he has the most excellent library of English books, for its size, with which I am acquainted. The books have been selected with a good judg-

Massachusetts Historical Society since 1820, but in the fifties he and George Ticknor were busy launching the new Boston Public Library, which was so soon to embark upon competitive collecting of rare books and manuscripts.[17] One might have expected the new institution to have the attraction for the self-made man that it exercised nearly a century later for the fruit pedlar John Deferrari. Perhaps Edward Everett was not as prompt and persuasive in his day as Milton Lord proved to be in recent times. In any event, on July 26, 1856, Livermore confidentially informed President Robert C. Winthrop of Thomas Dowse's intention to offer his library to the Massachusetts Historical Society.[18] Winthrop on the same day wrote Livermore assuring him of his belief that "the Society would gladly conform to any views which Mr. Dowse might have on the subject, and would take pride and pleasure in preserving the library in a room by itself." On the twenty-eighth Livermore replied:

> I called on our venerable friend Mr. Dowse, on Saturday evening, and read to him your letter respecting his proposal for giving his library to the Massachusetts Historical Society. He expressed himself very much gratified that you had received his proposition so favorably; and remarked, in substance, that, as he had long been familiar with the character of the Society, and was personally acquainted with many of the members, he felt sure, that, in their keeping, his books, which had been for many years his choice and cherished friends, would be carefully preserved and properly used according to the conditions which he had named, and which I communicated to you. He desired me to have a paper drawn up in due form, conveying all his books to the Historical Society; and witnesses were summoned to be present at the signing of the same, this morning. But Mr. Dowse found himself so weak, and his hand so stiff, that he could not hold a pen. At his request, I read aloud to him and to the witnesses—Dr. W. W. Wellington, Messrs. S. P. Heywood and O. W. Watriss—your letter, and the

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ment, which would do credit to the most accomplished scholar, and have been imported from England by himself. What is more important than having the books, their proprietor is well acquainted with their contents. Among them are several volumes of the most costly and magnificent engravings. Connected with his library is an exceedingly interesting series of paintings, in water colors,—copies of the principal works of the ancient masters in England,—which a fortunate accident placed in his possession, and several valuable pictures, purchased by himself. The whole forms a treasure of taste and knowledge, not surpassed, if equalled, by any thing of its kind in the country."

[17] Nathaniel Bowditch's library was given to the Boston Public Library in 1858, although he had been both President of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and a Trustee of the Boston Athenæum. In 1860 George Ticknor gave some 2,000 volumes. See my *Boston Public Library, A Centennial History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956), chapter IV.

[18] Mass. Hist. Soc., *Procs.*, III, 100–109.

paper conveying the library to the Society. Mr. Dowse then stated to the witnesses above named, that, being unable to write his name, he then, in their presence, gave outright to the Massachusetts Historical Society all the books composing his library named in the catalogue now in the press of Messrs. J. Wilson and Son.

Two days later, on Wednesday afternoon, July 30, Winthrop called upon Thomas Dowse, who delivered to him the volume of *Purchas his Pilgrimes,* with an inscription stating that it was transmitted "as an earnest and evidence" of his having given the whole of his library to the Massachusetts Historical Society, "the books to be preserved for ever in a room by themselves, only to be used in said room."

Winthrop called a special meeting of the Society on August 5 to report this welcome and momentous news. Everett was at once on his feet. Though he disclaimed any thought of having come "prepared to take the lead in reference to any measures which it may be thought proper for the Society to adopt," he spoke at appreciative length before proposing the appointment of a committee of five, which, after retiring briefly, returned with fulsome resolutions gratefully accepting the proffered gift, and asking the donor to "allow his portrait to be taken for the Society." After remarks by John Chipman Gray, George Livermore, Chief Justice Shaw, and Edward Everett, the resolutions were adopted by rising vote. Letters from President Quincy, James Savage, and David Sears were read "expressing the high sense entertained by those gentlemen of the liberality of Mr. Dowse, and of the value and importance of his donation."

Not a suggestion of electing him to membership in the Society had been included in the resolutions of August 5, but probably then, as now, there were no vacancies. Hence the Society found itself in the somewhat ridiculous position of claiming as its great benefactor a man who—though praised by Everett a quarter century before—was, in the snippy phrase of our index, "not a member."

Moses Wight, the artist engaged to paint Dowse's portrait, completed it just in time, for the old man died on Tuesday, November 4, 1856.[19] At Mount Auburn, on the sixth, Winthrop and other members of the Society gathered amid the falling leaves to hear the office for the burial of the dead of the Anglican liturgy, which Dowse had always admired. At the stated meeting of the Society on November

[19] A copy of the portrait was given to the Boston Athenæum by Dowse's executors.

13 Winthrop and Everett again eulogized the Society's benefactor, Everett later calling attention to the family likeness between the portrait of Dowse and that of Baron Humboldt, which Wight had earlier painted. More resolutions were passed, including one appointing Everett a committee of one to prepare a memoir.[20]

At the December meeting it was voted to remodel the second-story back room of the Society's building at 30 Tremont Street for the accommodation of Dowse's books, with the thought that the monthly meetings of the Society be held there, thus leaving the Society's library proper free for consultation even during the hours of meetings.[21] Livermore, as one of Dowse's executors, generously offered $3,000 from the estate to cover the cost of alterations. During the first week of April, 1857, the books were removed from Cambridgeport and installed in their new cases, and at the annual meeting on April 9 Livermore formally delivered to President Winthrop the key to the new Dowse Library. Upon receiving it, the Society moved in procession to its new meeting room, Winthrop leading the way, with the venerable senior members, Josiah Quincy and James Savage, marshalling their fellows.[22] After the officers took their seats at the table, Winthrop reviewed the history of the Society, concluding with the reading of a letter from Dowse's executors, Livermore and Ebenezer Dale. In this they offered the Society not only the Chantrey bust of Scott and the Stuart portrait of Everett that had been the only ornaments of the Cambridgeport Library, but a fund of $10,000 in addition to the sums they had previously provided for the fitting up of the room. Needless to say, these further tokens of good will were promptly and gratefully accepted. From that day to this, save when members have been temporarily exiled by building operations, the Dowse Library has been the Society's regular meeting place.

A memoir by Edward Everett was not achieved overnight. Although designated in November, 1856, to deal with Thomas Dowse, it took him two years to convert the simple facts of Dowse's uneventful life into the extended eulogy that was delivered in the Music Hall on December 9, 1858, of which I have provided a fair sample earlier in this paper.[23] Charles A. Dana made some harmless fun of the performance in the *New York Tribune* a couple of days later, claiming that Bostonians were unreasonably torn between hearing Everett orate and one Marie Piccolomini sing *La Traviata.*[24] In spite of this dissident voice from New York, whither Dana had carried a strong dislike of Boston, the Society had done its best by its benefactor. The Music Hall proceedings more than made up for the scant popular notice of Dowse's death two years earlier. At that time the repercussions of the 1856 election, including such succulent bits as Ben Perley Poore wheeling a barrel of apples from Old Newbury to Boston in payment of an unwise bet that Millard Fillmore would carry Massachusetts, had crowded Dowse's obituary out of the Boston papers.[25]

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[20] Mass. Hist. Soc., *Procs.*, III, 115–122; IV (1858–60), 319–320.

[21] *Ibid.*, III, 126–128.

[22] *Ibid.*, XIII (1873–75), 3.

In 1872, when the Society pulled down its building at 30 Tremont Street to erect a more fireproof structure on the same site, the Dowse Library, with the Society's other property, was necessarily stored. One trembles to think that, had it been placed in a warehouse, it might well have been lost in the great fire of November 9, 1872.[26] Fortunately the Boston Athenæum had offered temporary housing during the year of reconstruction, so when the Society first met in its new building on April 10, 1873, it was surrounded by the familiar cases of the Dowse Library. A quarter of a century later these were dismantled once again for the move to 1154 Boylston Street, where the Dowse Library in its third manifestation was first occupied for the meeting of March 1, 1899.

Thomas Dowse's career as a book collector sprang from personal taste and conviction. It should be noted, in closing, that he stumbled into the role of a collector of paintings through the purchase in 1820 of lottery tickets which won him some fifty-two water-color copies of

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[23] Everett's eulogy and extracts from the Society's *Proceedings* relating to the Dowse Library were reprinted in two small volumes, differently arranged, but containing the same material: *The Dowse Library. Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society relating to the donations from Thomas Dowse; with the Eulogy by Edward Everett* (Boston: Printed for Private Distribution, 1859) and *Eulogy on Thomas Dowse, Of Cambridgeport, pronounced before the Massachusetts Historical Society, 9th December, 1858. By Edward Everett. With the introductory address by Robert C. Winthrop, President of the Society; and an appendix.* (Boston: Printed by John Wilson and Son, 1859). Copies of both were given to the Boston Athenæum by George Livermore on July 11, 1859.

[24] Mass. Hist. Soc., *Procs.*, LXII, 13–15.

[25] Miss Margaret Hackett has kindly searched the Boston Athenæum newspaper files for the days following Dowse's death, and tells me that there was scant notice of this event.

[26] Mass. Hist. Soc., *Procs.*, XIII, 12.

Renaissance paintings. These had been made in England with a view to publishing a series of engravings.[27] As the undertaking failed, the promoters hit upon the device of raffling off the water colors. By pure luck Thomas Dowse backed into the limelight as their winner. He first heard of his good fortune when he received a bill for $1,000 freight and customs duty. According to Everett he had some initial doubts about keeping the pictures, but after placing them on exhibition at Doggett's rooms in Market Street, where they attracted the attention of Allston and Stuart, he looked upon them with more enthusiasm.[28] Eventually he fitted up two rooms in the rear of his library as a gallery,[29] where they remained until 1858 when his executors gave them to the Boston Athenæum.[30] With this collection of copies the Athenæum received half a dozen oil paintings of various qualities. Where and how Dowse obtained them is not definitely known. A gigantic Dutch flower piece by Michel Joseph Speeckaert hangs today on the fourth floor of the Athenæum, but the prize of the collection, Greuze's *Femme au chapeau blanc*, has been lent to the Museum of Fine Arts since 1876. This engaging young person, the sweet disorder of whose dress seems better suited to eighteenth-century Versailles than nineteenth-century Cambridgeport, returned briefly to Paris in 1937 to appear in the retrospective exhibition of French art assembled by the French Government during the exposition of that year.[31] Of all Thomas Dowse's acquisitions—except perhaps his taste—she is the most remarkable and the most unexpected!

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[27] Henry Tresham and William Young Ottley, *The British Gallery of Pictures, Selected from the most Admired Productions of the Old Masters, in Great Britain; Accompanied with Descriptions, Historical and Critical* (London, 1818).

[28] Mass. Hist. Soc., *Procs.*, III, 374–376.

[29] Dowse's collection early became one of the sights for visiting artists. The Philadelphia engraver, James B. Longacre, came to Boston in 1825 with a letter to Dowse, whose collection he visited on July 26. "Extracts from the Diary of James B. Longacre," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXIX (1905), 138–140.

[30] Many of the copies are still hung in odd corners of the Athenæum. They were reassembled for temporary exhibition on the centenary of Dowse's death.

[31] *Chefs d'oeuvre de l'art français, 1937, Palais National des Arts* (Paris, 1937), p. 88.

The Case of the *Canada*
A Chapter of Whaling and Diplomacy

FRANCIS BROWN*

BEFORE the United States Consul in the Brazilian port city of Pernambuco appeared on December 22, 1856, a whaling captain from New Bedford, one Barton Ricketson, and twenty-five members of his crew. They had a protest to enter and a deposition to make about their ship, the *Canada,* and they took their "solemn oath actually upon the Holy Evangelist" that what they swore was true. The statement that these Yankee seamen made that day provides a first chapter to a little-known story of American diplomatic history, a story not brought to a close until 1870 when the arbitration of Her Britannic Majesty's Minister in Washington had settled a dispute that at one point in its course had caused a brief break in diplomatic relations between the United States and the Empire of Brazil.[1]

I

The story begins in New Bedford where in the summer and early autumn of 1856 the *Canada* was being fitted for a four-year whaling voyage in the North Pacific. Carpenters and caulkers, painters and riggers, swarmed over her until the 545-ton ship, built thirty-three years earlier as a packet for the New York-Liverpool service, was "tight, staunch and strong." By the time the *Canada* was ready to drop down the Acushnet and out to sea on October 16, 1856, she was "victualled, appareled, equipped and provisioned in everything necessary" for the cruise that her agents and owners hoped would have "greasy luck."

The agents were Gideon Allen & Son, a respected and well-established firm in New Bedford whaling. Gideon Allen, a vigorous 65, had been a Quaker until he became a Unitarian after the Friends expelled him from meeting because he bought a piano. Both he and his son Gilbert had invested in the *Canada*'s cruise. So had William J. Rotch, of the famous Rotch family of New Bedford. The largest single interest—five of the thirty-two shares—was held by Barton Ricketson, who was going out as master of the *Canada*. His brothers and his wife's kin had likewise put money into the venture.

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* This paper was read at the February, 1955, meeting.

[1] A few years ago a collection of family papers relating to the *Canada* came into my possession. The account that follows is based primarily on these papers, now in the Dartmouth College Library, supplemented by material from Executive Documents, No. 13, House of Representatives, 41st Congress, 3rd Session.

Barton Ricketson, a man of 54, was older than the captains of most whalers. Why he should have chosen to take out the *Canada*, or why he should have been chosen, is one of the mysteries of this story. He had already had a full career. When a young man he had sailed in the packet service between New York and France. He had been a trader and, according to family history, had emulated Lord Timothy Dexter by selling a cargo of warming pans in South America, where they were used in gold mining. He had been a successful Forty-Niner. He had been an outfitter for whalers. He had also been something of a Yankee inventor. His reputation was excellent, and his family of the best.

Whether the *Canada*'s crew was better or worse than the sorry lot that usually worked a whaler is a matter of dispute. On the one hand, its members were described as "inexperienced, insubordinate and of bad morals; so much so that someone was castigated nearly every day on board." But there is also testimony that they were "the respectable sons of farmers and mechanics." Their names—for example, Bartlett, Bailey, Brown, Randall, Gilbert, Willard—suggest that most of the men had been drawn from native stock. Only the fourth mate, Francisco Rosa, and a couple of the hands had names that spoke of Portuguese ancestry if not nativity. The consul in Pernambuco remembered that all were well-behaved during their stay there.

The *Canada*'s log has disappeared; what course she followed in the weeks immediately after sailing and what incidents marked the voyage are details of conjecture. Somewhere near the Line a sperm whale was raised and taken. It made seventy-five barrels. Captain Ricketson recalled only that "after sailing from [New Bedford] nothing worth of note occurred until the evening of the 27th of November."

That day had been fine. About noon the sighting of a catamaran had told that the *Canada* was close to shore, and within an hour it came in view: Rio Grande do Norte, the northeastern coast of Brazil. Why the *Canada*'s master should have kept his ship in shore, or how, doing so, he could have run her aground in waters that he claimed to know well, has never been explained. But he did. A few minutes before seven that evening of November 27 the *Canada*, by then about nine miles offshore (some witnesses said much closer), ran smack upon the Garças Reef.

"All sail was immediately taken in," Ricketson testified when he told of the wreck. "The starboard boat was lowered and sent to sound around the ship, and it was found upon sounding that the ship was surrounded with rocks [in] from one to six feet of water. The pump was sounded and finding the ship made no water we set the watch for the night but got no sleep. In the morning the starboard boat was again lowered and we found the ship wedged in between two rocks . . . having gone on the reef about 800 feet. The ship remained upright."

The captain and his four mates, in agreement that the *Canada* could be saved, now resolved to "hoist the ship out the same way she came in." They set about lightening her. A large anchor with a heavy cable was dropped outside the reef, and once this cable had been attached to a windlass on the ship, the job of getting off began in dead earnest. By the third day the *Canada*, still "tight and good," had been hauled more than 200 feet astern. Captain Ricketson no longer doubted that she could be saved.

The ship's plight had been seen from shore almost from the time she ran aground and catamarans had put out to investigate, some perhaps in hope of salvage or plunder, others to sell fresh vegetables and fruit and the fiery rum of Brazil. From these visitors, Ricketson said, "we hired twelve men to assist to lighten the ship. . . . They made so much confusion we could do nothing. They brought with them liquor which caused a great deal of trouble amongst the crew especially." It caused so much trouble, in fact, that some of the crew, refusing in their drunkenness to work, had to be confined to the forecastle. Two customs inspectors also came aboard and told the captain, so Ricketson testified, to abandon ship, take his cargo ashore, and set up camp. Although Ricketson would not listen to such talk, he had not seen or heard the last of Brazilian authority, for on December 1 the customs men returned, this time with an army officer and fourteen soldiers. Their arrival coincided with the final effort to haul the ship into deep water. The captain thought that another hour—it was half past four in the afternoon—would suffice.

At that critical moment the Brazilian officer ordered all work to halt, and posted his men to make certain that it did. Ricketson protested, argued, unleashed the profanity of an outraged sailorman. Hardly able to conceive that what was happening could be real, he shouted to the crew to man the tackles and windlass, to get back to business. The Brazilians answered by fixing bayonets. With them Ricketson could not argue.

If he told the story truly, the next few minutes were moments of dignity and drama. Through Fourth Mate Rosa, who spoke both English and Portuguese, he informed the Brazilian commander that unless the work of saving the ship could be resumed, she would be abandoned to the Brazilian government and a claim entered for damages and payment in full not only for the ship but for the loss attendant upon the interruption of her cruise. The Brazilian answered that he was only acting under orders and that if there were damages his government would pay them. Thereupon Ricketson called together all hands, announced that he was abandoning the *Canada* and her cargo, and that he would protest the seizure and claim compensation for all losses. He turned to the Brazilians: "I now deliver to you the ship for your government and you may hoist the Brazilian flag as soon as you choose." And then to the crew: "Our duties are now ended. We will get our supper."

Because the Brazilians allowed the hawsers and cable to go slack, the *Canada* soon drove back onto the reef, beating against the rocks so violently that she began to leak and to keel over on her beam-ends. In the morning, however, she floated once more at high tide and Ricketson, hoping that the Brazilian commander might have repented, offered to take back the ship and to resume the work of saving her. The officer, who had meanwhile taken the ship's papers, would not budge. Before long lighters were alongside to start moving ashore the *Canada*'s cargo and oil.

Why did the Brazilians seize the *Canada*? The Brazilian officer who came aboard told Ricketson that he had been ordered to prevent her departure if he thought her unfit and that he acted with full authority since she was in Brazilian waters and therefore subject to Brazilian law. There was also something about payment of duties on her cargo, despite the fact that the *Canada* as a whaler carried no commercial cargo. Finally, there is some suggestion that the Brazilians who first visited the ship had offered to help the *Canada*, had been refused, and had therefore become suspicious of Ricketson and his crew. This suspicion apparently gave rise to the reason which the Brazilian Government cited later in defense of its agents and their actions. Perhaps the only explanation that makes sense is that local authorities in Rio Grande do Norte, a province far removed from the capital at Rio de Janeiro, acted impulsively and arbitrarily.

Ricketson and the crew were made to stay aboard the *Canada* for another day before being allowed to go ashore with their belongings. Tents were set up and the days passed uneventfully until December 12, when the Americans sailed to Pernambuco as deck passengers on a Brazilian brig. Only one item of any moment occurred during these days of waiting: the fourth mate, Rosa, quarreled so bitterly with Timothy Martin, the third mate, that he left camp with one of the Portuguese members of the crew and moved in with the Brazilians. Soon he was aiding them in stripping the stranded whaler. The significance of this incident was not apparent at the time, but Rosa was to become an important figure in the case of the *Canada*.

II

On February 3, 1857, the *Whalemen's Shipping List and Merchants' Transcript* of New Bedford reported the loss of the *Canada* and published an account from Pernambuco of the wreck and seizure. Captain Ricketson and the crew must have returned to New Bedford about the same time. Already the case of which they were a part had moved into diplomatic channels.

Alex H. Clements, the United States Consul in Pernambuco, had reported the affair almost immediately to the Secretary of State in Washington and to the American Minister in Rio. Minister William Trousdale wasted no time in protesting to the Brazilian Foreign Office. On January 23, 1857, he "complained of the outrage to the Imperial Government, and demanded ample redress for the parties injured by the unwarrantable proceedings of the authorities at Rio Grande do Norte." Some five weeks later Senhor José Maria da Silva Piranhos, the Brazilian Foreign Minister, rejected the protest. Trousdale would not take "no" for an answer. "The subjects of Brazil," he lectured Piranhos, "instead of robbing the captain of his ship and cargo, as a friendly nation should have extended toward him a helping hand."

In New Bedford, meanwhile, Gideon Allen & Son prepared a memorial to Secretary of State Lewis Cass, a memorial supported by a copy of the deposition made at Pernambuco, affidavits sworn before the United States District Attorney in New Bedford by Captain Ricketson and three of his men, statements as to the value of the ship, her outfits, and the oil she had taken. The claimants asked compensation not only for the ship, her outfits and her oil, but also for the prospective profits of the *Canada*'s cruise had it not been interrupted. The claim totaled $212,365.

Although Secretary Cass told the Allens that the State Department would instruct the United States Minister at Rio to "urge the claim to a prompt settlement," he took a dim view of the claim for prospective profits. The claimants nevertheless continued to press for compensation until that aspect of their suit was finally thrown out. Meanwhile, in the light of the way the case was shaping, Gideon Allen and those for whom he spoke must have been optimistic that the whole affair would shortly be liquidated.

Acting on instructions from home, the United States Minister formally presented the case to the Brazilian Foreign Minister on June 29, 1857, at the same time offering the pertinent documents in support of the American demand for compensation. On Cass's instruction he dropped the claim for prospective profits. As he reported to Washington on September 30, he met a Brazilian refusal to entertain the claim on the ground that Captain Ricketson had deliberately wrecked the *Canada* with a view to collecting the insurance on her. To this diplomatically couched charge of barratry was added another: that all who had signed the deposition before the United States Consul in Pernambuco had perjured themselves in saying that the ship was about to move into safe waters when seized. Actually, the Brazilians contended, submitting affidavits from authorities in Rio Grande do Norte in support, the *Canada* had never been budged after she ran aground. The criminal charge of barratry stemmed from documents signed with a cross that were alleged to be sworn statements of the fourth mate, Francisco Rosa, and the seaman-deserter, Manuel José Pequeno.

Communication between the State Department and the Allens was anything but regular or prompt. Gideon Allen seems to have known nothing of the Brazilian position until the late spring of 1858, when he received a brief letter from R. K. Meade, who had succeeded Trousdale as Minister. Allen immediately protested to the State Department that if Rosa had given the testimony as alleged, he must have been bribed, although at the moment proof was lacking. He pointed out also that Ricketson, a heavy investor in the *Canada*, had no cause to run his ship aground, for he held insufficient insurance to cover his interest. Some of the other shareholders, moreover, had no insurance. In order to spell out these facts in person to the State Department, Allen made the arduous journey from New Bedford to Washington.

Hardly had he returned home when Francisco Rosa came into New Bedford to disavow the testimony upon which Brazil in considerable part rested her refusal to settle the *Canada* claim. Rosa not only denied that he had made such testimony, but denied it under oath in a deposition before a probate judge in Bristol County, Massachusetts, on June 23, 1858. It must have been with a good deal of satisfaction that Gideon Allen wrote the Secretary of State: "Since I last advised you in relation to our claim on the Brazilian Government for the capture of the Ship Canada we have obtained the testimony of F. Rosa, which we now enclose duplicate setting forth that he fully confirms the testimony of Capt. Ricketson, his officers and crew, and that he had not signed or sworn to any document whatever, and if any statement had been made differing from the enclosed it was false. We think this will remove every excuse which the Brazilian Government have for refusing to pay for the Ship Canada, outfits, damages, etc. arising out of the seizure of said ship."

Secretary Cass, in acknowledging this letter and its enclosure, promised that Rosa's deposition would be sent to Rio with instructions. The Allens must have expected that this would lead to a reopening of the case, but apparently the aged Cass did not follow through: nearly a year later Gideon Allen was still submitting to the State Department documents in support of the claim, and in April, 1859, he once more visited Washington to press it. Moreover, the Rosa document was never, then or later, sent to the United States Legation in Rio.

If Allen was exasperated by President Buchanan's inefficient State Department, he had good reason. In November, 1859, six months after his most recent call, he learned that the memorial he had left had been mislaid and that a duplicate was needed. "Altho' you have heard nothing from the Department since your personal visit here," he was told, "you may be assured that your claim has not been neglected." He might have been impertinent enough to have asked where was the evidence of this absence of neglect, but he held his tongue, although he must have been unhappily aware that the claim was getting nowhere. It did not help to know that Buchanan had described it to Congress as "unadjusted."

Between November, 1859, and October, 1861, there is no record of any communication between Allen and the State Department. On October 15, 1861, he was at it again. He wrote to Lincoln's Secretary of State, William H. Seward, to call attention to the existence of the claim and to submit to him a copy of the memorial laid before Secretary Cass earlier. Cass had described this memorandum, he pointed out, as "sufficient to fully establish" the claim.

With the country deep in war, it is probably not surprising that Seward failed to acknowledge this letter. Compared to the other problems confronting the State Department, the case of the *Canada* must have seemed picayune. Allen waited another year before he sent a duplicate of his memorial to Seward, again asking for action. This time—the date was November 10, 1862—Seward replied promptly: "The subject of the capture of the Canada, it appears from the files of the Department, was brought to the attention of our former ministers in Brazil—Messieurs Trousdale and Meade—and by them urged upon that government, but so far without success. Nothing has been received from Mr. Webb, our present Minister at that Court, on the subject. An instruction will be transmitted to him calling his attention to the case."

The Seward letter was hardly cause for optimism, and as before Gideon Allen seemed to feel that the best policy was to sit tight. So he restrained himself until November 28, 1864—Lincoln had been reëlected and the Confederacy was obviously nearing its end—before again addressing himself to Secretary Seward. "We have not urged the Department to press said claim," Allen wrote, "as our Government was so fully employed in supressing the rebellion—but hope it may soon be in the power of the Government to get our claim paid." Seward's answer was not encouraging. "However just your claim may be," he said, "the present is not deemed an opportune period for its prosecution." The government, he added, would act "whenever it shall be found expedient to do so hereafter."

A year passed. The war was now over. Abraham Lincoln was dead, Andrew Johnson was President. Seward had remained as Secretary of

State, and to him in November, 1865, came a letter from the persistent owners of the *Canada* claim. "This is a case which admits of no excuse on the part of the Brazilian Government," Allen wrote, "and one which their own officers regretted, as they felt confident that our government would compel them to pay for the damages caused the owners of the [*Canada*] by their illegal proceedings. Some of the owners of the said ship are suffering from the non-settlement of this claim. We would again respectfully urge that you would give this claim your early attention." Back from Seward came a familiar refrain: a copy of Allen's letter would be sent to the Minister in Rio "with proper instructions on the subject."

Everything about the dealings with the State Department had become familiar and irritating. Despite Seward's latest promise to do something, Gideon Allen, hearing nothing, inquired plaintively in January, 1867, "what progress had been made," and to his inquiry received the answer, "nothing definite . . . as yet." A decade had been consumed, and many of the claimants came to regard their cause as hopeless: Barton Ricketson was dead, as were several other shareholders in the *Canada*; the crew was scattered; Timothy Martin, the third mate, whose quarrel with Rosa had been so far-reaching, was living in the Seychelles Islands in the Indian Ocean. Gideon Allen at 75 must have wondered sometimes if he would live to see the end of the *Canada* case. But the House of Allen was not giving up, and in the person of James Watson Webb, United States Minister to Brazil, it was about to find an ally and eventual partner in pressing the claim to final settlement.

III

James Watson Webb, the belligerent and controversial New York editor and publisher, had gone to Rio as American Minister in 1861. One of his first items of business was the settlement of outstanding maritime claims. That for the *Canada* was apparently not among them: according to his account, he found no record of it in the Legation files, nor in fact did he ever hear of the case until November, 1866, when he received a request from Washington to report on its status. Protesting that he knew nothing about it, he asked for guidance. On July 17, 1867, Secretary Seward finally instructed Webb to reopen and press the claim, telling him that if he looked more carefully in the Legation's archives he would surely discover the early materials and records. He did seek and find. It was only then, so Webb asserted, that he learned what the business was all about.

At the time that Webb was learning about the *Canada*, he was bringing to a close the long-disputed claim of the *Caroline*, a Peruvian-owned but American-insured ship which Brazil many years before had condemned as unseaworthy and sold. The American insurers had sought damages from Brazil, and without going into the complicated ramifications of the claim, a claim which the United States had never pressed and one which the Attorney General of the United States later held to be without validity, some aspects of its settlement seem pertinent to the case of the *Canada*.

Acting without instructions from Washington, Webb had moved in 1867 to obtain a settlement of the shady *Caroline* claim. When Dom Pedro's government balked at the idea of paying, he had threatened to break off diplomatic relations and asked for his passports. For Brazil, then at war with Paraguay, this was no time for a quarrel with the United States (there had been enough trouble over assistance to Confederate raiders during the Civil War). So she submitted to what Allan Nevins has characterized as a "piece of extortion."[2] Under protest Brazil agreed in October, 1867, to pay £14,252 to the owners of the claim. It was not until 1872 that the detailed story of the *Caroline* settlement came to light in a scandal that did Webb's reputation no good, for the evidence pointed strongly to his having an interest in the claim and to his pocketing part of the payment. Webb denied converting any money to his own use and explained that to expedite a settlement he had had to use some of the payment to bribe certain influential Brazilians, an action indefensible in itself.

Settlement of the *Caroline* claim may have made Webb more interested in doing something about that of the *Canada*, and in the case of the latter he now did have firm instructions from Washington to proceed. In his dispatch to Webb, Seward described Brazilian interference with the efforts to save the ship as "intrusive, unnecessary, and for the purpose of obtaining possession of the property"; he rejected "the derogatory intimation of the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the ship was purposely run ashore," and urged on Webb the "necessity of settling this claim, both principal and interest without further delay."

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[2] Allan Nevins, *Hamilton Fish: The Inner History of the Grant Administration* (New York, 1936), p. 643.

Although Seward's instructions were sent on July 17, 1867, the Allens apparently did not know of them, for on December 21 Gideon Allen wrote to Webb from New Bedford: "If you can facilitate the settlement and recovery of the Canada claim versus the Brazilian Government by accepting of or selling the claim for a less amount than the sum claimed, you are hereby authorized to do so, securing to us the sum of Forty Thousand Dollars Gold."

Some questions arise about the Allen note to Webb. Why did Webb by-pass the State Department and correspond directly with the New Bedford firm, suggesting a compromise settlement? There is evidence that he made an agreement at this time to divide the settlement, if one could be arranged, between the Allens as agents for the owners and himself. Consider, for example, the remark of Hamilton Fish after the *Caroline* scandal broke that the "affair of the *Caroline* is not the only instance of abuse of his [Webb's] position as the Representative of his government by being pecuniarily interested in claims which he endeavored to enforce against Brazil. It is known that he had a pecuniary interest in the claim for the Ship *Canada*."[3]

Some weeks before the Allens authorized him to seek a compromise of their claim, Webb communicated to the Foreign Ministry the content and tenor of Seward's instructions. His note went unanswered, and on March 9, 1868, he again made representations, this time with results.

From a startled Foreign Office came the query: What is all this about? The claim had not been pressed for ten years, the Brazilians remarked, and they had assumed all along that the United States had accepted their position that the claim was without foundation. Webb promptly disabused them in a series of communications that in two months' time scaled down the demand for compensation from $363,065—the Allens' original total of $212,365 plus ten years' interest—to $108,226.46. By the coincidence of Brazilian politics, the Foreign Minister was the same Piranhos who had rejected the claim when it was first made in 1857. Since Senhor Piranhos saw no reason to alter his original position, the old documents, Rosa's alleged statement, and all the others were trotted out once again. Had Webb had a copy of

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[3] Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 645.

Rosa's New Bedford deposition, he might have used it effectively at this point, but he did not know of its existence. While Webb sought to negotiate from what documents he did have, he was rebuffed by Brazil's transmittal of the entire correspondence to Washington without his knowledge with a view to the claim's becoming a matter between the Brazilian Minister there and the State Department. In the light of Brazilian experience in the *Caroline* case, this action was not surprising. Webb seethed, however.

The exact course of events thereafter is obscure. Early in 1869, Webb was in the United States briefly and he apparently talked further to the Allens about possible compromise. He also seems to have persuaded the State Department that negotiations over the claim should be returned to him in Rio, and that a settlement for $70,000 should be acceptable. The Allens had agreed to this figure if they could receive $30,000 in gold, $10,000 less than they had sought a year earlier. Was the remaining $40,000 to go to Webb, or to whom? Seward had approved the $70,000 figure. Did he know that the Allens were willing to take only $30,000? It all seems very strange.

To win a settlement Webb now needed to act quickly: with the arrival of the Grant administration in Washington his service as Minister was about to end. Perhaps the Brazilians, aware of the fact, hoped to postpone decision. On April 28, 1869, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs refused to accept the fact that Webb's new offer of compromise was based on instructions from Washington. It maintained that if there had been a change in jurisdiction, the Brazilian Minister to the United States would have been informed, and he had not. In short, Brazil wanted Washington, not Webb, to continue the negotiations.

The American Minister exploded. It was not only an affront to himself. His government had been insulted: unless an apology was forthcoming "he would be compelled to suspend all diplomatic relations on the part of the United States with the existing Government of Brazil." A threat of this sort had sufficed to bring Brazil around in the *Caroline* case. This time he received his passports.

The diplomatic break—it occurred on May 12, 1869—was short. Twelve days later, while Webb was awaiting passage to the United States, the British Minister called at the Legation to inquire on behalf of the Brazilian Government on what terms relations could be restored. Webb quickly replied: "Let this Government withdraw its offensive note repudiating my instructions, and substitute for it one acknowledging the receipt of Mr. Seward's offer to compromise." A few hours later the Brazilians gave in, recalled the April 28 note to Webb, and apologized. Relations were restored as the final act of Webb's diplomatic mission.

IV

Webb was in touch with the Allens soon after his arrival in the United States on the twentieth of June. Less than a fortnight later he signed a formal agreement to act as their representative and adviser in all future negotiations with the State Department. In return, if the case was settled favorably, Webb stood to profit handsomely. While the agreement is somewhat unclear and even contradictory, it did state that the claimants should receive not less than $35,000 in gold, and one-half of any amount collected over $70,000. The remainder of any payment was to be divided, as Webb should determine, among "certain Brazilians" and Webb himself. He was to bear all expenses. The question arises as to who the "certain Brazilians" were and whether they actually existed. We do not know.

Events now began to gather momentum. Webb was seeing Grant's Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish, as often as opportunity afforded—at the dinner table sometimes, at the Society of the Cincinnati, or wherever the two might find themselves together. Always he talked about the *Canada,* the validity of the claim, the need, from the points of view of national honor and of justice to the owners, of settling it. He drafted letters for the Allens and needled them into obtaining testimonials from prominent citizens. He must have bored the Secretary of State intolerably, and perhaps needlessly, for it seems quite possible that Fish and the Brazilian Minister had already decided that the troublesome case should be settled once and for all and had determined how it should be done.

Only such an interpretation can explain the unexpected State Department proposal to the Allens in July—Webb had scarcely begun his activities at that time—that the case of the *Canada* be submitted to arbitration. Webb drafted for the Allens an angry reply, dishing up once more the warmed-over facts and merits of the case. Since these merits were indisputable, why was arbitration necessary? Unmoved, Acting Secretary of State Bancroft Davis gave a chilly answer: "A declension by you of a proposition to submit the claim to the decision of an impartial tribunal will force upon the Department a doubt of your confidence in the merits of your claim." Once more Webb composed a sputtering remonstrance, but it left the door open, and the Department seems to have so understood.

The new turn of affairs alarmed Gideon Allen sufficiently to warrant a trip to Washington to talk with the Secretary of State, who seems to have convinced him that arbitration after all was the wisest course and that, moreover, Sir Edward Thornton, the British Minister in Washington, was the right man to arbitrate. Webb did a lot of talking about airing the whole story of the *Canada* in Congress, and he did inspire a resolution calling for the papers in the case. But arbitration it was to be.

On March 14, 1870, the United States Minister in Rio and the Brazilian Foreign Minister signed a protocol for submitting the case to Thornton's arbitration. Sir Edward had before him for study the familiar documents of the Allens—the deposition of Ricketson and the crew, the affidavits, and all the rest. They seemed convincing to him, particularly when weighed against the Brazilian case, which he found weak indeed, and he noted that Rosa's statement on which the Brazilians had once leaned so heavily was not even offered in evidence. The decision came on July 11, 1870, thirteen years, seven months, and fourteen days after the *Canada* grounded on the Garças Reef. The Brazilian Government was ordered to pay the claimants $100,740.04, "in coin." It was, of course, not so much as the *Canada*'s owners had once sought, but it met, with interest over the years, approximately all they had asked from the start save damages for loss of prospective profits.

V

There is an epilogue to this minor chapter in diplomatic history. Of the amount found for the claimants, the State Department, as trustees for the *Canada*'s officers and crew, retained $5,000 to cover their wages and the government's expense in caring for them in Brazil and transporting them to the United States. None of the hands—their wages had been $12 a month—saw any money, for they had been so deep in debt for advances that there was nothing left for them. One of the boat steerers received $230. The first mate did better: his wage had been

$100 a month and that with his lay and interest ultimately brought him $484.36. The second mate was dead, but his estate was enriched by approximately $500. To the third mate, Timothy Martin, went a gift of $50 at his home in the Seychelles; his share of $325.85 had been eaten up by advances and assignments. The name of Francisco Rosa does not appear in the account of the settlement.

To the owners of the claim—the Allens and others—went $47,915.06 in gold after the division with Webb and the payment of banking charges. The Allens as agents claimed five per cent as commission for their work, and surely it was not too much for more than thirteen years of effort. The shareholders were paid off—Captain Ricketson's son and heir received $7,500—as rapidly as possible, but the final settlement of accounts did not come until 1873, three years after Sir Edward's decision.

While any who benefited from the *Canada*'s decision could count himself fortunate, it was James Watson Webb, the Johnny-come-lately, who fared best. To his account with Baring Brothers in London was deposited £9,933 14*s.* 5*d.* It is hard to see that his contribution to the final settlement was worth what it cost. If he had not kicked up such a rumpus in Rio, perhaps the case would have dragged on indefinitely. On the other hand, since Seward, not Webb, reopened the claim, and since Seward gave tone to the representations, the case might well have run its course to final solution without him. Whether he was worth his hire was beside the point. The Allens had given their word. They stood by it.

The case of the *Canada* was closed.

Boston during the Civil War

Edward C. Kirkland*

During the Civil War Boston played a dual role. On the one hand, it was a metropolis in its own right, a city of 177,840 people in 1860; on the other, it was a state capital and hence the center of state policy and action. Nor was Boston a unity. Like other urban communities, it contained both masses and classes, and the classes were themselves divided.

Since Bostonians of the classes wrote letters and preserved them, this paper will be about them. They lived along the streets running down Beacon Hill and in acceptable suburbs like Milton; they counted or thought they did. I have high precedent for this focus. Some years after the war when young Francis W. Palfrey, a Boston war hero of Antietam, wrote of the city's soldiery, he called the roster of Boston's regiments, and went into considerable detail about the conditions and methods of recruitment and performance, but simply dismissed the 9th and 28th as "Irish regiments." Indeed, Palfrey spent more words on the 54th and 55th regiments of colored infantry raised under Boston influence[1] and commanded by representatives of outstanding families. Both Governor John A. Andrew (born and educated in Maine, let it be noted) and John Murray Forbes, Boston merchant, capitalist, and civilian entrepreneur of war, took pains to have "gentlemen of the highest tone and honor" at the head of these Negro infantrymen.[2]

This centralization of command among Boston's best was not confined to the Negro regiments. Although elected as the "people's governor," Andrew felt that a liberal education and a social tradition bred the mental flexibility and the habit of leadership essential for officers. Thus he raided Harvard College and Beacon Hill in making his regimental appointments. As an outlander he relied for advice on his aide, Henry Lee, Jr., a man of conservative temper who was well-informed about past and contemporary generations in Boston families. In view of this knowledge, Lee was able to separate sheep from goats and to resist attempts to use influence. Nor was the governor without guile on the premises: he hoped by his appointments to hold parents to the support of the war. "Many a gallant young officer went down from Massachusetts into Virginia to battle," one of Andrew's biographers testified, "an unconscious hostage for the loyalty of men at home who in times of disaster might otherwise easily have fallen into indifference or opposition."[3] Thus, although next door to a unit of "these God forsaken Michiganders and Pennsylvanians," young Charles Francis Adams could still write from South Carolina, "the Parker-house [is] all over creation."[4]

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* This paper was read at the March, 1955, meeting.

[1] *The Memorial History of Boston*, ed. Justin Winsor, 4 vols. (Boston, [1880–81]), III, 316–317.

[2] Henry G. Pearson, *The Life of John A. Andrew, Governor of Massachusetts, 1861–1865*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1904), II, 74.

Civil War officers had to lead troops with an example of gallantry but the wide use of rifled guns made such leadership peculiarly hazardous. Consequently, uncertainty and the heartbreak of personal loss was the portion of Boston families of position. One-sixth of the Harvard men in the war lost their lives.[5] Ellen M. Abbott informed Adams early in 1863, "It is melancholy, even here in Boston, where we are so far from actual warfare, that we know little of its horrors; but when within forty eight hours, there are funeral services for four of your friends, followed by others as battle after battle takes place, it is hard not to feel sometimes, as if anything were better than continued war."[6]

The anguished uncertainty of wounds and imprisonment was somewhat mitigated by the government's permitting parents to handle emergencies. Every well-brought-up boy in my generation read Oliver Wendell Holmes's "My Hunt after 'the Captain.' " The experience there set down was by no means unique. Apparently fathers expected to swing into action, with a divine disregard of going through channels, when they heard of their sons' misfortunes. Thus John Palfrey wrote in November, 1862, "On the 19th of September I started for Washington to look for my son [Frank], who, on the 17th, had his left arm shockingly shattered by a grape-shot at Antietam. After a search of distressing anxiety, I learned that he had gone by Harrisburg to Philadelphia, in season to be at the latter place to receive him. He came in, a bundle of dirty, bloody rags on the floor of a baggage car, after a continuous jostle of a hundred and forty miles. *Quantum imitatus ab illo Hectore.* I trust never to see such a sight again." His father got him to a private home which Philadelphia friends placed at his disposal and called in the doctors. At one time when his life was despaired of, a fine constitution "and a profuse use of stimulants enabled him to rally."[7] Although prisoners, unlike the wounded, were inaccessible, energetic parents could do something nonetheless. When a Mosby raid in 1864 captured his son, John Murray Forbes dispatched money to him by drafts on the Barings forwarded to some Savannah business friends of an old Woods Hole neighbor and also sent greenbacks through flags of truce. One of the latter shipments eventually caught up with the young officer in Charleston or Columbia. Forbes spoke gratefully of the good faith "of the Confederates in allowing remittances to be sent to prisoners."[8]

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[3] *Ibid.*, I, 242–244; [Albert G. Browne, Jr.], *Sketch of the Official Life of John A. Andrew, as Governor of Massachusetts* (New York, 1868), p. 65.

[4] Charles Francis Adams, Jr., to Francis W. Palfrey, Beaufort, February 7, 1862, Adams Papers (Massachusetts Historical Society). Succeeding manuscript references are to this collection; quotations are by permission of the Adams Manuscript Trust.

[5] "Harvard Memorial Biographies," *North American Review*, CII (1866), 499–500.

[6] Ellen M. Abbott to Adams, Boston, January 6, 1863.

But the color of war was not an unrelieved black. War had also the shine of adventure and achievement. The presence of young Bostonians in strange surroundings and unpredictable circumstances was so incongruous as to be amusing. One evidence of this transmogrification was, of course, the military photograph. The receipt of Charles F. Adams' picture in the Abbott household unloosed a salvo of "merry shouts because of its grave expression, its sturdy earnest power, its grim severity, clad so in the panoply of war. No one seeing it can but feel that the man inside is an ardent soul—wielding the 'sword of the Lord and of Gideon.' "[9] There were promotions and commissions—all evidence that the right people could get ahead in war as well as in peace. Then there were furloughs, in this loosely run war apparently to be had for the asking or to be taken without asking. Boston men prepared for the return of their fellows by stocking their cellars; feminine friends on Chestnut Street promised to make a Welsh rarebit.[10] Actuality was as good as anticipation. A young man on leave in Boston from Adams's regiment wrote back plaintively, "I am compelled to go to bed when I am sleepy, and rise when rested. Dinner is at sharp 6 P.M. . . . and the soup is too good to allow of any want of punctuality. While I sedulously avoid forenoon cocktails, I find that evening tippling agrees with me very well and that vieux Cognac is an acceptable substitute for 'Commissary.' "[11] Not all journeys to the south were by deeply distracted parents. When John Murray Forbes visited his son in Beaufort in 1862, he took along a horse and a dog, Whist, for him; put up in a pleasant house vacated by the civilian flight from the village; and entertained his son's friends and his own by sails in his private yacht, *Azalea*, which he had had sent down. On a second visit in company with his wife, they picnicked with their son while he was on picket duty. Over a year later when he visited young Forbes south of Washington, the two men passed the time with horse races and quail shooting.[12]

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[7] John G. Palfrey to Adams, Boston, November 8, 1862.

[8] *Letters and Recollections of John Murray Forbes,* ed. Sarah Forbes Hughes, 2 vols. (Boston, 1900), II, 98.

[9] Jerre A[bbott] to Adams, n. p., May 22, [1863].

[10] E. M. Abbott to Adams, Boston, January 6, 1863; J. Abbott to Adams, Boston, January 9, 1863.

Bostonians could assuage their guilt feelings about living in comfort in a period of suffering and hardship by having a good time earning money for a worthy purpose. To gather funds for the Sanitary Commission, vaguely the equivalent of the Red Cross, there were four performances of "an amateur comic opera in Cambridge." No wonder it "proved very successful." "The plot was the story of the one Fishball, put into the most impassioned Italian, by Professor Child; the music, is airs chosen from different operas, very nicely connected by recitative, arranged by Mr. Parker."[13] Nor should one give up dancing, especially when there were boys home on furlough or wounded veterans, not too incapacitated, to be entertained. "We go on with all our occupations," wrote Ellen Abbott in January, 1863. "The younger set have dances at Papanti's, where they dance the German until three in the morning; with half a dozen wounded officers as guests" and this "two days after the battle of Fredericksburg."[14] "Boston was never a gayer Boston, in this world," summarized her husband, Jerre Abbott. "So was Sodom, and so was that other town which I cannot spell. The streets are gay, the men are gay, and the women are lovely. Wealth stalks openly, but mostly it rides."[15]

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[11] "B. T. W." to Adams, Boston, June 15, 1863.

[12] Forbes, *Letters and Recollections*, I, 294–300, 303–306; II, 76.

[13] E. M. Abbott to Adams, Boston, May 11, 1862.

[14] E. M. Abbott to Adams, Boston, January 6, 1863.

[15] J. Abbott to Adams, Boston, February 7, 1863.

Meanwhile the war went on poorly. In a conflict which relied so much on the actions of ingenious citizens, it naturally occurred to some that perhaps the best way to victory was to turn the whole thing over to private enterprise. Even Emerson, whose serenity on the outcome of the war surpassed that of most contemporaries, was writing, "I don't know that the Government can carry on a war; and it has ever been in the minds of our people who know how public action drags, and how efficient is private enterprise, to turn it over to private hands, and let Adams's Express undertake by contract the capture of Richmond, or Charleston, of the pirate Alabama, and any other designated parts of the war."[16] But in the want of this transfer of responsibility, the way to improvement and victory had to be trusted to the processes of democracy. On the precise path to be pursued, Bostonians did not agree. The long and extensive alliance of northern trade and cotton manufacturing with the south created an influential group whose dislike of the war in general now found expression in criticizing the way it was conducted. After all Massachusetts had been a stronghold of the "cotton Whigs."

Certainly the gravest point at issue was the Emancipation Proclamation, which Bostonians who had disliked the extravagance of abolitionists felt was an impetuous and injudicious pronouncement. Yet, when the Emancipation Proclamation actually came on January 1, 1863, a large number of prominent citizens affixed their signatures to a call for a concert at the Music Hall to celebrate it. Ellen Abbott wrote that "the best reserved seats in the gallery were occupied by blacks. If the proclamation will help end the war, I shall rejoice as much as any one, though you know I never was an abolitionist."[17] As it turned out, there was more than music: in a surprise prologue, Mr. Emerson was introduced and read his "Boston Hymn." Though individual verses, like

Pay Ransom to the owner
And fill the bag to the brim.
Who is the owner? The slave is owner,
And ever was. Pay *him*.[18]

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[16] *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson, with Annotations*, ed. Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes, 10 vols. (Boston, [1909–14]), [IX], 443.

[17] E. M. Abbott to Adams, Boston, January 6, 1863.

[18] Emerson, *Journals*, [IX], 477–479.

had flaming power, the hymn as a whole was inferior to his later Concord one.

But the proclamation deepened among several the suspicion that the administration's inept statecraft and mismanagement were prolonging the war. Someone was to blame and someone had to be fired. A few felt that if only Cameron could be got out of the War Department or McClellan relieved of his command, all would improve. Others were of the opinion that the thing to do was to change the commander in chief. As Jerre Abbott listened to the steady thud of the guns through the cold air and the sound of church bells on Washington's Birthday of 1863, he reflected that "an uncouth kind of goblin now fills the chair of State. We once had a Washington there! a being whose thoughts were noble, whose mien was grave,"[19] and two months later Caspar Crowninshield was writing to Adams from Virginia that "the whole government and form of government is rotten. . . . It can not be denied that most of our leading men are vulgar disgusting brutes. Look at Abe Lincoln. Is it not enough to disgust any one to think that such a poor miserable whelp of an Illinois lawyer should hold the fate of 30,000,000 people in his hands?"[20] Such sentiments were often heard in the clubs. The explanation, according to J. M. Forbes, was not economic but hedonistic determinism. "The fact is 'club men' who live by wine, cards, tobacco and billiards for their cheap stimulants and time killers, gravitate very strongly toward secesh sympathies. They are apt to think themselves aristocratic and gentleman-like, and they look up to the idle slave owners with respect as being more permanently idle than themselves; at least it is so here. Hence the public opinion influenced by our clubs is generally unsound, and there is great need of a rallying point for the unconditional loyalists."[21] So Forbes, with others—Oliver Wendell Holmes, Samuel G. Ward, Charles Eliot Norton—founded the Union Club as makeweight.

But many continued to dream of supplanting Lincoln. A group of Boston admirers who saw McClellan as a conservative union-saver invited him to the city in 1863 and, as a climax of his "starring" there, presented him with a sword. Many went on to vote for him in 1864.[22] Caspar Crowninshield had another candidate. He concluded his diatribe against Lincoln by asserting, "I wish Ben Butler was President."[23] Butler was far from exciting the admiration of all proper Bostonians. Reviewing the military eminence which Massachusetts and Boston army officers achieved, Frank Palfrey discovered that "no Boston man was made a Major-General in the War of Secession; but the same is true of the men of Massachusetts, if we except General Banks and General Butler, who did not rise by regular promotion to that grade, but reached it at a bound on the stroke of a pen at Washington."[24] Charles Francis Adams, meditating in his autobiography on the inappropriateness of a statue of Hooker before the State House, remarked, "It was proposed to erect in front of the State House a statue of Butler in addition to that of Hooker. This may yet be done. If it is done, I can only hope it will not be done until after my death. That will be altogether too much!"[25]

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[19] J. Abbott to Adams, Boston, February 22, 1863.

[20] Caspar Crowninshield to Adams, Gloucester Point, Virginia, April 14, 1863.

[21] *Letters (Supplementary) of John Murray Forbes*, ed. S. F. Hughes, 3 vols. (Boston, 1905), II, 80.

Early in 1863 Jerre Abbott concluded one of his letters to Adams with the paragraph, "Probably you are aware how rich everybody is getting now. A cart full of paving stones purchased 6 months ago on speculation would be sold today with such results in profits as would allow you to keep a horse and a box at the opera for balance of the year, and so on and so on."[26]

One means to wealth were the mills. It is obvious that the Civil War sustained the prosperity of cotton manufacturing, one of Boston's mainstays, by making enemy country of the chief source of raw material, a situation not unlike that of rubber in a later conflict. As raw cotton increased almost 100 per cent in price within a twelvemonth, there was a scurry for available supplies. Those who had on hand stocks of fiber or of goods already made up benefited; those who made the taxing shift to the manufacture of woolens also gained. By 1864 the Boston Board of Trade was commenting upon the paradox of a "vast struggle for national existence" and "the general prosperity around us."[27] Jerre Abbott, who found the spelling of Gomorrah beyond him, was writing, "If God shall say—'that city may be saved peradventure one man in it is a good man.' Would he be Gardner Brewer?—Perhaps. Gardner's stock today in the 'Amoskeag' . . . gave him [a] $10,500 dividend for 6 months and *next month* he has an *extra* from the same of $10,500 more! Would it be Francis Skinner? Perhaps—for last month two mills gave Francis a semi-annual of $120,000! Are not these men in themselves and their prosperity enough to save Sodom and Gomor——can't spell it—and all the cities of the plain?—Yes, verily, and yet we are at war *with ourselves*."[28]

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[22] Edith E. Ware, *Political Opinion in Massachusetts during Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York, 1916), pp. 120–123.

[23] Crowinshield to Adams, Gloucester Point, April 14, 1863.

[24] *Memorial History of Boston*, III, 327.

[25] *Charles Francis Adams, 1835–1915: An Autobiography* (Boston, 1916), p. 161.

[26] J. Abbott to Adams, Boston, January 9, 1863.

Neither cotton, nor woolens, nor boots, nor shoes answered the great question of "what to go into." Luckily at this time there came to fruition the long cherished project of filling in the lowlands which stretched behind the Mill Dam from the Common to the heights of Brookline. Crisscrossed with railroads, this area had become a nuisance. "The city has used and now uses the Back Bay as a cesspool," a commission had reported in 1854. By the close of the decade the respective rights of Boston, the state, and the corporations had been adjusted, and the filling in of Back Bay began.[29] Some individuals had early a vision of the area as Boston's West End; most Bostonians waited until the end of the Civil War to appreciate the wider possibilities of the project. Reminded of his careless reference to fortunes in paving stones, Jerre Abbott said it was becoming, to his surprise, "almost literal truth. . . . You do a neat, 'genteel' aristocratic kind of thing when you dip your hands into backbay stones—and gold (Greenbacks) will stick to them if you do so. Men buy a lot—or *some* lots of this precise commodity down by the *Jardin Publique* as they wend their way to places of business of a morning. Noon comes, and they return to their muttons—selling out as they pass back, bagging in the interval great gain. . . . I heard of a parcel of sand the other day which changed hands four times! during business hours and each time a step in advance. *Modern* Beacon Street which seems to look upon this valuable property, as in some measure peculiarly *its*, plays heavily: and being used to

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[27] Boston Board of Trade, *Eighth Annual Report . . . 1862* (Boston, 1862), pp. 63–65; *Ninth Annual Report . . . 1863* (Boston, 1863), pp. 43–45; *Tenth Annual Report . . . 1864* (Boston, 1864), p. 59.

[28] J. Abbott to Adams, Boston, February 7, 1863.

[29] *Memorial History of Boston*, IV, 33–38.

'sport' finds it just as easy to go a fellow 'five,' 'ten,' 'twenty better' on some nice clean West Newton sand, as on a game of poker at the corner of Somerset Street. Good, excellent, solid delightful men, men of the professions go in. And they win too! Mr. Horace Gray—one of the most delightful I ever saw—charming Horace Gray, steps up and rubs the lamp a bit—and puts into his colossal pocket 5000 as easy as Kiss your hand! Reticent John Sewell, that modest, unobtrusive attorney, puts in *his* thumb and pulls out a plumb. . . . Even I . . . most accidentally, stumbled two years ago into a lot down there somewhere . . . am now dreaming dreams, and having visions of future ease and luxury such as the bankers Thayer never thought of! In England they sport a peculiar kind of Gingerbread—gilt! Think no more my dear fellow of Rarebits *ordinaire*!—hereafter, those you eat in this mansion shall be embossed!!" Abbott's playfulness gave way to seriousness when he added, "We may ridicule this thing as much as we please. . . . Men are simply obeying a law of Nature—a vacuum has occurred and they rush in to fill it!"[30]

But the role of a civilian community in wartime is something more than to contribute money to worthy purposes, subscribe to war loans, and in general to endure—"to go on," as Ellen Abbott put it. A community is the reservoir of experiences of those who fight the nation's battle: it must be the citadel of their values and associations to which they can return to continue their interrupted lives; it must provide the stability on whose certainties they can build their peacetime careers. It must, in short, be home. It is better all around if home be familiar. On this point Boston did not fail. Whatever the losses and gains, Boston did not change much. In 1865 it was still a small city. Its population which in 1860 had been 177,840 was in 1865 only 192,318.[31]

Returning after his military service to the Boston he had known, Charles Francis Adams found it not only like prewar years but not much altered from 1837. "Notwithstanding many local and individual changes, streets which were fashionable in 1837 are fashionable now; the same families not seldom live in the same houses; the wealthy names then are wealthy names still, and the men of note then are men of note now. . . . In literature, also, the Athens of America still sounds the old harp-strings. In the year 1837 R. W. Emerson delivered a Φ.B.K. oration, as he did in 1867; Caleb Cushing declined to address the societies of Dartmouth College, and Mr. George S. Hillard took his place. Dr. O. W. Holmes brought out a little volume of poems, and the second volume of an interminable History of America, by George Bancroft, was published. . . . That she [Boston] has grown and prospered is evident; so have Lowell and Providence, and probably Newport and Salem. So also have New York and Chicago. Here are two kinds of growth. One commercial, well-balanced, and cosmopolitan, the other, manufacturing, unequal, and provincial. Boston has increased and flourished, but its increase has been provincial. It is now the first, or perhaps second, city of the Lowell and Providence type in America. . . ."[32]

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[30] J. Abbott to Adams, Boston, February 22, 1863.

[31] *Abstract of the Census of Massachusetts, 1865: with Remarks on the Same, and Supplementary Tables* (Boston, 1867), p. 276.

That young Adams was harassed by the aftermath of war-incurred malaria and by the necessity of finding a job perhaps explains this typical Bostonian reproach to a place of which he was obviously fond. But were these personal discomforts sufficient to justify the enormity of comparing Boston to Chicago in terms of energy and civic responsibility to the disadvantage of his native city?

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[32] Adams, "Boston," *North American Review*, CVI (1868), 2, 3, 8.

The Making of a History

Letters of Henry Adams to Henry Vignaud and Charles Scribner, 1879-1913

Edited by C. Waller Barrett*

THE *History of the United States* by Henry Adams has in many ways never been surpassed, and with the passage of years has attained the stature of a major work of historical and literary importance. The origins of the *History* have therefore properly received considerable attention from Adams' biographers and other commentators on his life and works. Up to the present, however, the circumstances of the actual publication of the nine volumes have received only passing notice. But the letters of Henry Adams to Henry Vignaud and to Charles Scribner exist. So do those of Theodore F. Dwight, his literary assistant. Together they tell much about the way Adams worked, something of his attitude toward history and toward publishers and readers of history, and a great deal about his taste in book design. It seems most desirable therefore that these documents[1] be made available in their entirety, and it is most fitting that this be done under the imprint of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

A few remarks on the background and development of the *History* may be in order. One might well say that everything Adams wrote was history. Even his poem, *Prayer to the Virgin of Chartres,* was an historical evocation of the times when men performed mighty deeds of valor and wrought miracles in stone for the honor and glory of their feminine ideal. Of Adams' two novels, the first, *Democracy,* was a study of political corruption at a certain period of American life. *Esther* was a history of the growth of skepticism and its effects.

The *Education* and *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* belong definitely in the canon of Adams' historical works. When all these are considered together with his journalistic writing, his magazine articles, and his biographies, it becomes apparent that Adams was incapable of writing anything without firmly fixing it in its proper historical ambient. Every work betrays an awareness of the past.

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* The introduction to this paper, with extracts from some of the letters, was read at the May, 1957, meeting.

[1] [All of the letters here published, with the few exceptions noted in their respective places, are in Mr. Barrett's collection of books and manuscripts relating to American literature. —EDITOR.]

As we examine the circumstances that made him a gifted historian—heredity, environment, and family influences—his own words form an excellent beginning. He said of himself that "he could scarcely have been more distinctly branded." The grandson of one President and great-grandson of another would have been a strange creature not to have been influenced by these noble traditions. In point of fact, Henry Adams embraced them eagerly. As a very young man he began to display an absorbing interest in national and international affairs and a great curiosity about their whys and wherefores.

Although the Adams brand was so apparent in Henry, there were important differences between him and his forbears. They had been men of action; he became the acute and analytical observer and chronicler. The earlier Adamses gravitated naturally toward the center of the political stage, ever-ready for the rough-and-tumble; he shrank from the direct encounter, from active participation. Moreover, they had expressed themselves in unadorned, logical prose; he approached his subjects with all of the passion and severity of a conscious literary artist.

Nevertheless, many years were to pass and much writing to be done before he attained what Henry Steele Commager has called "the limpid clarity and beauty, the classic restraint, the flashing brilliance" of his prose style.

His first experience at a crucible of history was in Washington as his father's secretary in 1860. The education of an historian began at forced pace. Few young men have had better opportunities to observe at close range the formulation of domestic and international policies and to see revealed so quickly the successes and failures thereof. It was during this time that he saw Lincoln "at the melancholy function called an Inaugural Ball. . . . He looked anxiously for a sign of character. He saw a long, awkward figure; a plain, plowed face; a mind, absent in part and in part evidently worried by white kid gloves; features that expressed neither self-satisfaction nor any other familiar Americanism . . . above all a lack of apparent force."

When the scene shifted to London the education continued at rapid tempo as he observed his father's successful efforts to prevent England from lending active support to the Southern cause. This close view of events of historical significance kept the incipient historian in ferment. One result was a paper demolishing the myth that Pocahontas saved the life of Captain John Smith. This essay, interesting enough otherwise, is important for its revelation of a skillful handling of documentary source material.

In 1868 the Adamses returned to Washington, and various periodical writings ensued which were in part collected, together with three from the pen of his brother Charles Francis, in a book entitled *Chapters of Erie, and Other Essays* (1871).

In 1869 Adams experienced the first of a series of those disillusionments that are a necessary part of an historian's experience. He had voted for Grant and, as he states in the *Education,* "all his hopes of success in life turned on his finding an administration to support. . . . He was for sale . . . he did not even ask an office. . . . All he wanted was . . . something that would let itself be supported. Luck went dead against him." Not that he had been naïvely hopeful. His sophistication with respect to politics shows clearly in a previous interview with a Cabinet officer who, in response to his plea for tact in dealing with Representatives, broke out, "You can't use tact with a Congressman! A Congressman is a hog! You must take a stick and hit him on the snout!" Adams replied, "If a Congressman is a hog, what is a Senator?" Nevertheless, he went hopefully to the Capitol to hear the names that would reveal the carefully guarded secret of Grant's Cabinet. Within five minutes he felt that America had "reverted to the stone age. . . . Grant's nominations had the singular effect of making the hearer ashamed, not so much of Grant, as of himself."

In 1873 Adams accepted the chair of Assistant Professor of History at Harvard and began a teaching career of seven years described as a failure in the *Education* but long remembered by his students as an exhilarating and broadening experience. The value of the interlude to his future work was inestimable.

During this time he had been at work on the papers of Albert Gallatin, who was so closely associated with the Jefferson and Madison administrations. His *Life of Albert Gallatin,* published in 1879, remains to this day the well-nigh perfect model of an historical biography. The synthesis of original material and the use of Gallatin's own words in letters and documents to tell his own story were devices tellingly employed by Adams.

Shortly after the Gallatin biography, Adams produced a life of John Randolph for the American Statesmen series. He himself spoke in a slighting manner about this book, and it may be admitted that it is inferior to the *Life of Albert Gallatin*. Nevertheless, Adams' skill in character portrayal is revealed by a thumbnail description of John Randolph during the latter phases of his Congressional career:

> Neither his oratory nor his wit would have been tolerated in a northern State. To the cold-blooded New Englander who did not love extravagance or eccentricity, and had not fancy for plantation manners, Randolph was an obnoxious being. Those traits of character and person of which he was proud as evidence of his Pocahontas and Powhatan ancestry, they instinctively attributed to an ancestral type of a different kind. It was not the Indian whom they saw in this lean, forked figure, with its elongated arms and long, bony forefinger, pointing at the objects of his aversion as with a stick; it was not an Indian countenance they recognized in its parchment face, prematurely old and seamed with a thousand small wrinkles; in that bright, sharply sparkling eye; in the flattering, caressing tone and manner, which suddenly, with or without provocation, changed into wanton brutality.

By 1881 Adams was ready to begin the major work, the *History*. He had learned his lessons well. His style was now a tempered and dependable instrument of communication and evocation. He had mastered new techniques for the use of source material. His agents and copyists had ransacked the archives of every government in his period. He had himself questioned every possible individual who might have information of value. Diaries and journals had been perused. By these means and by reading innumerable publications relating to medicine, education, and economics, not to mention literary works and sermons, he had acquired a full understanding of the background of the social and economic conditions, of the intellectual climate, and of the scientific progress which had played such important rôles in his selected period. The task was begun with enthusiasm and vigor. Chapter followed chapter in the agreeable environment of Washington and the happy circumstances of his married life.

On August 29, 1883, he wrote John Hay, "I toil and moil, painfully and wearily, forward and back, over my little den of history."[2] The printing of the six private copies of the volume covering the second administration of Thomas Jefferson (volumes III and IV of the regular edition) must have commenced in 1883, although the title page bears the date 1885. A letter from John Wilson & Son, University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, September 8, 1883, reads: "We received this morning pp. *104 to 217* of 'copy,' which will probably last us to end of month. By to-day's Express we send You one copy, as far as printed, of each of the two Sizes, and will continue to send You others from time to time. We thank You for Your kind offer to pay us something on account, when we need it, and will take advantage of it in a few weeks." This letter is in the Massachusetts Historical Society.

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[2] Except in one instance, this and the following quotations are from *Letters of Henry Adams*, ed. Worthington C. Ford, 2 vols. (Boston, 1930–38), I. Quotations are by the courteous permission of the publisher, Houghton Mifflin Company.

On February 3, 1884, Adams wrote Charles Milnes Gaskell (a close friend in London), "Yesterday I received a bound copy of my History. I have had six copies privately printed as a first edition for my own use. When I am ready, I shall reprint and publish two volumes at once. Perhaps I may reach this point in the year '86. I admit to thinking the book readable, but to you it would be sadly dull reading. You see I am writing for a continent of a hundred million people fifty years hence; and I can't stop to think what England will read."

On February 8 a year later he wrote Gaskell, "The change of administration affects me very little. My history will go on, I hope, as quietly under Mr. Cleveland as under Mr. Arthur."

On December 6, 1885, he suffered the paralyzing blow of the suicide of his beloved wife, Marian Hooper Adams. The impact on one of his proud and sensitive nature was almost catastrophic.

Early in 1886 he embarked on a long trip to Japan with the artist John La Farge, from which he returned late in the year in time to see his father for the last time, as Charles Francis Adams died on November 21. On December 12, 1886, he wrote Gaskell, "I am trying to boil up my old interest in history enough to finish my book, but the fuel is getting scarce. I think the chances about even whether it will ever be published or not. Society is getting new tastes, and history of the old school has not many years to live. I am willing enough to write history for a new school; but new men will doubtless do it better, or at least make it more to the public taste."

On June 28, 1887, in a letter to John Hay he said, "I write history as though it were serious, five hours a day," and on September 13, "I carry back to Washington a whole new volume prepared for the printer since June 15. . . . I shall either be in my pleasant grave on this day two years, or my history will be done and out."

In 1888 six copies were printed of the volume covering the first administration of James Madison (volumes V and VI of the regular edition).

On July 8, 1888, he again wrote Hay, "I would give you a ream of ruled law cap, written full of history, to be going with you to Colorado; but yet awhile I must abide here, and, to admit the truth, the frenzy of finishing the big book has seized me, until, as the end comes nigh, I hurry off the chapters as though they were letters to you. I think that five more chapters will pretty much finish the story. A concluding Chapter or Book must be still written on topics and tendencies, but I shall begin printing next autumn."

On September 9 he wrote Hay anew, "I sit at my desk six hours every day, and spin my web with the industry of Anthony Trollope. I can hardly believe my own ears when I say that tomorrow my narrative will be finished." And in a letter to Hay of September 23 are the words, "I have composed the last page of my history."

A letter of April 21, 1889, to Gaskell from Washington contains the words, "When March began, I had to return, for the printers could no longer be neglected, and I have made my contract for publishing the eternal history which has been the bore of my friends and myself for ten years. The first two volumes are pretty nearly ready, and will appear, I suppose, either in the summer or autumn, to be followed by the rest as fast as the publisher pleases. The printing and preparing tie me down quite tight, so that I shall not run away again till all is finished."

The first two volumes covering the first administration of Thomas Jefferson appeared on October 22, 1889, according to a statement of Charles Scribner, the publisher, and on November 24, 1889, Adams wrote Gaskell, "I have thrown upon the cold world two children in the shape of volumes, the first of eight or ten of which I am to be delivered. As they lost all interest for me long ago, I cannot believe that they would interest my friends, so I have sent no copies about. If any American should ask if I sent them to you, say Yes,—and that you have read them with much pleasure. The conversation will not go further, and both of us will have made a proper appearance before posterity."

Publication of the *History* continued steadily during 1890, and the final three volumes of the second administration of James Madison were issued on January 10, 1891. A special printing of a few copies of the four volumes of the Jefferson administration was made on thin paper for the author's use. These were printed at the same time as the regular trade edition. The London edition was published by G. P. Putnam's Sons during 1891–1892 in nine volumes. Just why or how Adams selected Charles Scribner as the American publisher of the *History* is not known. He had previously employed other concerns such as Osgood, Lippincott, Henry Holt, Houghton Mifflin, and Little, Brown.

The group of letters immediately following is a series from Henry Adams to Henry Vignaud,[3] then second secretary of the American legation at Paris, illustrating the difficulties of gathering source materials in foreign archives in that era and how Adams, with Vignaud's help, overcame them. They are followed, after an interval of over seven years, by a longer series of letters from Adams and Dwight to Scribner and the Scribner editors, dealing with every aspect of the financial terms, design, and production of the *History*.

Seville. 29 Novr. 1879.

MY DEAR SIR

As yet I have not heard a syllable in regard to the fate of my application to Mr. Waddington for papers, although he expected to give me an answer in October. Another week will, I hope, see me on my way to Paris, where I expect to arrive somewhere about the 10th. I shall come to see you at the Legation, before calling on Mr. Waddington, trusting that you may be able to explain to me the causes of the apparent delay, and the chances of a decision. Of course I look on it as unfavorable to me, and feel anxious and discouraged accordingly; if you can see a better side to it, I shall be correspondingly glad.

Poor Mr. Lowell, by my last letter from Madrid, was still in a most painful situation. I shall go back there for a day or two next week to see him again. My own adventures have been of the usual traveller's sort, very chequered, but certainly very different from Paris and London. On the whole, however, I have been amused, if not always enthusiastic.

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[3] On Vignaud, versatile diplomat and historian, see the sketch by Waldo G. Leland in *D.A.B.*; on other aspects of his relations with Adams, see Max I. Baym, "Henry Adams and Henry Vignaud," *New England Quarterly*, XVII (1944), 442–449. His papers are at the Clements Library and are described in *Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the William L. Clements Library*, comp. Howard H. Peckham (Ann Arbor, 1942), pp. 261–263.

Meanwhile I remain very truly yrs

HENRY ADAMS

Henry Vignaud Esq

Paris. Tuesday. [January or February, 1880]

DEAR MR. VIGNAUD

Many thanks! The letter has come, and I present myself to M. Faugère today.

It is dated the 28th. and signed Waddington.

Yrs truly
HENRY ADAMS

Henry Vignaud Esq

London. 29 Feby: 1880.

DEAR SIR

Thanks for your's of the 27th. The venerable Faugère hinted to me that the facilities should be reciprocal, which I of course acceded to. If I had known that Outrey's agency was to be invoked, I should have written to the Department to prepare them. As it is, I think the condition will be at once accepted. Yet as there may be difficulties or delays in fixing the precise limits on both sides, which may entail further discussion, I am anxious not to suffer unnecessarily. If your diplomacy, therefore, can succeed so far as to persuade the "Sous-directeur" to let his copyist go to work, at my expense, at once, it may save me much delay at a later time. I do not ask for the copies now, but I ask to have them begun by their agent, and if, after all, my government refuses reciprocity, I am content to lose my money and the papers too. Pray inform the Sous-directeur that I am well aware of not having permission to take copies, and that I made my application to M. Faugère accordingly. But he has himself the power to order copies of the desired papers to be taken, for his own convenience; and all I ask is that he will exercise his power, at my expense, so that, in case I receive my permission, I may not suffer any delay in getting the copies. I foresee a discussion which may take months or years, and all I want is to know that my copies are there all ready for me, the moment the question is decided.

If you can carry this point, which seems to me a reasonable one, I shall be greatly obliged.

Ever truly yrs
HENRY ADAMS

Henry Vignaud Esq

[London] 9 March, 1880.

MY DEAR MR. VIGNAUD

Many thanks for your letter of yesterday. My list of the papers, in an envelope, was left by me in the hands of the person who had charge of the reading-room, to be given to M. de Faugère. With it were left three large packages of copying-paper, on which I wrote my name. All was addressed to M. de Faugère, as the archiviste to whom I gave them, will remember, and doubtless M. de Faugère will know what became of them. There were several sheets of the list.

I kept no copy, but put a paper mark at each document I noted. If M. de Rialle will send for the first of these volumes, that for "Spain" in 1801 (I think) or 1802, he will find my marks unless they have been removed. The archiviste knows what volumes I had: Spain for 1801, 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, and 1807; The United States from 1801 to 1815; A volume called "Louisiana," I think, and another volume of Negotiations with the U.S.

These paper marks are quite sufficient to guide the copyist until my list can be found; but I hope that the paper I left for it, has not also disappeared. The archiviste should know where all these things are, for he took them and promised to take care of them. M. de Faugère however is the responsible party. He had the lists.

Many thanks for your kind intervention. I am very grateful. In return, can I not be of use to you here?

Very truly yrs
HENRY ADAMS

Henry Vignaud Esq

[London] Monday. 15 March [1880].

My dear M. Vignaud

We learn much as we advance in years. Do you suppose the venerable Faugère feeds on ruled writing paper? How *can* a huge mass, a cubic foot of English paper, made to my order from an American pattern, and weighing so much that it is too heavy to carry;——how *can* such a thing vanish in a well-regulated French bureau, in passing through two hands? Of course I can make no complaint, and must take what they give me. If this had happened in Spain I should have laughed at it as a *cosa d'España*. As it is, I can only recur to my views on the subject of M. Faugère as already explained to you.

To come back to Paris merely on this account would cost me more in money and time than to risk useless copying. So please tell M. Ribiez to begin at the beginning and let the copyist copy every document in full. If the mark is placed in the middle of a despatch, the copyist can start from the first paragraph on the left-hand page, and copy to the end, or to the next mark, if there is one in the same despatch or minute.

I expect to pay a very heavy bill, but if I am the worse for it, some poor clerk will be the better and doubtless needs the money more than I do. History is a stern mistress and more costly than an actress of the Variétés.

Please present my respectful thanks to the Legation for its official assistance. Accept my cordial gratitude in your private capacity.

Very sincerely yrs
Henry Adams

Henry Vignaud Esq

[London] 20 March, 1880.

My dear Sir

After twenty four hours' reflection on the mysterious document you sent me yesterday, the style of which is not altogether unfamiliar to the public, I have come to the conclusion to claim it as giving the desired promise of reciprocity. If it does not mean this, M. Freycinet will doubtless tell us what the deuce it does mean. I think, however, that, so far as I am concerned, the promise of reciprocity is as complete as in the nature of things it can be, and that I ought not to be expected to obtain more.

If there is, however, to be further correspondence, I wish you would let me know in advance so that I may write to Mr. Evarts on the subject. This, however, it is not my wish to do. I would rather let the question drop and trust to luck and time, than run a risk of a disagreement. Only I want the copying to go on quietly, and when finished it may lie these five years in the F.O. before I shall require it. Thus my first hope is that M. Freycinet will consider the reply as satisfactory, at least as regards me. My second wish is that in any case there may be no more correspondence, and about this I am very decided. My third is, that if there must be more correspondence, I may be informed so as to write myself.

The whole thing was one of Faugère's stupidities. Both England and Spain have given me all my documents with perfect freedom. Of course our government *must* be as liberal as these. Meanwhile I shall have to vote the Legation a silver pitcher.

Ever truly yrs
HENRY ADAMS

[London] 24 March, 1880.

MY DEAR SIR

It is some consolation to see that diplomates understand each other; evidently their language has a meaning, although it is not meant to be intelligible to the vulgar. The outsider should never hastily criticise what he is incompetent to understand.

If you will send me the copyist's bill as he wants it paid, I will send you a draft, or if he wants his money by the week, I will put a sum sufficient for the purpose into your hands,—that is to say, if you are willing to bother your mind with such unpleasant details. If not, the copyist may send me his bills directly, and I will send him drafts on Hottinguer.

I write to Govr. Noyes herewith. Meanwhile pray accept my thanks for your aid. I sincerely hope you may always find diplomacy as successful a pursuit as in this case.

Ever truly yrs
HENRY ADAMS

Henry Vignaud Esq

London. 1 July, 1880.

MY DEAR SIR

As the time for my departure arrives I begin to feel a little uneasy about my papers. I hope they are getting ahead.

The Spaniards have sent me a first instalment, containing the larger part of the documents copied there. Would it not be possible to get for me what has been done at Paris, so that there may be less danger of delay at the end?

I break up my household here on August 1st, and expect to be in Paris for a week or two in September to close up everything; but the less I have to do there at that time, the safer it will be for my success.

On the receipt of a line from you, I will send you a draft for the copyist.

I am very truly yrs
HENRY ADAMS

Henry Vignaud Esq

London. 14 July, 1880.

MY DEAR SIR

Many thanks for yours of yesterday. I will immediately direct Baring Brothers to send you a draft for 300 francs.

As for the papers, I suppose they are as safe in the Legation as anywhere. If you will put them aside, I will call for them in about six weeks.

It is a great relief to me to know that the game is fairly bagged. If the whole is not ready by the time I sail, it can be sent after me to Washington through Mr. Stevens here. Meanwhile my obligations to you are greater than ever.

I am very truly yrs
HENRY ADAMS

Henry Vignaud Esq

Washington. 14 Dec. '80

MY DEAR SIR

I have to thank you for your letter of the 17th. November and the documents which came with it. I believe all is correct, both the papers and the account. It is needless to add that I am exceedingly obliged for the aid I have had from the Legation and particularly from you. I am looking about for your books, and will write again when I have made my search complete.

Can I be of use to you here? As yet we are all quite in the dark about future arrangements. The President Elect judiciously keeps his own counsel. As there is positively nothing definite to say, it is the part of wise men to say nothing, but I see no signs of any anxiety in regard to disturbance of tenures either here or abroad. Never were politics more peaceful.

After my eighteen months of restlessness I am again quietly at work on the documents of the State Department here. The change is very pleasant.

Please remember me to your chief, and believe me

Ever truly yrs
HENRY ADAMS

Henry Vignaud Esq

Washington.
26 January, 1881.

MY DEAR SIR

I received in due course yours of December 30. Meanwhile I have sent you through the State Department sets of the John Adams (10 volumes) and J. Q. Adams (12 volumes) so that you have now a tolerably fair beginning of the vast wilderness of Adams literature. I think, however, that the beginning such as it is, will satisfy your appetite. Most people die early before accomplishing this labor.

The cost is not worth talking of. Please accept whatever excess there may be over my debt, in recognition of your aid to my own researches. Or, if you care very much to square accounts, please go to Hottinguer's office some day, in the Rue de Provence, and pay them fifteen francs and 85 centimes which they say I owe them for postage, and which I have no means of transmitting without the bother of exchange. We will then call it square.

At the State Department it is understood that Mr. Blaine is to be your chief. It is not supposed that you will be disturbed. As yet nothing definite is guessed at, about appointments, nor have we any idea what missions are to be vacated. As both Garfield and Blaine are what are called popular men, that is to say have hordes of needy politicians to feed, I rather imagine they will be thankful for the smallest vacancies; but I do not believe they will be more scandalous than is necessary, in creating them. I have not the honor of being acquainted with Mr. Blaine, however, and doubt whether any interference of mine would, in the long run, do you good.

Meanwhile pray command me in any way you like, and believe me, very sincerely Yrs

HENRY ADAMS

Henry Vignaud Esq

Quincy, Mass.,
July 12, 1888

DEAR MR. SCRIBNER:

It is just a month to-day, I believe, since we talked of Mr. Adams' History. I hoped to send you one of the volumes of his privately printed edition of six before this; but contrary to our assumption none were found here and it was necessary to get one from Washington. It came only last evening, I will express it to you this afternoon—it is Volume II., the largest.

Volume I. contains 584 pages.
II. " 601 "
III., now being put in type
and IV. will each have about 550 pages. The last is now being written and it is not to be printed in advance of the edition for publication, the compositor will be supplied with manuscript copy for that.

You will understand that it is Mr. Adams present purpose to print the four volumes of the form of this Volume II. in eight smaller ones; each of his will make two for the public.

Enclosed I send a memorandum which he has prepared stating such points as have occurred to him as essential for a discussion of the publication by you.

Your reply may be addressed to the care of
Mrs. Charles Francis Adams,
The Old House,
Quincy, Mass.

Yours very truly,
THEODORE F. DWIGHT.

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12 July, 1888.

[*Enclosure:*]

Eight volumes, five hundred pages each.

Every pair of volumes to make a separate work, with titlepage and index.

Maps and plans where necessary, say half a dozen in each volume on an average, but more in the last two, where the war requires them. No folding maps. All such plans &c, to be contained within the size of the page.

Printing to begin by October, preferably by John Wilson.

The whole work to be printed and ready, before any portion is published.

No steel engravings. If any illustrations are thought necessary, the author to prescribe their nature and quality; also the cloth binding.

The author prefers an arrangement by which the publisher should pay no royalty until the sale shall have reimbursed all expenses. After the expenses of publication are repaid by the sale of any fixed number of copies, the author would like to know what share of the proceeds of future sales is supposed to belong to the author. He has never yet been offered, in cases of former publications, more than ten per cent, if he remembers correctly; but he has always thought and still thinks the author ought to share equally with the publisher.

HENRY ADAMS

Quincy, 1 Aug. 1888

DEAR SIR

Mr. Dwight has handed me your letter of July 27, and I will answer it myself to save time.

Your offer is perfectly liberal and satisfactory, but for certain reasons I would rather alter it a little, as I understand it, in your favor.

First, I wish you to understand my position as you would regard it in a business point of view. If I were offering this book for sale, I should, on publishers' estimates, capitalise twelve years of unbroken labor, at (say) $5000 a year, and $20,000 in money spent in travelling, collecting materials, copying, printing, &c; in all $80,000, without charging that additional interest, insurance, or security per-centage which every business-man has to exact. This book, therefore, costs me $80,000; and on business principles I should make a very bad affair if I did not expect to get ten per cent per annum from it for ever. If I bargained according to publishers' rules, I should demand eight thousand dollars a year secured to me; and if I got it, I should still get less than I would probably have acquired in any other successful business.

As I am not a publisher but an author, and the most unpractical kind of an author, a historian, this business view is mere imagination. In truth the historian gives his work to the public and publisher; he means to give it; and he wishes to give it. History has always been, for this reason, the most aristocratic of all literary pursuits, because it obliges the historian to be rich as well as educated. I should be sorry to think that you could give me eight thousand a year for my investment, because I should feel sure that whenever such a rate of profit could be realised on history, history would soon become as popular a pursuit as magazine-writing, and the luxury of its social distinction would vanish.

I propose to give the work outright to the public and the publisher, but I have some objection to admitting the publishers' share in producing it to be greater than my own. This may be a fact, but I have seen the author squeezed between the public and the publisher until he has become absolutely wanting in self-respect, and I hold to preserving the dignity of my profession.

I propose therefore that you shall take all the profits of the book. Having published a number of volumes, and being somewhat familiar with the history-market, I am fairly safe in saying that a twelve-dollar book, in eight volumes, cannot expect a sale of two thousand copies. A sale of fifteen hundred copies will secure the publisher. For still greater security I will add five hundred copies, or a thousand, or ten thousand, if you like; but in making the contract I wish to let it run thus: "After the sale of [say] 2000 sets, the author shall receive one half the proceeds, after deducting only the charge for printing, binding, and paper."

I know not what this would come to, but I presume about thirty five cents a volume, and you offer me 22½ cents on all sales over 1500. The difference is not much. In any case the author can hope to receive nothing for two years or more, and in the case of selling three thousand copies, which I regard as an extravagant idea, within three years, the author would be no better off than by accepting your proposal. I intend by my plan to secure you, as far as is in my power, from all loss or risk, and to make over to you whatever profit may be conceived as possible; and all I ask in return is that you shall admit the author to have half the credit, if there is any credit, of the work. For this reason

I want expressly to exclude from the cost of the volume the publishers charges of advertising, rent, salaries, putting on the market &c.

With this alteration, I see nothing to interfere with in your plans.

Very truly yrs
HENRY ADAMS[4]

Quincy 29 Aug. [1888]

MY DEAR SIR

Thanks for yours of the 14th.

On further reflexion I see that I cannot begin printing much before November 1, as I must have some little time in Washington to prepare copy. You need not hurry your preparations more than you like; but I presume you will instruct me as to the rate at which you wish the printing to proceed after it is once begun. I care not how much the publication is delayed,—the longer, the better, for my objects,—but I would much prefer to be free of the whole job as soon after January, 1890, as possible, so that I can go abroad in that year. If you issue the first two volumes a year or so hence, and the others at six months, or four months, intervals, I suppose I may be allowed to clear out as soon as the plates are finished without waiting for the publication. In that case I will furnish copy as fast as the printers will take it, and you can publish when you please. I have only two wishes: one is to be free, and the other to escape the annoyance, which to an old author is considerable, of infuriated grandsons and patriotic women-critics crying for redress.

Yrs truly
HENRY ADAMS

Quincy, 14 Sept. 1888

DEAR SIR

I return the agreement, signed.

My copies of the history (the two earlier volumes) are filled with criticisms and marginal notes by the various readers, which I have got to consider in preparing for the reprint. On my return to Washington I can perhaps select one, and, after examining its notes, send it to you; but I think John Wilson has one or two copies in sheets of all three volumes (the third just finishing the last sheets), and he could let you have the whole. The fourth will be printed directly from MS. and is finished in first draft, just the size of the third. Neither the third nor the fourth will exceed five hundred and fifty pages.

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[4] [Among the very few letters representing the other side of this correspondence in the Adams Papers in the Massachusetts Historical Society are two dating from the very beginning of negotiations. On August 7, 1888, Scribner sharply disagreed with Adams' proposal above but nevertheless offered to raise royalties from fifteen to twenty per cent. On August 14 Scribner thanked Adams for amicably settling their differences, accepted his figures, expressed optimism over sales, and promised to begin printing by October 1. —EDITOR.]

I would like to see Wilson myself on the subject, but hesitate to do so before you have taken whatever steps you think proper.

Yrs truly
HENRY ADAMS

Charles Scribner Esq

Washington. 26 Nov. 1888.

DEAR SIR

On returning to Washington, I find yours of November 13, which I hasten to answer.

John Wilson, at my request, set up a page for me, as I was not satisfied with that he set up first, and which you enclose to me. I enclose the specimen. My only doubt is whether the quotation should be put in smaller type for more contrast. I calculated with Wilson that this page was not only the most elegant, but coincided most closely with my wish to have volumes of five hundred pages each. If you are satisfied, I do not care to alter this specimen unless to reduce the size of type for quotation.

My taste rather inclines towards simplifying the page. I think that the reader who has a table of contents at the beginning, chapter by chapter, and an index for each pair of volumes, besides one for the whole, at the end, would neither need nor look at chapter—or page—headings. If you assent, I propose to drop the arrangement in books, and run the chapters through the volume. Each volume then serves as a book. Under any circumstances I cannot retain my old arrangement, as the new volume would begin in the middle of a Book; and I can discover no other satisfactory division, suited to the new volume I want. Therefore I propose to number the Chapters consecutively, (except the Introduction, which will make eight chapters) and to make no change in page-headings except for chapters, dates and paging. The result will be such as you see on the specimen, after striking out the {Book 1, and enlarging the type of *Chap. 1.*

I want no marginal notes. They were never of use to me in any book, (except Coleridge's Ancient Mariner.)

I infer from your letter that your chief doubt will concern Chapter-headings, and that you regard them as more important than page-headings or marginal notes. I regard them all as quite superfluous. Neither Macaulay nor Mahon used Chapter-headings. The beauty of a page is its absence of all that disturbs the eye. Usage is arbitrary, but one cannot go wrong by being simple. My only doubt is about quotations, for I think the whole page should be in one type; but I must put references in foot-notes, and if one must use small type anyway, one might as well use it in the text. Therefore I yield to this variation from abstract rules, but I see no reason for disturbing the page with unnecessary changes, either before Chapters or elsewhere. I should use the same heading for odd and for even pages, except that the Chapter in one corner would interchange with the date on the other.

Of course you must understand me as expressing only preferences, not fixed prejudices. If you are very decided on any of these points, I do not care to hold out, least of all, about page-headings. I regard them merely as work thrown away. I never regard them in reading, and I do not believe any reader would notice their presence or absence in a history more than in a novel, where uniformity is very common, or in very old books, where it is, I think the rule.

My chief difficulty concerns the maps and plans. These should be nicely engraved to suit the page, as in Napier's Peninsular War. I dislike all the patent processes I have seen. All thicken the lines. Supposing them to be engraved satisfactorily, ought they to be printed on a page, or inserted as in Napier? I care little, but I suppose the insertion to be less troublesome, though more liable to error.

Anyway the engraving must, if possible, precede or at least accompany the printing. The earlier volumes need few plans, but the later or war chapters will require a number. I must furnish them, and must find my engraver. Do you wish to take charge of this matter, or do you prefer that I should find my own man? I know only enough about the subject to dislike every method I ever saw, especially all photographic processes.

I am ready to print as fast as you please, and Wilson can turn out the plates faster than I can correct proof. Whenever you give the order, I will start.

Yrs. truly
HENRY ADAMS

[Washington] 29 Novr. 1888.

DEAR SIR

Your letter of yesterday has just arrived. We may consider all the details settled. Your wish for a chapter-title for odd pages, coinciding, as it does, with my own doubts, disposes of the matter. If you were undecided between the various possibilities of page-headings, I might have asked your opinion whether the same page-heading might not run through a volume, or even two volumes, as a sufficient division of subject: E.G; JEFFERSON'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION instead of a chapter-heading often awkwardly expressed; but if you are clear in preference of the chapter as the proper subject-division, I assent without further delay.

I think we need hardly employ two kinds of illustration. Some of the campaign-maps will have to be somewhat complicated, and one or two boundary-maps will require nice work to look well. As these should be engraved and inserted, we might as well engrave the rest, and keep the letter-press unbroken. In no case shall I require a folding-map, but the engraving should be all the nicer on the smaller scale. If you can glance at Napier (Boone, 1841) you will see what I want. I will enquire of the Survey here about map-engravers, though I know that Julius Bien has always done their work.

If you will write to Wilson and settle your arrangements with him, I will go to Cambridge next Wednesday or Thursday, when I shall be in Boston; and will then agree with Wilson about the regular supply of copy. He can begin printing within ten days.

Yrs truly
HENRY ADAMS

19 Dec. 1888.
Washington

Dear Sir

Wilson writes me that he has sent you the sample proofs of the first eight pages. I see they have overlooked the alternate Chapter-heading which I substituted in the copy. With this correction it seems to me satisfactory, and whenever you approve, I will send to Wilson the copy for steady work.

My only doubt regards the introductory chapters which will be eight in number, and will fill near half a volume. Ought these chapters to be set apart and headed *Introduction,* or ought they to run directly into the narrative? The question has greatly perplexed me. I do not fancy Introductions. I see that most of the historians had the same feeling. Gibbon ran his introductory chapters into his narrative, and Macaulay actually broke off his narrative to insert his introductory chapter. On the other hand I admit that my first seven or eight chapters are wholly introductory, not only to my sixteen years but also to the century. They ought to stand by themselves.

I will follow your opinion if you have a decided one either way.

Yrs truly
Henry Adams

[Washington] 9 Jan. 1889

Dear Sir

Your's dated yesterday has just arrived.

You know best, but I rather dislike to run chapters through more than one volume. A volume seems to me a good division, and chapters a good subdivision. I always feel a little shock at seeing a volume begin with anything but Chapter I. None of these volumes will contain more than Chapter XVIII, and I think we can find room for that.

Why use Roman numerals? Chapter 38 looks quite as well as Chapter XXXVIII, which strikes me as rather clumsy. I notice that Longmans, in their edition of Froude, adopted both abbreviations, and used [CH. 27 as though they had been in difficulty on the same point. If you think the abbreviation necessary, I would do the whole thing, and make sure. If you think that the Chapters may run with the volumes, I shall be quite pleased.

For the first volume I shall have to be exceptionally careful in proofreading. Everyone criticises first volumes. No one cares much afterwards. Do not feel uneasy if I seem at first over-fussy in requiring revisions.

Yours truly
HENRY ADAMS

Charles Scribner, Esq

1603 H Street,
Washington, March 4, 1889

Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons.
743–745 Broadway,
New York City.

DEAR SIRS:

By request of Mr. Henry Adams, I sent to you by express a map from Jeffery's American Atlas, that part of which representing the coast of West Florida and Louisiana designated by pencil-lines he desires reproduced for the first volume of his History.

While it is not desired that the figures representing the Soundings should be reproduced, it is necessary that the topography and particularly the colored boundary lines should appear in the copy.

He assumes that in order to adapt the map to the size of a page of his book the copy must be much reduced from the scale of the original. Will you be so good as to consider the best means for adapting it to the History page so that all its details may be very clear and legible and let me have any advice you think proper to make before undertaking the work.

It should be named An extract from Jefferys' American Atlas, London 1800—or by some better short distinctive title.

Yours very truly
THEODORE F. DWIGHT

1603 H Street,
Washington, March 14, 1889.

Messrs. Chas. Scribner's Sons,

DEAR SIR:

The one page reduction of the map is, of course too small and indistinct; Mr. Adams adopts your suggestion for the larger and acceptable reproduction which will make two pages and is designed to be mounted on a guard or standard.

It is important that the boundary lines be indicated, and in the same tints, as on the original. Can this be done?

The topography and lettering are only moderately clear in the photograph. I assume that they can be made sharper and clearer on the plate from which the prints will be taken. All names on the edges, when any part of them is lost in making the division, should be completed on the plate and it is desirable that the lettering on the top-margin should be distinctly reproduced.

There seems to be no better place for the title than that which is suggested on the photograph.

Yours very truly
THEODORE F. DWIGHT

1603 H Street,
Washington, March 27, '89

Messrs. Chas. Scribner's Sons,
743–745 Broadway
New York.

DEAR SIRS:

The particular value of the Jefferys Map for Mr. Adams' History is in the evidence it gives that West Florida was not regarded in 1800 as a part of the Louisiana Territory. Only a few of its names and geographical details are essential for this argument: the boundary lines, the river Perdido, etc., etc. and all but these might be omitted in the reproduction; but it is a question how far the integrity of the reproduction would be affected by leaving out those figures and names which make the original distinctive as a historical document. Their presence will do no harm and if the letterings will come out perfectly clear and additional space is not absolutely required for re-engraving names the expense of cancelling the unnecessary names might as well be avoided.

As before remarked the indications of soundings may be omitted. I think the navigation lines and ships should be retained.

My delay in replying to your letter of the 18th has been caused by illness but I hope it has not inconvenienced you.

Yours very truly
THEODORE F. DWIGHT.

1603 H Street,
Washington, April 10, 1889.

Messrs. Chas. Scribner's Sons,

Dear Sirs:

The first volume of Mr. Adams' History is now in type and the work of indexing should now be considered. Unless you have some competent person in view, he would prefer that it should be done here under our eyes. We know a particularly capable man and, if you approve, inquiry can be made of him as to the rate at which he will undertake the task. It would be well perhaps to have from you some data as to the usual allowance for indexing made by you.

Mr. Adams will require one more map to illustrate the Tripolitan episode and will presently send you one satisfactory to him to be reproduced.

Yours very truly,
Theodore F. Dwight.

1603 H Street,
Washington, April 12, '89.

Messrs. Chas. Scribner's Sons,

Dear Sirs:

I neglected to ask in my last letter if you had given any thought to the questions of paper and binding for Mr. Adams' History. I would like to see any samples of papers you are considering for the work also to know your views as to an appropriate cloth cover.

Yours very truly
Theodore F. Dwight.

1603 H Street,
Washington, April 13, 1889

Messrs. Chas. Scribner's Sons.

Dear Sirs:

You are quite right in your understanding of Mr. Adams' wishes as to indices for the History. It is his intention to have one index for each pair of volumes.

He is quite content with your proposition that the work shall be done by a competent person attached to your house, which of course you will cause to be done in season for the printing of Volume II. If it were to be done here Mr. Adams thought that it should be put in the Indexer's hands at once to be supervised while we remain in town.

Volume I. appears to be completed and Volume II. is now being pressed.

Yours very truly
T. F. DWIGHT

1603 H Street,
Washington, April 16, 1889

Messrs. Chas. Scribner's Sons,
743–745 Broadway,
New York City.

DEAR SIRS:

On the enclosed sheet you will observe four suggestions for the lettering of the first pair of volumes of the History and I have numbered them in the order of our preference. Mr. Adams desires the characters proportioned to the size of the back but as large as will be suitable. There should be no lines or bands or frames. Your opinion is desired. Perhaps you will send a pencilled sketch or design of the form you like best for further consideration here.

The cloth for covers should be plain but of rather large grain, without a pattern; but you will submit samples. But one color for all the copies.

The correction of the press in the first volume will be found in excess of that required for the others. Both Mr. Adams and I have had long experience with printers and understand the expense involved in corrections and particularly in the matter set in page form. In the present work all amplification of matter or changes affecting the arrangement of paragraphs has been made in galley proof and great care has been observed in altering pages. I think none have been made involving an alteration of the measure of the printers' page.

The Manuscript of the Index of Volume I. may be submitted by installments or as a whole as will best suit your convenience. It might save unnecessary labor were you to send a specimen for criticism.

Yours very truly,
THEODORE F. DWIGHT.

1603 H Street,
Washington, April 24, '89

Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons,

DEAR SIRS:

I send to you today by express a map of the North Coast of Africa on which I have indicated by red pencil lines the part Mr. Adams desires reproduced for the History. Only the most important names need be retained. There will be no objection to reducing it to the size of two pages of the book.

Yours very truly
THEODORE F. DWIGHT.

1603 H Street,
Washington, April 30, 1889

Messrs. Chas. Scribner's Sons,

DEAR SIRS:

The three dummies came yesterday, your letter of the 27th, this morning. We had already chosen the dark green cloth cover before reading your comments and it is a satisfaction to have so clear an indication of the agreement of our tastes. I think the cloth in color and quality particularly suitable for the book. I return the dummy bound in it in order there may be no possibility of a misunderstanding as to our selection.

The lettering seems equally elegant and appropriate and is approved. The only questions concerning it which have suggested themselves are as to the retention of the name Scribners and the gold lines, do you not think they might safely be omitted?

It is understood that the paper you have used is the kind you recommend. We prefer a wove rather than a laid paper and a cream tinted rather than a white paper. That upon which the privately issued 8° volumes were printed pleases our eyes better than any other. You will see what we mean by looking at the copy of the 8° volume in your hands. Mr. Wilson, the printer, furnished it and can tell you about it. The best English papers are in every way superior to ours—Yours is very heavy, too heavy, making the volume uncomfortable to hold. Would not a paper of lighter weight be better?

While I suppose our American binders cannot produce the effect of an English book we would like the side and end edges left uncut even if it is desirable the tops should be trimmed. We have in mind something of the style of the folding and edges of the sample—Lord Stanhope's Queen Anne—Volume I.—which I send with dummy; could this be in any degree reproduced? The Stanhope cover is, of course, poor.

Yours very truly,
THEODORE F. DWIGHT.

I have no idea that the paper used by Wilson is English.

1603 H Street
Washington, May 3, 1889

Messrs. Chas. Scribner's Sons,

DEAR SIRS:

Yours of yesterday has been received. We are perfectly satisfied with the definite plans you describe therein for binding the History. When you have selected the paper for printing pray be so good as to send a sample for our inspection.

Yours very truly
THEODORE F. DWIGHT.

1603 H Street,
Washington, May 4, 1889.

Messrs. Chas. Scribner's Sons,

DEAR SIRS:

Yours of yesterday comes this morning. The map of the Barbary States comes out much better in reduced form than I supposed it could. I return the proof and you will observe that I have indicated by red ink underscores certain names to be retained. Those in the following list should be put in larger and clearer letters. The only other essential features for the history are the boundary and coast lines, islands in the Mediterranean, and names of political divisions. I believe I have designated the last; but if not, it may be understood generally, that all names in large and small capitals above the Desert should be reproduced and that all in small type which have not been underscored may and should be omitted.

I neglected to retain a copy of the title of the map and unless I enclose one taken from another which I may find in town, I shall be compelled to ask you to cause it to be transcribed and sent to me.

The names to be enlarged are:—

Tanger,
Algier, (city)
Tripoli, (")
Dern,
Alexandria,
(Cairo is perhaps plain enough)
Minieh, (looks like Miniet)
Bomba I.
Syracusa

The old spellings should be reproduced; but after Minieh or Miniet might be added [Minyeh].

At your convenience please cause to be sent a proof or print of each of the finished plates of the two maps.

Yours very truly
THEODORE F. DWIGHT.

Use your own discretion as to the extent or size of the reproduced map.

1603 H Street,
Washington, May 22/89

Messrs. Chas. Scribner's Sons.

DEAR SIRS:

We have carefully examined the sample of paper you submitted with your letter of the 14th and I regret to say that Mr. Adams does not like it. He prefers the warmer tint and although he bids me to tell you to do as you please I think it were better that you should look further with a view to finding something which will meet his wishes.

Yours very truly
THEODORE F. DWIGHT.

1603 H Street,
Washington, May 30, 1889.

Messrs. Chas. Scribner's Sons:

Dear Sirs:

With this I send you a map extracted from the First Annual report of the Director of the U.S. Bureau of Ethnology, which Mr. Adams has selected for reproduction for Volume 3 of the History—in the same form and reduced s[c]ale as the two you have already executed. There are alterations and omissions to be made, which we will indicate on the proof.

The prints of the map of the Coast of Louisiana and West Florida which came from you the other day have given us perfect satisfaction—the object we had in view could not have been better attained.

Mr. Adams will leave Washington on Sunday and I shall probably follow him on Monday and we expect to be absent until October. Our address will be the same as last year—

The Old House
Quincy, Mass.

I may stop over a day at New York.

Yours very truly,
Theodore F. Dwight

Old House, Quincy, Mass.
June 17, 1889.

Messrs. Chas. Scribner's Sons.

Dear Sirs:

I return the proof of map which I received about a fortnight ago and which appears satisfactory except in respect to the omission of the name and location of Derne to which I called attention when at your office. It is one of the points of importance and the indication of it should be supplied on the coast east of the Great Syrtis.

I cannot supply the title until I shall have from you a copy of that of the original map.

Yours very truly
Theodore F. Dwight.

The Old House,
Quincy, Mass. June 19, '89

My dear Mr. Brownell:[5]

The original map has not come yet, but I have your letter of yesterday and hasten to say respecting the paper, that if Mr. La Farge agrees to your choice, do not hesitate to use it. Mr. Adams declares that having put the responsibility of selection or decision upon him he will not take any further thought in the matter. I think that he will be satisfied with that of which you first sent a sample—the same, I understand, as this which you now submit.

Yours sincerely,
Theodore F. Dwight.

The Old House
Quincy, Mass.
June 20, 1889.

My dear Mr. Brownell:

Enclosed I send the photo. proof on which I have indicated the position of Dern; also the brief title for the map. We have not the Jefferey (?) Atlas here from which the original was taken so the reference of the map of Louisiana and Florida coasts which has been executed may be repeated under title of this.

I return the original map as you will need it as a guide in coloring the boundaries.

Yours sincerely
Theodore F. Dwight

The Old House
Quincy, Mass. June 26/89

My dear Mr. Brownell:

Nothing was said perhaps about coloring the map of North Africa. I did not entirely understand that Mr. Adams desired it colored, so do not charge yourself with forgetfulness. The original was issued in the Jefferey's (or Jeffery's) American Atlas, though it probably appeared elsewhere. The publishers of maps in the early years of the century took material wherever they could find it and put forth their collections in any form which would sell.

---

[5] William C. Brownell, Scribner editor.

We could not examine the Index very well in manuscript so it was despatched to the printer; and as yet we have seen no proofs of it.

How do you like the title-page of which I send a proof? Let us have your criticisms.

Yours sincerely,
THEODORE F. DWIGHT.

The Old House
Quincy, Mass., June 30, '89

MY DEAR MR. BROWNELL:

If the History were to appear as a complete work, all 8 volumes at once, your views as to title pages would in the main agree with ours; but Mr. Adams regards each pair of volumes as a distinct publication to stand by itself. The Second Administration of Jefferson will be also numbered Volumes 1 and 2; and the Madison 1st and 2nd; in like manner. When they the 8 volumes come to be issued as a complete work together, new title-pages will be provided and a distinct, continuous numbering of volumes.

In your prospectus or announcement you can if you please state the extent of the whole work. I do not think it at all necessary to specify the volumes of each division on their titles.

We are agreed on the title-page and bastard title-pages of which I sent specimens. We are not particularly attached to the custom of bastard title-page and only accept it to carry the matter we do not want on the title-page proper.

Yours sincerely
THEODORE F. DWIGHT.

The Old House,
Quincy, Mass., July 7, '89

MY DEAR MR. BROWNELL:

You are quite right in understanding that our wish is that two volumes of the History should be published this fall and two more next spring.

As to placing the Maps I have, it seems, been somewhat wrong.

That of West Florida should be put at the beginning of Volume 2 and that of Africa opposite page 425—of volume 2 or if you prefer opposite page 244, Volume I.

By the by is the latter printed?

Yours sincerely
T. F. Dwight.

The Old House,
Quincy, Mass.
July 15, 1889

My dear Mr. Brownell

The corrected map seems to be all right and the colors which have been selected for boundaries, altho not the same as those on the original, will answer the purpose very well and are acceptable.

I return two of the proofs and retain one.

Yours sincerely
Theodore F. Dwight

The Old House,
Quincy, Mass.
July 16, 1889

My dear Mr. Brownell:

John Wilson & Son have sent a sample of the paper received from you for the History. To our eyes it is not the same as the sample you submitted while we were at Washington. It seems of a heavier weight and of coarser texture and inferior finish. I once knew something about these matters but my eyes and hands have lost their cunning and I do not pretend to judge as an expert.

Will not this make too heavy and too thick a volume?

Yours sincerely
Theodore F. Dwight.

The Old House,
Quincy, Mass. July 28/89.

My dear Mr. Brownell:

The dummy came and yesterday we received two impressions from the Indiana map. I have been too busy to write, or I should have told you that the dummy does not possess the character which I hoped to see in the volumes which we are struggling to make successful. I say this reluctantly. In the first place I fear the volume is too thick and not solid enough. The paper now it is made up seems somewhat spongy. I should have preferred one more determinate in effect, and not so heavy. It may wear another appearance when it is printed on and pressed; but I cannot conceal a sense of disappointment. Nor the feeling that it is a "nobby" paper, lacking a dignity which is due the purpose for which it will be used. These may be super aesthetic notions but it seems best to tell you frankly.

We had expected to see proofs of the map in order to determine whether all the details of the original should be preserved; but it is very successful and satisfactory. There must be some device adopted for explaining the details showing the acquisitions of Indian titles, as they will not be treated in the text. What can you suggest? Would a footnote on the page preceding the map suffice or should there be a special leaf inserted?

Yours sincerely
THEODORE F. DWIGHT

The Old House
Quincy, Mass., Aug. 21/89

MY DEAR MR. SCRIBNER:

Mr. Adams thinks that the paper from Wilson of which you send samples is the same as that on which the last volume of his 8vo. edition was printed. In any case we like it and will be entirely satisfied if you should think it proper for your edition. It is better than the paper in the Washburne book—though that would be more acceptable than any of the other papers heretofore proposed—if it could be obtained in a lighter weight. The Wilson paper is best.

Mr. Adams agrees willingly to your suggestion as to a continuous numbering of the 8 volumes. The distinct works forming each pair of volumes may be designated by the dates covered by each pair—carrying out the scheme of the present back lettering—i.e.—

Volumes 1–2	1801–1805
2–3	1805(?)–1809
4–5	1809–1813
6–7	1813–1816—or 17.

Do you think the present title-pages will harmonize with the system of cover letterings?

Yours sincerely
THEODORE F. DWIGHT.

The Old House
Quincy, August 29, '89.

MY DEAR MR. SCRIBNER:

Your letter of the 27th indicates clearly that all is moving satisfactorily concerning the History and that we are in accord. Mr. Adams is away and will not return until mid September. My impression is that as to announcements and advertisements he considers you the proper authority and would not care to interpose. Still if you prefer to send the first notice we will coöperate by suggestions if any should appear desirable to explain the scope and character of the work.

I returned the volume of Washburne early in the week.

Yours sincerely
THEODORE F. DWIGHT.

Quincy 20 Sept. [1889]

DEAR SIR

I have asked Wilson to print for my personal use, at my expense, a dozen copies of my Volumes 1 and 2 on thin paper. I presume that you will have no objection, as the copies are to take the place of so many of the regular edition, and to be used only by myself or family and a few special friends; but if you see any objection, let me know. Otherwise do not trouble yourself to answer this letter. I will go on and order the copies to be printed unless I hear from you to the contrary.

Very truly yrs
HENRY ADAMS

Charles Scribner, Esq

The Old House
Quincy, Mass.,
Septr. 22, 1889.

DEAR MR. SCRIBNER:

Your letter of the 12th I received at Auburn whither it was forwarded to me and, as Mr. Adams was away from Quincy on an excursion, I delayed my reply in order that I might consult with him concerning the form of announcement of the History which you sent to me. I return the slip on which a few words have been cancelled.

While Mr. Adams has made use of such of his family papers as related to the period of his work his chief sources of material have been governmental archives at home and in Europe. It is upon this new material from Spain, France England and the U.S. it would be desirable to dwell if you refer to his studies for the History, as the larger part of the foreign documents has never before been consulted, or even opened for consultation, by an historical writer—and the important points of the history were found in those documents. Though it is not purely a diplomatic history—diplomacy necessarily plays an enormous part in it as the four administrations he treats were chiefly concerned in foreign affairs which affected our national existence—not alone our prosperity. The story has never before been told.

Mr. Adams was a long time abroad making his Collection of State papers in London, Paris and Madrid. The history is largely founded upon these papers.

I have no other suggestions to make but I trust these will come in time.

Yours sincerely
THEODORE F. DWIGHT.

[Washington] 23 October, 1889.

DEAR SIR

I have to thank you for the six sets of volumes i and ii which arrived this morning. For the great interest and constant attention you have given to the book, not merely in regard to its appearance, but in every other respect, I feel deeply obliged; and can only hope that you may not be doing for it more than it deserves.

As soon as the copies of my little private edition of twelve sets come from the binder, I shall give myself the pleasure of sending you a presentation copy, if it seems worth your acceptance.

I am very truly yrs
HENRY ADAMS

Charles Scribners Sons

1603 H Street,
Washington, Octo. 26, '89

DEAR SIRS:

I enclose a copy of your map of Indiana, prepared for Mr. Adams' History, on which he has written the necessary notes to explain some of the number references to be printed, in accordance with Mr. Marvin's suggestion, on what may be called the fourth page of the map sheet.

It will be perhaps worth while to send a proof of the notes when in type.

Yours very truly
THEODORE F. DWIGHT.

Messrs. Chas. Scribner's Sons.

1603 H Street
Washington, Novr. 1, 1889.

Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons,

DEAR SIRS:

I shall send by this evening's Express a package containing the maps named on the enclosed list which Mr. Adams has selected for reproduction to illustrate and explain the episodes of the War of 1812 related in the 6th, 7th and 8th volumes of the History.

As he is averse to folded maps, and as several of these should be reproduced on the same scale, he desires that your attention be drawn to them in order that some plan may be adopted for making them convenient of consultation by the reader and keep them within the limits of the two page maps prepared so successfully for Volumes 1 and 2.

You may think it advisable to follow the system employed by Baedecker in the Paris guide. I refer to that as no other occurs to me.

Proofs of each map will be required; for there are certain references to be made which can best be added on proof.

If possible the letterings of the originals should be retained. I think they can be brought out distinctly by your process to obviate printing the names in modern type.

I have indicated in my list three maps which will be needed for Volume 6 and therefore you may wish to undertake them first.

Yours very truly,
THEODORE F. DWIGHT.

The package will be detained until to-morrow.

1603 H Street,
Washington, Novr. 8, 1889.

My dear Mr. Brownell:

Before you print more of Volumes 1 and 2 of the History some errors must be corrected in the plates. Please advise me whenever it shall be found necessary to strike off another lot.

How about the Index for Volumes 3 and 4? Let us have ample time for its examination. I wish to predouble [*sic*] composition this time.

Have you determined a date for issuing the next pair of volumes?

Yours sincerely
Theodore F. Dwight.

Franklin Square, New York.
November 12, 1889.

Theo. F. Dwight, Esqre,
Dear Sir:

If you will kindly specify the two maps from Lossing's "Field Book of the War of 1812" which you desire to obtain for Mr. Adams' proposed book, we will advise you whether we could conveniently supply the electrotypes and, if so, at what price.

Yours truly,
Harper & Brothers.
per J.W.H.2

1603 H Street,
Washington, Novr. 13, '89.

My dear Mr. Brownell:

It seemed to be proper to ask, as a matter of courtesy, Mr. Lossing's permission to make use of his maps, and so far as he was concerned he cordially granted it; but he referred me to the Harpers who he said were the proprietors of the plates. Enclosed is the Harpers' response to my application. I kept no memorandum of the pages on which the maps in question are printed and I turn the matter over to you. I am not quite sure that impressions from their electrotypes are desirable even if they should have the grace to provide them. I will write again to Mr. Lossing and learn from whence he took his copies of them and it may be possible to reproduce the originals themselves.

Yours very truly
Theodore F. Dwight.

1603 H Street,
Washington, Novr. 30, 1889.

My dear Mr. Brownell:

Photographs of three maps come this morning: concerning #754 I have no remark to make; on #752 I have indicated a point on the Scioto River where the name of a town—Franklinton should be inserted and that the name Fort Meigs should be put in clear type, it is written on the original. Of course the lines pencilled on the original will be erased from the plate as your copy fortunately shows more than we had suggested for reproduction. It may be well to cut it according to my blue pencil lines, transposing "Lake O" from above to below the upper line.

Would it be possible to correct the copy so that not only the cloth joint of the original may disappear but that the hiatus may be obviated. It would have been better to have removed the map from the cloth and remounted it before photographing.

The names on the Detroit River Map are in many cases too small and must be reset in larger type. I shall not specify them but say generally that all which cannot be read easily without a magnifying glass should be reset.

There is no reason why any details of the originals should be omitted.

Mr. Lossing cannot help us to the originals of his maps. We will try to find others or obtain new drawings to take the place of those selected in his War of 1812.

I have seen no reviews of Volumes 1 and 2. and my only object in seeing such as have appeared is that any errors which may have been noticed in them may be corrected. Perhaps you can let me have a look at those you have received.

Yours sincerely
T. F. Dwight.

1603 H Street,
Washington, Decr. 4, 1889.

My dear Mr. Brownell:

I have to thank you for much amusement, the book notices came this morning and I have read them with zest. I return them with this—all except certain duplicates which I fancy you will not need but which I will send if you require them.

As I scrupulously avoid newspapers, the novelty I find in these extracts has been charged for my palate with all its piquancy. The Sun review is intelligent.

Thanks for these and for more to come.

Yours truly
T. F. Dwight.

1603 H Street,
Washington, Decr. 6/89.

My dear Mr. Brownell:

On examining critically the Index prepared for the next pair of volumes, much to our regret we find it is not satisfactory and that it must be for the most part entirely revised and rewritten. This causes us to think that in future we must take the matter into our own hands and I write to say that you may discontinue any work on Volumes V.–VI. which may have been begun. It will be easier for us to do the entire work than to patch and correct that of your Indexer.

Yours sincerely
Theodore F. Dwight.

1603 H Street,
Washington, Decr. 13/89

My dear Mr. Brownell:

Among the newspaper reviews of the History which you sent me were two from the N.Y. Sun. I obtained the second article but I have not the first. Will you be so good as to supply me with the date of it in order I may know which number of the paper to order.

Yours very truly
T. F. Dwight.

1603 H Street,
Washington, Decr. 14, '89.

My dear Mr. Brownell:

The new maps appear to be as creditable as the former ones. I return one set with memoranda as to provenances, also originals of two to serve as guides in coloring.

I am doubtful if we can definitely assign a date of publication to Conrad's Map of Seat of War—you have given it as 1812. I will tell you later if that is correct, if I learn.

Will not one reference to the original suffice for James' Map of the Straits of Niagara? As both sections will come together, the reader must understand that they are of one map. I do not wish to appear to doubt the intelligence of the reader and as instructing him in non-essentials. If you think it better to prevent a doubt in his mind you might cause the reference to be added—also—"upper section" and "lower section" respectively.

Mr. Adams tells me that he spoke with you about the Index.

Yours sincerely
THEODORE F. DWIGHT.

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15 December, 1889
Washington

DEAR SIR

I send you by express tomorrow a copy of my "ladies' edition" for your acceptance. I had intended it as a compliment to your taste in books, but unfortunately could get no paper good enough for the purpose. Had I been able, I should have printed on such paper as Macmillan used for his Globe Shakespeare. My paper is lighter, but less opaque and blue in tone.

I had also meant to cut down the margins in binding, and have a flexible cover, so as to make a pocket-edition, but Hathaway has run away with me, and in consequence his work is more conspicuous than my intentions.

At all events the two volumes will serve to show how trivial a thing history may be made.

Very truly yrs
HENRY ADAMS

Charles Scribner Esq

1603 H Street,
Washington, Decr. 17, '89

MY DEAR MR. BROWNELL:

I can find no satisfactory clue to the date of publication of the Map of the Seat of War about Lake Erie, so if it is not too late please cause the title to be corrected by omitting "1812".

It could hardly have been issued that year.

Yours sincerely,
T. F. DWIGHT

1603 H Street,
Washington, Decr. 23, 89.

My dear Mr. Brownell:

I send herewith one of the History maps on which Mr. Adams has indicated the names of four towns which he would like added if it is not too late, as I fear it is.

Yours sincerely
T. F. Dwight.

1603 H Street,
Washington, Decr. 27, 1889.

My dear Mr. Brownell:

The scheme of numbering the volumes of the History was adopted in agreement with Mr. Scribner last summer and as I understand the compromise, to suit your wishes that the series might be indicated and Mr. Adams' wish that each pair of volumes might be issued as a distinct work—provided, that the title-pages of each pair should be numbered 1 and 2 respectively and the index references be to 1 and 2; while on the covers, the series numbers—should be used i.e. 1, 2, 3, 4, etc. As to signature marks, I can see no possible objection, as they are inconspicuous, to the use of the series numbers. I do not see how the use of them can be avoided if the same plates are to be employed for the series edition.

The only requirement made by us is that the title-pages shall be distinguished for each pair of volumes as 1 and 2 and that the Index references shall agree with those designations. No serious confusion can be caused the reader by the variation of cover and signature numbers from the Title-page and index numbers.

Mr. Adams would like to insert additional names on that map, if it is not too late. Please let me know.

Yours sincerely
T. F. Dwight.

It will be necessary to let us have the corrected map again.

1603 H Street,
Washington, Decr. 30/89.

My dear Mr. Brownell:

I return the map proofs which came Saturday. Mr. Adams has decided to add no more than the four names reported to you to the Lake

Erie maps; I am glad it is not too late for those names. I question if it would not be desirable to insert after the title "With additions", lest some go crazy trying to find a copy of the presumptive original from which this is taken. Possibly I am creating an impossibly accurate Chartophile. I leave the matter to you.

I send also two very important maps, veritable trouvailles, which have just come from London. They should also be reproduced on the scale of the two page maps.

Yours sincerely
THEODORE F. DWIGHT.

[Washington] Jan. 6, 1890

DEAR SIR

The enclosed letter[6] seems rather written for you than for me. I know and care nothing about the complaint, but presume you are entitled to hear of it.

Yrs truly
HENRY ADAMS

Charles Scribner Esq

[Washington] 12 Jany. 1890

DEAR SIR

I am at last forced to admit that I cannot conveniently bring my last four years, 1813–1817, within the compass of two volumes. The war would in any case swell the size of the volumes, and besides the increase of text, I shall have a score of plans, and at least a hundred pages of index. I shall have to take three volumes or make uncomfortably thick ones.

At present I am inclined to close the second volume with the battle of New Orleans, and make the third a small one with the mere conclusion and winding up of the story. I shall have four chapters in the nature of an epilogue. Altogether, with the index, the last volume may approach three hundred and fifty pages.

As I do not know how such an addition may strike you, and as I am especially unwilling to throw any extra burden or risk on you, after you have done everything I asked, I shall be glad to hear your views about the matter.

Very truly yrs
HENRY ADAMS

---

[6] Not found.

[Washington] 15 Jany: 1890

DEAR SIR

The problem is this:—Of MS. Narrative I have, according to my closest calculation, one thousand printed pages more or less, but probably somewhat less,—say . . . . 975 pages.
—Index for all nine volumes, probably 100 pages.
—Plans, maps &c, in bulk perhaps equal to 50 pages.
I cannot squeeze my calculation within eleven hundred pages, and I suspect it should be nearer twelve hundred. At all events I dare not allow for less than twelve hundred.

A volume of six hundred pages would be troublesome. Accordingly I was disposed to suggest three volumes of four hundred pages each. Unfortunately this division cut the battle of New Orleans in half, and left the internal arrangement senseless. Of course I feel the proprieties of the internal arrangement more decidedly than I feel any other; and I could devise no better solution of the problem than this:—
volume vii. 16 chapters: say 384 pages with charts; in all probably near 400 pages
volume viii. 14 chapters: say 375 pages, as the chapters are long, with charts; in all probably equivalent to 395 pages
Volume ix. 10 chapters; say 235 pages with Index to the whole work, say 100 pages, or 335 pages in all.

Of course I cannot be certain of not making an error of twenty or thirty pages, but no possible error would make much difference. The last volume must in any case be made to contain the whole index, and, if this is the case, will not the problem be simplified by inserting the whole index at first, rather than an index for the three volumes at first, and then altering the size of the last volume in the final issue. I assume that the whole nine volumes must have a general index. The annoyance of consulting four indexes to one series would be very unpleasant to general students. In rearranging the nine volumes with a consecutive title-page (if you like), you can either retain or omit the two-volume indexes. I should say, omit them, and leave only the general index; but purchasers of the separate sets from the beginning are also entitled to the general index. Therefore in any case the ninth volume ought to contain a general and not a special index.

So I came to the result of having Volume vii about 400 pages; Volume viii about 395 pages; Volume ix about 350 pages, including the General Index.

The alternative seems to be two volumes of 550 pages each, at least, and possibly more.

I am indifferent. The copy is ready, and volume vii goes to Wilson this week. Until we get about ten chapters in print, say about a month hence, we are not obliged to decide. I need to know only where to end volume I.

Yrs truly
HENRY ADAMS.

Charles Scribners Sons.

I ought to add that the internal arrangement naturally brings the whole campaign of 1814 together in volume viii. The battle of New Orleans includes the entire southern campaign of that year, and fills three chapters, or seventy printed pages with four or five maps.

If these three chapters are carried over to volume ix, they swell that volume above 400 pages.

If two chapters are carried over, at least one must be brought from volume i to volume ii, which completely destroys the subject-unity of all three volumes.

I might add a couple of chapters, but the ten chapters of conclusion are sufficient, and the reader would be bored.

Presentation copies.

volumes iii and iv.

The same list as before (for volumes i and ii) but with such changes of addresses as are required. For example, William M. Evarts, *Washington, D. C.* Abram L. Hewitt at his house in *New York City.*

Please send two dozen copies to me here.

[Washington] 23 Jany. 1890

DEAR SIR

Can you tell me the greatest number of pages you could conveniently allow to a volume? Could the paper be so far reduced in weight as [to] allow of 525 pages in the thickness of volumes i and ii?

Yrs truly
HENRY ADAMS

Charles Scribner Esq.

1603 H Street,
Washington, January 29, 1890.

My dear Mr. Brownell:

Your people have made their greatest success in reproducing the British maps. We are highly pleased. I return proofs herewith on which I have pencilled some corrections and additions.

They should be clearly indicated as British—otherwise the term "enemy" on the larger will cause a mystification.

The addition of a line—"MSS. British Archives" or "From Ms." or "Original MS. in British Record Office" ought to suffice to make their character explicit.

The names of their authors must also appear. I have given them in margin.

You still have several maps of which no proofs have been sent.

As you are not to copy from Lossing, may I trouble you to return the book.

Yours very truly
Theodore F. Dwight.

[Washington] 30 Jan. 1890

Dear Sir

After the most careful calculation I have squeezed the text of my narrative, in the concluding volumes, down to 920 printed pages. I allow roughly 100 pages for index. I do not yet know how many maps and charts are required, but I am confident they will not much exceed 30 pages. 920+100+30=1050. By dividing into volumes of 525 pages I think I could promise to come out right. I like light volumes, but I do not like an unnecessary number, and am quite willing to stick to the original plan if possible. The Index is the only real difficulty, and perhaps the Index may not exceed seventy-five or even seventy pages. I have made a blunder already in volume 5, about the Index, which will be corrected only when the Index for that volume is dropped. I do not want to make another in the final shape of the last volume.

I think there are no charts in volumes iii and 4. Which map do you refer to?

Yrs truly
Henry Adams

1603 H Street,
Washington, Jany. 30, 1890.

My dear Mr. Brownell:

There are no maps for Volumes 3 and 4, Mr. Adams now tells me.

As Mr. Marvin is in need of an immediate answer—I shall telegraph.

Yours very truly,
T. F. Dwight.

[Washington] 1 February, 1890

Dear Sir

The closest calculation I can make on the proposed three volumes is as follows:

Volume i.	370 pages	10 maps (?)
Volume ii.	340 pages	14 ”
Volume iii.	210 pages	text
	100 ”	index
	310 pages	
Total --	1020 pages	24 maps.

I may add a little to the text, but not much. The chief possibilities of error are in the maps and index. Some of the maps are single pages; some are double. I may want to insert more, especially single-page plans of battles.

As for the index, my last (volumes iii and iv) is twentyfive pages. The next (volumes v and vi) will not be less. That for volumes vii, viii and ix will be longest of all, as it will cover many new subjects like the war. In rearranging the four indexes, the first will be amplified. On the whole, the general index is likely, in spite of shrinkage on repetitions, to reach at least one hundred pages.

At a pinch I might to advantage work another chapter in; but I would rather not.

You must decide. I assent to anything.

Yrs truly
Henry Adams.

[Washington] 8 Feby. 1890

Dear Sir

Your decision seems to me wise; but if there is no occasion to act until we reach Chapter xvi in printing, I should prefer to leave the matter open till then. I am not quite certain how the chapters will run, and a page or two on each chapter makes the whole difference. At twenty five pages a chapter, forty chapters would give a thousand pages, which exceeds my limit, and would, with maps and index, require a volume between five hundred and sixty pages, and five hundred and seventy.—At twenty one pages a chapter, forty chapters would give eight hundred and forty pages, and would allow a volume not exceeding four hundred and ninety pages.

My chapters have averaged 23⅓ pages till now. Forty chapters at 23⅓ pages make 934 pages. This would make my previous estimate of a volume not exceeding 525 pages.

Owing to some close differences in footnotes and material between these volumes and their predecessers, as well as to their MS. copy (the others having been already printed), I cannot be sure of keeping the chapters within 23⅓ pages on an average. I have some reason to fear they may average 26 pages, and until I see how the ten early chapters run, I cannot pledge myself to the size of the volumes within a limit of error so narrow.

Yrs truly
Henry Adams.

1603 H Street,
Washington, Feby. 12, 1890.

My dear Mr. Brownell:

Mr. Adams is inconvenienced by want of his copy of Lossing's War of 1812, which was sent to you sometime ago. Will you kindly cause it to be returned.

Yours truly,
T. F. Dwight.

[Washington] Friday, Feb. 14, 1890

Dear Sir

The only objection to stopping the printers is that I intend to sail, on or before July 1, from San Francisco for the east, and the date of my return is a matter altogether doubtful. I am quite indifferent when the last four volumes are to be published, but if they are to be published at all, they will have to get clear of *me* before July 1.

I did not mean to convey the idea that the MS. is incomplete. On the contrary, it is quite ready, and nothing but the General Index remains to be done. This Index I must do, chapter by chapter, as the printers complete the last volumes. I am for that reason anxious not to be caught at the last moment with half the Index undone. It would be awkward to correct proofsheets at Kashgar or Tahiti.

The six earlier chapters are coming out fairly well for length; at least, within twenty five pages on the average. In a week or two more, I shall be able to form an opinion about the whole.

The volumes iii and iv arrived safely. Thanks for the trouble you have taken. If I want more copies I will ask for them.

Yrs truly
HENRY ADAMS.

[Washington, February or March, 1890]

DEAR SIR

I fear I shall be obliged to cancel the last map—"Sketch of the Positions,"—as it was meant for a double map, and the scale is too small for the eye. I will write further about it, in a few days. Meanwhile let the matter remain where it is, and no more work be done on that particular map.

Yrs truly
HENRY ADAMS.

[Washington] 6 March, 1890

DEAR SIR

Will you be so kind as to direct the proper person to return to me the volume of maps known as Aitkinson's, and intended for copying for the battle of Lundy's Lane. I am not satisfied with them, and will furnish better, but I want them for comparison.

Yrs truly
HENRY ADAMS.

Charles Scribner Esq

[Washington] 7 March, 1890

Dear Sir

Wilson reports that Chapter xvi will end on the page 415. If that is the case the whole narrative will fill 1053 printed pages. The Index will certainly exceed one hundred pages. The plans and charts will bring the whole work to twelve hundred pages.

This seems to settle the matter. Volumes of six hundred pages would be a mistake. I have therefore written to Wilson to begin volume ii with Chapter xvii.

Yrs truly
Henry Adams

[Washington] 27 March, 1890

Dear Sir

I enclose drawings for the battle of the "Thames", "Chippawa", "Lundy's Lane" (2) and the "Chesapeake and Shannon". These are intended to be ready for immediate transfer to the plates.

I presume the "Chesapeake and Shannon",—which is not to be reduced, but is to fill precisely the same space in the text—should be done at once, and the plate inserted by Wilson, in its place.

I shall be glad to finish the other plates, and above all to know what are now in hand. If I recollect right, besides the material now sent, or previously forwarded, I shall have about six more plates to provide.

Yrs truly
Henry Adams

Charles Scribner Esq

[Washington] 3 May, 1890

Dear Sir

I return one sheet of the Lundy's Lane maps for your consideration.

In supplying the maps in the form I did, I saved myself a little expense by causing only a fly-sketch to be drawn of the second battle, which was to be superimposed on the first, in the engraving. The engravers have sent me an engraving of the flysketch as a separate work. I intended two complete plans of the whole ground.

To me the separate small "10 o'clock plan" looks a little as though our money had given out, and we were economising on margins. I should rather prefer to make the eighth volume, in which these plans occur, an object of special expense. Fifteen or twenty maps are a moderate number, and I think you probably intended them to be as complete as possible. Indeed they are so nice and attractive as they stand, that I take it for granted you mean them to be an ornament, as well as an aid to the reader.

I intend to furnish also two similar maps of the Battle of Plattsburg and two of the Bladensburg campaign; probably one of Baltimore and one of Norfolk, these two last, single page maps.

I wish therefore to withdraw from the engraver the plan Number 10 (according to your list) of Gen. Ross's route or March of the British army. I will shortly send a better one.

There will then remain, I think, ten maps or plans in your office, to be completed. As these are my last care, I should be very glad to get them in shape. Would it be possible to provide the proofs by June 1?

If you wish to lessen the number of maps, I will do so. Two or three might be omitted without serious loss; but as they are historical maps, as essential as the text, I think on the whole the book would be the better if the maps were retained and the text omitted.

In regard to the battle of New Orleans I have been profuse of maps. This course is not due to the importance of the battle, which was really of little importance, military or political; but for some reason, probably sectional, the Battle of New Orleans has always held an undue place in popular interest. I regard any concession to popular illusions as a blemish; but just as I abandoned so large a space to Burr—a mere Jeremy Diddler—because the public felt an undue interest in him, so I think it best to give the public a full dose of General Jackson.

On all these points I will defer to your opinion, but in any case I must manage to finish everything before July.

Very truly yrs
HENRY ADAMS

[Washington] 3 May, 1890.

DEAR SIR

I have already made the necessary corrections in Volumes i and ii.

A few small corrections should be made in iii and iv before another impression is taken. I presume you do not require more of volumes iii and iv at present. I intend to send Wilson all my final corrections and changes on June 1, when printing (except the General Index) will be finished.

As time is becoming short, and after July 1 no communications will probably reach me for an indefinite time, I think the plans and charts should be hurried. I write separately on this subject.

Do you wish me to send you proofs of the volume of "Historical Essays"? I have not yet received Wilson's bill for the composition, and you are at liberty to print the volume as your own or as mine, as you may decide.

Yrs truly
HENRY ADAMS

Charles Scribners Sons.

[Washington] 7 May, 1890.

MY DEAR SIR

Of course in regard to rejected plates, wherever the extra expense is due to me, it should be charged to me. This rule should be followed if only to leave me free from *gêne* on that score. I may wish to reject any number, if I can do better; and as my only object is to obtain the utmost degree of interest and value for the book, without regard to cost, I should hardly feel at ease if I were restrained by the idea of imposing on you.

I will send the sheets of the "Historical Essays."

The printers have reached Volume ix. The two last volumes, viii and ix, will not vary greatly from four hundred pages each, unless the general index should prove longer or shorter than I anticipate.

Yrs truly
HENRY ADAMS.

Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons.

1603 H Street,
Washington, May 8, '90.

MY DEAR MR. BROWNELL:

Can you let me see the notices which have been printed of the second pair of volumes of the History?

Yours sincerely
THEODORE F. DWIGHT.

1603 H Street,
Washington, May 10, '90.

Messrs. Chas. Scribner's Sons.
DEAR SIRS:

Your note of yesterday enclosing a review of the History from the "Nation" and one from the "Church Review" came this morning. The other package to which you allude has not reached me.

Yours truly
T. F. DWIGHT.

I return the two reviews herewith.

1603 H Street,
Washington, May 17, 1890.

Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons.
DEAR SIRS:

Mr. Adams finds the notice prepared by you for insertion in the new edition of Volumes I and II. of the History, entirely satisfactory.

I return it herewith.

Yours very truly
THEODORE F. DWIGHT.

Can you send me copies of such maps as have been printed for the volumes "in press"? TFD.

[Washington] 15 June, 1890.

DEAR MR BROWNELL

I return more map-proofs, and the three last maps (including the cancelled one of the Bladensburg campaign) to be reproduced.

I hope you will be able to send proofs of these by July 1, for I shall be getting then short of time.

Can you send me a list of all the maps at last, so that I may mark where they are to be inserted?

Yrs truly
HENRY ADAMS

[Washington] 17 June, 1890.

MY DEAR MR BROWNELL

The Bladensburg map seems to me hardly up to our standard. Finding that the engravers did not mechanically repeat the lines, I allowed my draughtsman to draw his details roughly. Just as I did this, the engraver began a mechanical process. The consequence is that what

I meant for the best map is the worst. Can't the engraver make the maps match, at least in this case?

Yrs truly
HENRY ADAMS

[Washington] 22 June, 1890

MY DEAR MR BROWNELL

I enclose you a list of the maps for Volumes VI–IX, which I hope may be complete, though I am trusting to memory largely. If there are others, please notify me, that I may mark their places. Of course this list is intended chiefly for the binder; but Number 11 is not properly a map.

I enclose also the proof of the last change I notice in the map just received.

Yrs truly
HENRY ADAMS

W. C. Brownell Esq

[Washington] 24 June, 1890

MY DEAR MR BROWNELL

Thanks for the maps of Maryland and Norfolk. They seem to be all right.

Yrs truly
HENRY ADAMS.

W. C. Brownell Esq

[Washington] 27 June, 1890

DEAR MR BROWNELL

I enclose you a List of Maps, &c, to consider whether it should be inserted at the end of volume IX as a supplement to the General Index. I am not sure whether such a list is needed, or where it should be placed. Perhaps you will take the responsibility of giving Wilson his directions if you decide to insert it. In that case please send it to him with orders to print it, or rather to put it in type in the proper place.

You will notice that my previous list was incomplete, wanting I think the Craney Island.

Yrs truly
HENRY ADAMS

[Washington] 8 July, 1890

My dear Mr Brownell

I send the title-page to Wilson today. I think I omitted it because I was not sure when you meant to publish, and so left the year undecided.

Apparently I shall not get away this week as I expected. I am hanging by the claws, but may drag through the month.

Yrs truly
Henry Adams

W. C. Brownell Esq

Washington.
22 July, 1890.

Dear Mr Brownell

About the Niagara River Maps I have no particular wish to separate them if they are meant to go together;—you can arrange them as you please. Since they were made I have discovered that, though printed by James, they are really Wilkinson's, and accordingly I recommend altering the lettering as noted in the margin of the map returned.

I note also for the first time an error of date in the "Attack on Fort Bowyer of Sept. 15." The date should be 1814, not 1815. The error is Latour's, and not our's.

I enclose the missing map of the "British and American positions at New Orleans", viii, 359.

I have lost the last map (viii; 383) of the capture of Fort Bowyer, but I enclose the original sketch from which the engravers worked. They will recognise it.

In regard to the titles. I was myself in doubt, and am so still. If you think best, they can all be given verbatim. I regarded it rather as an index than as a table of contents, especially as in one or two cases titles were wanting. The diffuseness of the titles seemed to me also an objection, especially as the authorship would properly be included. This is a matter about which your judgment is better than mine, and if you prefer a full list of titles, pray substitute it. I cannot do it because I have not all the maps.

I will return the discarded plates. I supposed they were sent to me as being considered my property and charged to my account.

Yrs truly
HENRY ADAMS

W. C. Brownell Esq.

Old House
Quincy, Mass.
Septr. 27, 1890.

Messrs. Chas. Scribner's Sons;
743–745 Broadway
New York City.

DEAR SIRS:

I discovered to-day at a Boston book store that volumes V. and VI. of Henry Adams' History of the U.S. have been published and in pursuance of his request I hasten to send you a list of names of persons to whom copies should be addressed as coming from the Author, supplementary to that which I understand he provided you with when the first pair of volumes was issued.

If you have forwarded any number of copies of the new pair to Washington, please suspend action on this list, as I may be able to meet all requirements from that stock. If you have sent none, Mr. Adams being absent, pray do not send any until you hear further from me.

I shall need *three copies of Volumes V. and VI. *here*; as soon as you can conveniently provide them—; also one copy of the revised and corrected edition of Volumes I. and II. if that has been published.

You will oblige me by sending on my personal account one copy only and that to—

Mrs. Cyria Dwight,
94 North Street
Auburn, N. Y.

Yours very truly
THEODORE F. DWIGHT.

* These on Mr. Adams' a/c

P.S. If the corrected edition of Volumes I and II. is issued please send both on Mr. Adams' account to

Prof. Chas. Warren Stoddard
Catholic University of America
Brookland P.O.,
District of Columbia

List of names of persons to whom Mr. Henry Adams desires copies of his History to be sent—Volumes 7, 8 and 9.—

Miss Elizabeth C. Adams,
Quincy, Mass. (Address under cover to T. F. Dwight
10 Charles St. Boston.)

Miss L. W. Baxter,
100 Beacon St., Boston,

Mrs. J. Donald Cameron,
21 Lafayette Square,
Washington

Mrs. Archibald Campbell,
1733 DeSales Street,
Washington.

Catholic University of America,
Brookland P.O., District of Columbia

Miss Frelinghuysen,
25 West Fifteenth Street,
New York City.

Arnold Hague,
Metropolitan Club,
Washington, D. C.

Colonel Jno. Hay,
800 Sixteenth Street,
Washington.

Miss Eunice Hooper
141 Beacon Street
Boston.

Clarence King,
Century Club, New York City.

*Miss Constance Lodge,
1721 Rhode Island Avenue
Washington, D. C.

James Lowndes,
1505 Pennsylvania Avenue,
Washington, D. C.

William Hallett Phillips,
Metropolitan Club,
Washington

Mrs. Chas. W. Rae,
1827 Jefferson Place
Washington.

Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt,
Jefferson Place,
Washington.

Prof. Chas. Warren Stoddard
Catholic University,
Brookland P.O.
District of Columbia.

Ward Thoron,
1608 K Street,
Washington, D. C.

* If the vols. were sent to Nahant, all's well.

Old House, Quincy.
October 18, 1890

My dear Mr. Brownell:

I was recreant the morning of the 8th being in an unwonted state of dismals and did not wait on you as I intended. There were no matters of importance to speak of. I proposed to make a more explicit request for a sight of the reviews of the History and for the explosive Tribune letter, of which I was informed only a moment before I had that brief glimpse of you.

Your letter of the 15th with Judge Holmes's enclosed, came duly. I cannot enlighten you as to the source of the copy sent to him. It was not ordered either by Mr. Adams or by me. It would hardly be apropos for me to write to him under the circumstances; for were I to claim the credit of the gift—I might be haled before him for improper appropriation of what belongs to another and embarras him at least.

I cannot take time to read reviews now; but by and by I will ask you to let me see your collection at Washington.

Yours sincerely
T. F. DWIGHT.

1603 H Street,
Washington, Nov. 15, 1890.

MY DEAR MR. BROWNELL:

I have not yet seen the letter written from Washington criticising Mr. Adams in his character of historian which was published in the Tribune some weeks ago. Will you tell me the date of the issue containing it, or if you have a copy will you send it to me? I am reading the newspaper notices which I obtained from your records when last in N.Y. and will return them soon.

Let me take this opportunity to ask if your clerks found the address of Miss Frelinghuysen in N.Y., her name was in the last list of persons to whom presentation copies of the new volumes were to be sent. I learned yesterday that she is living at 25 West 15th Street.

Yours sincerely
THEODORE F. DWIGHT

Have you printed Volumes 7, 8 and 9 of the History? If not, when are you likely to print them? I will thank you to send me the sheets folded, immediately they come from the press.

1603 H Street,
Washington, Jan. 14, 1891.

Messrs. Chas. Scribners' Sons

DEAR SIRS:

I will thank you to cause to be sent to me here the usual number of copies allotted to Mr. Adams of the new volumes 7th, 8th, and 9th of the History.

Yours very truly
T. F. DWIGHT.

Boston.
Jany. 26, 1891.

My dear Mr. Brownell:

Can you send me the reviews of Volumes VII.–IX. of History? I have some small errata for volumes V. and VI.

Yours sincerely
T. F. Dwight.

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10 Charles Street,
Boston, Feby. 12, 1891.

My dear Mr. Brownell:

Prior to the publication of Volumes V and VI. of Henry Adams' History I sent you a list of names, supplementary to that which he provided for earlier volumes, to whom he desired copies to be sent. I assume that the new volumes have also been sent to the same persons. There were one or two friends and relatives whose addresses I did not include in that list because I preferred to deliver the volumes myself and I fear that I cannot now determine who they were, so I must trouble you to help me repair my neglect.

Enclosed I send another list and after comparing it with that in your office please forward copies to such as have not been provided, as your records may show.

I fancy that Miss E. C. Adams and Miss Eunice Hooper are the names not in your book.

You will oblige me by saying when the volume of Essays[7] will be published.

Yours sincerely
Theodore F. Dwight.

Adams Homestead,
Quincy, Octo. 2, 1891.

My dear Mr. Brownell:

Your letter of the 15th ultimo comes to me very tardily, from Washington, this morning.

I am glad to know the Essays volume has appeared. I fancied it was about time for publication. Mr. Adams is still absent but is rather nearer, being probably somewhere in Europe, than for many months; but I believe he will not come home this winter.

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[7] Henry Adams, *Historical Essays* (New York, 1891).

He will expect copies of the Essays to be sent to the same persons who received the History—perhaps they have been sent; but, if not, as some may have died it might be well to let me see the list for correction if necessary. Let me have a copy of the volume forthwith—it may go to my Boston address—10 Charles St.

I believe there are one or two corrections to be made in late volumes of History. Are you likely to print more soon?

I wonder if an account of sales has been made to Mr. Adams—none has been sent to Washington. I would like to know the number disposed of.

Yours very sincerely
THEODORE F. DWIGHT.

[Boston]
Octo. 5, 1891.

MY DEAR MR. BROWNELL:

I have yours of Saturday and now return the list which came therewith corrected for purposes of the volume of Essays, which may be sent out at your first convenience.

Yours sincerely
T. F. DWIGHT.

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8 May, 1892.
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR

As the summer is approaching and I am not unlikely to leave America again for a longer or shorter time, I take the liberty to ask that in case hereafter you should have occasion to print more copies of any of my ten volumes, you will notify me in time for me to satisfy myself whether any changes in the text are required.

Yrs truly
HENRY ADAMS

Charles Scribner's Sons.

[Washington] 14 April, 1895

Dear Sir

Owing to my absence from the country I have only just received your Royalty Report of Jany: 26.

I enclose a check for $397.27 in discharge of the debtor balance as specified in the report and subjoined bill.

I notice that of the Volumes III to IX of the History, few bound copies seem to be still in stock. Should you wish to print more, I had better make some corrections in the plates, and even one or two rather extensive changes. Be so kind as to let me know in good time, the more because I am apt to be much absent.

Yrs truly
Henry Adams

Charles Scribner's Sons

[Washington] 7 October, 1896.

Dear Sir

Your letter of the 2d instant reached me only on my arrival here on the 5th.

A dozen changes, or thereabouts, ought to be made in my volumes V and VI. Most of these are trifling, but the last chapter of volume VI is considerably affected by Russian publications since I wrote. I will tomorrow try to make out a list of corrections or changes. If possible I will not overrun paging, but just now I am not quite sure of the subject.

Yrs truly
Henry Adams

W. C. Brownell Esq

[Washington] 8 October, 1896

My dear Sir

Herewith I send you Volumes V and VI. with the required corrections as indicated on the list enclosed. I think it would be better that I should see proofs of the corrected pages.

Yrs truly
Henry Adams

W. C. Brownell Esq

17 Jan. 1899
Washington. D.C.

Dear Sir

Will you be so kind as to send me a set of my History for revision and correction, so that in future my absence may not interfere with your requests.

Yrs truly
Henry Adams

Charles Scribner's Sons

[Washington] March 2, 1899.

Dear Sir

I return today by express the set of my History which you sent me on Jany: 19.

With it I enclose a list of the pages on which corrections are to be made.

In case this should not be sufficient, I have noted the pages on the back of each volume.

Or, finally, the printer can find the corrections by merely turning over the leaves.

As I leave America very shortly for an absence of undetermined length, I wish to close up all matters likely to call for attention. Therefore, if any further question suggests itself, I would prefer to settle it now.

Yrs truly
Henry Adams

Charles Scribner's Sons

Rome, 20 April, 1899.

Dear Sir

I have received yours of March 27, although the accompanying proof-sheets have not been forwarded. Unless the proof-reader finds some difficulty that needs my assistance, I think he need not wait for my inspection. If he should require it, please forward the proofs directly to me *Care of Morgan, Harjes & Co. Boulevard Haussmann, Paris.* But as my corrections are almost entirely formai and slight, there ought to be no difficulty in proof-reading.

Yrs truly
Henry Adams

Charles Scribner's Sons.

11 April, 1903.
Washington D.C.

DEAR SIR

The passage of time requires me to set my affairs in order, and therefore I think you had better send me the statement of accounts under the Agreement of Sept. 15, 1888.

I am truly yrs

HENRY ADAMS

Charles Scribner's Sons.

Paris.
10 May, 1908

DEAR SIR

In reply to your letter of April 13: postmarked at Washington April 14: delivered some time after my sailing on April 25: and received here this morning; I hasten to say that I am happy to contribute anything in my power to Captain Steele's object, and that he is welcome to use whatever he finds in my books that he thinks useful.[8]

As for the business-view of the matter, I imagine that a Cavalry Officer is not much more to be trusted than a publisher or author, but my interest in it will be limited to the manner in which he quotes—or omits to quote—his authorities as a rule. I fear that we poor citizens who try to write history, make an instinctive habit of ignoring our predecessers as much as possible, when we do not attack them. Probably no one cares, and usually the authorities, being dead, care least of all; but my own conscience sometimes has twinges.

I am yours truly

HENRY ADAMS

Charles Scribner's Sons

Washington. 28 Nov.
1913

DEAR SIR

Owing to the requirements of the Income Tax, I have to request that you will oblige me by sending a statement of my account with you since your last return.

Yrs truly
HENRY ADAMS

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[8] See Matthew F. Steele, *American Campaigns*, 2 vols. (Washington, 1909), II, pl. 32–47.

[Washington] Decr. 8, 1913

DEAR SIR

Your letter of Decr. 6 with the accompanying statements and check for $1,458.27. has arrived. With many thanks, I remain

Yrs truly
HENRY ADAMS

The following letter from Charles Scribner's Sons is quoted because of its bearing on the story of the publication of the *History*:

Dec. 6, 1913.

DEAR SIR:

In response to your request, enclosed please find a statement of the sales of your books published by us, together with a cheque for $1458.27, the amount of royalty due. As you will note, we have made up the statement in two reports, one covering the period from the date of the last report in 1903 to February 1, 1913, and the other from February 1, 1913, to December 4, as we have thought that this division might be of service to you in connection with the income tax. The earlier report we have dated February 1 instead of March 1, as February 1 is the beginning of our business year and on that date we have the figures from which we could make up the report while we have not on hand the figures on the date of March 1.

Hoping this will be satisfactory, we are

Yours very truly,
A.H.S.

To Henry Adams, Esq.

The following three letters from G. P. Putnam's Sons to Charles Scribner's Sons are quoted because of the information they contain about the English edition of the *History*:

The Knickerbocker Press
Nov. 7th 1890.

Messrs. Chas. Scribner's Sons,
743 Broadway,

DEAR SIRS:

Will you kindly advise us whether any arrangements have been made for the sale in England of Adams' "History of the United-

States"? In case the work has not been placed in the English market, we think it possible that our London House may be ready to advertise and catalogue the work, to keep supplies in stock and to present it, through the travellers, to the attention of the British dealers.

We have an enquiry from the London "Speaker" for a set for review, and in case you may desire to send this (or other review copies) we shall be pleased to forward the same in our next shipment to London.

Yours truly
G. P. Putnam's Sons

The Knickerbocker Press
Jan. 8, 1891

Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons,
743 Broadway, City.

Dear Sirs:

We are in receipt of your favor of the 6th instant in response to the enquiry of the manager of our London House in regard to a supply for the British market of Adams' History, and are obliged to you for the pains you have taken to meet the requirements as stated by him.

His specification was based upon his calculation that the book ought to be published at not higher than 7/6d., and as the sixpence difference between the net price suggested by him, 2/6d., and the quotation now made by you, 3s., would constitute his possible margin of profit, we judge that it will be necessary, before placing an order with you, to refer your present quotation to London.

Yours truly
G. P. Putnam's Sons

The Knickerbocker Press
Feby. 24, 1891.

Messrs. Chas. Scribner's Sons,
743 Broadway, City.

Dear Sirs:

We found it necessary before making shipment of the volumes of the Adams History, to have imprinted on the back of the title-page a stamp specifying that the volumes were manufactured in the United States.

In connection with your own business relations with Great Britain, you have, of course, been advised of the present requirements concerning the importation into Great Britain of books (as of other manufactured articles) which have been produced in other countries.

The necessity of putting on to these books the place of their origin, a requirement which the Liverpool Customs officials will not admit has been met by the use of the term "Cambridge" or even "Cambridge, Massachusetts", has caused us not infrequently not a little trouble in going over an export shipment of volumes manufactured by the University Press.

The imprint of the Riverside Press has now been put into such shape as to meet the requirements.

We reported the difficulty to Messrs. John Wilson & Son, and enclose with this their report.

Yours truly
G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

Two letters in the Massachusetts Historical Society[9] from Francis Parkman and John T. Morse, Jr. reveal the opinions of two historians on the work:

Jamaica Plain,
Mass.

MY DEAR HENRY,

I have just finished your capital book, which has been read to me—a necessarily slow process, but one which I have found a very agreeable one. You have made an invaluable contribution to American history. For my own sake, I could wish that you had included the administrations of Washington and Adams but this would have sadly injured the unity of the story.

Nobody capable of following the political evolution of the country can help being doubly interested by your pages. The style is clear, strong, and lively, and the narration moves with great vigor and often with great vivacity; while the meaning that underlies it is always kept in sight.

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[9] Adams Papers, Fourth Generation. [What are called the "Fourth Generation" papers lie beyond the chronological terminus of the edition of Adams Family Papers in course of publication by the Society; this edition will close with the death of the first Mrs. Charles Francis Adams, June, 1889.—EDITOR.]

What interested me as much as any part of the book was the account of the Louisiana purchase, and of the influence of Haytian events upon that business—matters on which you have thrown a flood of light into a dark corner of my brains. If the public is not an ass, as it is apt to be, it will see that you have laid it under a great and lasting obligation.

Yours very cordially
F. PARKMAN.

[*Endorsed:*]

Francis Parkman
25 Nov. 1889

16 Fairfield Street.
Boston.
May 27, 1890

MY DEAR ADAMS:

I hear that you read no reviews or notices of your History; but I hope that this wise protective policy is not to operate as a prohibitory tariff against letters from your friends. I venture to intrude with an expression of my very great admiration of your work, especially the third and fourth volumes. I say this because I will frankly add that the book seems to me written upon an ascending scale of excellence; volumes I and II, by themselves, left me a little uncertain and groping, as it were; but volumes III and IV brought complete and brilliant illumination, and for the whole together I have nothing but unlimited praise. It is idle for any man to pretend that he has understood that period heretofore; you are its only interpreter; and though of course your interpretation will not be accepted by everyone, still I believe that you have got at fundamental truth, and have set it forth so that no dissatisfied critic can confuse you. I am sure that my allegiance to your views can never be shaken.

I think also that besides this you have done a very great good through the influence which your book must exert upon the writing of American history in the future. Perfunctory narrative, especially in a partisan tone, will be too obviously thin to be endured after your profound and solid exposition. It will be perpetuated in Geography, of course, where it is somewhat permissible; but it must be abandoned in history.

Reading your book has supported a conviction which I had previously reached, viz: that the greatness of Jefferson belongs to the period of his life antecedent to his accession to the Presidency. Of course the Creator of the Democratic System must have been a man of a high order of ability in statesmanship. Though his policy, when in control, came to naught, and he had to return to Federalist ways in some respects, yet he did inaugurate the popular system—and that means a great deal. But when he had converted the masses to his doctrines, had organized them, and had overthrown the political-aristocratic system of the Federalists he seems to me to have done his real work in the world, and to be *functus officio.* Except for his prestige, enabling him to control and hold together his party in spite of repeated failures and blunders, any one of half a dozen democrats might have been President just as well as he.

Your T. Pickering is a delightful character; so are many other of the lesser men. Especially I thank you for your estimate of Giles, whom I hate with a most vivid antipathy, considering that he is dead and half-forgotten. I am waiting with curiosity to see whether you are going to leave Madison quite so small a figure in the Presidency as he appears in the Secretaryship. I find it a little difficult to believe that there was not more force in the man than you give him credit for. What he ought to have been was a consulting counsel, with a large chamber practice.

Once more let me say to you that I have not often had so much pleasure in reading, as I have derived from your book, and I am heartily glad that I have four more volumes to look forward to.

Sincerely yours
JOHN T. MORSE JR

Henry Adams Esq
Washington, D.C.

Highways and Low Ways in Haverhill from Grant to McKinley

WILLARD G. COGSWELL*

IN this gossiping paper, largely about old residents of Haverhill, not one of whom is now alive to reproach me, are divers anecdotes in which I quote exactly the improper language with which they have been handed down by word of mouth through the decades. Many of you, I am aware, deplore such expletives on principle, and we all deprecate their vulgar use as being in regrettably bad taste.

But all these stories are traditionally true; and if I now bowdlerized them they would lack the essential acidity that made them seem comic to the townsfolk of two generations ago. After all, there may be a slight historic value in thus hinting at the crude manners of men then conspicuous in the community: men who were most likely faithful to their wives and boastful of their children and who supported the churches, but who spat tobacco-juice on the sidewalks, ate dinner in their shirt-sleeves, used double negatives, and, unskilled in rhetorical emphasis, substituted swearwords.

A few outrageous incidents I dare only hint at. And in short, if this effort of mine seems to you revoltingly inane, you must blame Walter Whitehill more than me. If you endure it at all, you must take it as the Athenians took the scurrilous satyr-dramas that were put on at the end of the noble trilogies of Sophocles and Euripides, that is, as a letting-down from the elevated tension of all your other meetings.

Haverhill, founded in 1640, started as a narrow settlement between the Merrimack River and a long steep slope which led up to the plateau where most citizens now live. Its high street still runs for miles along the river and is called variously River Street, Washington Street, Merrimack Street, Water Street, Lincoln Avenue. Silver Hill, the crest of Mt. Washington, so called, bounds it on the west, Golden Hill on the east. These names come, not from the magical fancy of early settlers or from fabulous veins of precious ores, but by chance from the family names of former owners. If Haverhill had fostered a Pericles, each hill might have become tremendous with an Acropolis.

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* This paper was read at the December, 1953, meeting.

Main Street runs straight north three miles into New Hampshire. Mill Street, second street to be laid out, climbed alongside a stream which turned the wheels of three mills. Mills and stream have vanished.

Haverhill's river and hills, then, naturally pressed its oldest parts into their peculiar shapes; but the spread of its upland residential areas was largely planned, albeit somewhat haphazardly, and their total broad extent is probably singular amongst old American manufacturing cities of equal population. This characteristic has not turned out admirably in all ways. Spacious towns are attractive usually because of artfully conceived homes set in ample, decorated lawns and gardens. Outlying districts whose streets are lined with plain wooden tenements built on narrow lots not only possess no advantages found in those closer to the business centre, but also bear the permanent costly burden of maintaining extra miles of highways, to be kept in the smooth cleared condition which nowadays we all imperiously demand. Doubtless the mass of citizens could live more cheaply and quite as beautifully if a third of the streets created between 1865 and 1915 had never been ploughed out and besidewalked.

There had of course been land developments here before 1865. In 1744 the "parsonage land" was divided into lots four rods wide on both sides of the road that is now Merrimack Street, laid out two and a half rods wide. In 1850, some years after Revolutionary Captain Nehemiah Emerson's death, his field between Winter Street and Washington Square was surveyed by one Henry David Thoreau of Concord; and Emerson Street and its cross streets were put through. In the same period Moses George created house lots along the unwisely straight, steep ways north from Water Street; and David and John Marsh made something of the Winter Street tract west of the Academy (where Whittier went to school). In 1853 Thoreau ran out for the Whites their "long piece" on Park Street, near where the settlement of 1640 began.

Thoreau thus came twice to Haverhill on such business. In his journal he noted the magical beauty of the eastern view downriver when the moon rose over Golden or Powder-House Hill. It reminded him of the poems of Ossian. And he observed the scarcity of tree growth hereabout. "The young ladies," he quaintly wrote, "cannot tell where are the nearest woods."

In 1852 Alpheus Currier and William Hale began to sell lots on Whortleberry Hill, which is at the top of Washington Avenue (that hard bicycling test of the nineties): the "Other Hill," residents along Washington Street used to call it. This Billy Hale was a typically hard-driving, crabbed, unconventional trader, as indeed were most of the men whom I shall name in this paper. Hale, for example, replevied a hearse for debt, and, fearing to lose his lien by parting with actual possession, rode in it to the livery stable scrouged down in the space for the coffin. It was he who, having attended the funeral of a prominent citizen in the Centre Church, after the services walked round a second time to view the corpse. "Why, Billy," said an acquaintance, "What makes you go round again?" "Well, I tell ye, I tell ye," answered Hale, "I wanted to make sure that the old son of a bitch was really dead!"

There were, to be sure, still a few of the old regime—like Isaac Reddington Howe, who, as his granddaughter amusedly told me, preferred reading Aeschylus and Plato and living genteelly but thinly to working vulgarly in any business. I wish I dared tell you of the ribald joke that Butcher Davis (whose shop was in the Bannister Block where the A & P—or is it Woolworth's?—now keeps) played on Parson Kelley, a lovely picture of a patrician, who used to walk about the highways with refined dignity in tall hat and becoming shawl (old gentlemen favored shawls in those days), paced by a magnificently grave St. Bernard dog. I would tell you about the encounter of Mrs. Charles Butters (of all grandes dames the grandest) with vulgar Captain Stickney, master of the river steamer *City of Haverhill*, but for the Captain's deplorably low expressions, quite unfit for your delicately chaste ears. But how the townsmen chuckled over the comeuppance of the austere Mrs. Butters! Nevertheless even our frolicsome Blanche Fernandez must go here unsung![1]

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[1] [The author's recollections of Miss Fernandez, from a manuscript in the Society's possession, follow.—EDITOR.]

The time of this tale was a Friday evening in the autumn of 1897 or 1898.

Its place was in the Gem Theatre, a dingy little music hall on Essex Street, Haverhill, a tough street in those days given over mostly to "rum-shops" and low-priced houses of assignation. The theatre contained a shallow stage, a tin-panny upright pianoforte, and about two hundred uncomfortablish chairs. Fastidious young men chose their seats with care, because almost everybody chewed tobacco and spat negligently. They didn't smoke very much, though audiences were frequently tipsy and loudly voluble in their criticism of the stage-action. This running comment was seldom resented; even occasional sickness

In the main, however, thrift not elegance was the common practice and gave to most of our land-barons the only aristocracy that they valued or even comprehended: the consciousness of being "better off" than most folks. A playmate of mine used to boast that his grandfather was the seventeenth richest man in Haverhill. Who except grandfather could have made the calculation and disclosed it to my friend! Thoreau wrote in his journal on April 30, 1853, "Moses Emerson, the kind and gentlemanly man who assisted and looked after me in Haverhill, said that a good horse was worth $75, and all above was fancy, and that when he saw a man driving a fast horse he expected he would fail soon." I recollect the probate account of Francis Kimball, a considerable landowner, in 1845, showing about $22 for the total funeral expense for the deceased: $9 for a coffin, $1 for digging the grave, and the balance for "supplies," by which was meant, of course,

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of the stomach was taken tolerantly as a matter of course. Only real fighting was interfered with.

The tickets of admission (soiled by use over and over again—but that didn't matter) cost, I think, fifteen cents each. The aggregate take-in was consequently low, and permitted the engagement of only local talent, mostly funny-boys and throaty "fallen women."

I remember one night when a scrawny, middle-aged, bony-kneed harlot was doing the split. In the climax of her act a lout in the back row guffawed loudly; and the poor awkward she-wretch turned her thin face viciously towards him and, with one leg straight out in front of her and the other straight out behind, thumbed her nose at him for a full venomous half-minute, a female in the most graceless of all possible postures.

Yet I recollect little actual obscenity done there. Most of the acts were comic, acrobatic, or sentimental. What made them attractive to us boys was, of course, that they were strictly forbidden to us. We had to sneak into them, and lie about it afterwards: that fascinated us. Then, too, it enabled us to show off our toughness before the sissies who didn't dare to take a chance.

The dramatis personae were: A, the piano-player, a dark sallow young gent who performed rattlingly, but with an air of contemptuous superiority to his surroundings; B, the announcer, not always the same person, but on this night a florid fleshy stranger from the great city, with (1) yellow hair parted in the middle and plastered with hair-oil, (2) a long mustache carefully waxed, (3) a very high collar that, it seemed, must have choked him (but even we boys affected such collars in those days), (4) a red necktie, (5) a pepper-and-salt suit, (6) a plaid waistcoat, (7) pointed yellow button-boots, and (8) a ready voice of suetty affability; C, the singer with treble voice that might perhaps have stood some training—young but, alas, not beautiful, not so fascinating as to clear more than a meager living at her profession, glad of the dollar she was probably to earn tonight, with a name no doubt something like Minnie Hicks, which for professional reasons she had given up for one more romantically fitting; D, a coarse lout somewhere in the back of the hall; and E and F, Willard Cogswell and his kid companion down in the bald-headed row.

Now then. Announcer intones (in cadences he had picked up in the grander music halls of the Bowery): "Miss Blanche Fernandez will now sing 'White Wings.'" The vulgar fellow in the rear shouts: "Blanche Fernandez is a whore!" Announcer blandly rejoins: "Nevertheless, Miss Blanche Fernandez will now sing 'White Wings.'" Cogswell and kid companion collapse in ecstasy.

rum. Our professional undertakers nowadays, believe me, would make a shabby living on such charges.

Moses Marsh, who inherited little or no money and only a piece of hardscrabble land, and who was never in regular business, died in the 1880's worth $75,000. He amassed this considerable fortune by avoiding the expense of a wife and family, and by carrying his loose cash in a big wallet wrapped round by several turns of leathern strap and thrust with difficulty into a tight hip pocket. Whenever he thought to buy a nickel's worth of something, he had to tug the wallet out of pocket, unwind the strap, and fumble inside the folds for the coin; by the time his fingers clutched it he had had plenty of opportunity to think the business over and to decide not to make the purchase.

Sometimes these landsmen seemed too harsh and grasping for even that relatively insensitive generation. Cornelius Jenness, for instance, a substantial dealer and father of our first mayor, must have played ogre to some of his less hard-boiled contemporaries: I remember a recorded deed of a lot on Whortleberry Hill which contained the express condition that the conveyed estate should "never be sold to an Irishman nor to Cornelius Jenness."

It was after the Civil War that the business of acquiring outlying fields and pastures cheaply and cutting them up into streets and lots was taken up on a grand scale. Franklin Brickett made Franklin Street what it is and, along with Judge Henry Merrill, established Riverside in the flats down-river. The Marsh family sold out their Circus Field; and in Bradford, Sam Elliott made many houses to grow round Locke Street where none had been thought of before. Many promoters financed home building for the purchasers of their lots, either by construction loans, or through second mortgages after the savings bank had done what it would for them. And on second mortgages they used to charge eight, nine, ten percent, plus (when they could work it) bonuses.

In 1867 George Lee, who lived rather spaciously on Main Street, failed because his southern customers could not pay for the shoes which he had sold them; his assignees created Howard Street through auction sales of his acreage. An important manufacturer in his time, he was famous for vivid and uncurbed expression of his thoughts. Shoe buyers then came to Haverhill and bought their needs "off the floor." At seasonal times our manufacturers met the trains from Boston and barked fiercely for possession of good customers. One day Lee got hold of a lavish buyer and made so great a sale that he elatedly had his horse and buggy hitched up and drove the man round the sights of Haverhill. The old church above Hannah Dustin's monument had just burned. As they rode past, Lee tapped his guest's knee and said in low mournful tones, "In that church I worshipped God for twenty long years." "Is that so, Mr. Lee! That's too bad! Er–er—was it insured?" Lee's fingers doubled up into a pounding fist as he shouted, "Not a God-damned cent, not a God-damned cent!"

Of all the enlargers of our territory the great affluent trio of John C. Tilton, Edwin Bowley, and Levi Taylor were incomparably the most assiduous. Tilton built and rigged a schooner above Railroad Bridge in revenge for some meanness of the railroad's executives, and sold it for a handsome price to the Boston & Maine, which had either to buy it or to construct a costly drawer in its bridge. He was president of the Essex Bank, made the Grove Street area come alive, constructed the Tilton Tower 120 feet tall on Silver Hill (first of wood, and, when that blew down, of granite and brick), and died late in the century, a prosperous and respected citizen. Meritoriously, on most of his houses built for sale he put slate roofs, many of which persist to this day.

Bowley lived in the house which the Salvation Army now uses, and kept a general store on Merrimack Street. Once upon a time a woman to whom he had sold a quarter of a gross of Portland matches (they came in cards, and puckish jokers called them "eight-day matches," for it took a goodish time to burn off the sulphur before you could light your pipe by them) returned them because they would not burn. Bowley broke off one and scratched it successfully on the seat of his breeches (as in those days every man kindled his lights). He did the same with another match, then handed the packet back to the customer, saying that they seemed all right to him. "Now look here, Ed Bowley," she exclaimed resentfully, "you needn't expect me to follow you around all day to light my matches on your behind!"

Old John Cashman (in 1880 a day laborer, thirty years later a millionaire) remarked to me many years ago that in his opinion Levi Taylor was the shrewdest real estate man ever to operate in Haverhill. What he meant was that Taylor bought and sold, bought and sold, gradually sorting out and retaining the most permanently valuable of the properties that came to his hands.

These three developed large tracts by selling lots and seeing that homes, mostly homes of working people, were built on them. To stand near the Bowley School on a May day and look down to the river across Bowley's field, bright with buttercup and daisy, was to make a child's heart glad. But when the Chick factory, and the Spaulding factory, and the Russ factory, and the clustering cheap houses had blocked the view and crushed out the flowers, many tough adult hearts were doubtless made gladder. Now the Bowley School has gone with the daisies, and the big brick buildings are no longer thought prime investments. So glories depart, and return, and ever depart again.

In the seventies and eighties our people often made up in individuality what they lacked in sophistication, cherishing gleefully the memory of one another's eccentricities or "low ways."

There was Johnnie Roche, simpleton of Bradford, who, hearing that the fire-laddies felt the lack of enough equipment, shouted in town meeting, "If our boys want a gingine, give 'em a gingine; if they want a crooked ladder, give 'em a crooked ladder!"

There was Davis, civil constable, who year after year served the writs for Haverhill. He was discovered one day pacing up and down his backyard on Vestry Street and soliloquising, "Here am I, Phineas E. Davis, once a poor shoemaker in Georgetown, and now Constable of the Town of Haverhill. My God, who would have thought it?"

There was Oren Hurd, gander-gutted horse-coper on Mount Washington, who, when asked by a customer to whom he was trying to sell a rather seedy nag why the creature trembled and shook so, replied, "Oh, he's achin' to go." Hurd sailed down to Black Rocks on a summer's day on the *City of Haverhill*, rode over to Salisbury Beach Centre on the dummy train, went into an eating place, ordered a clam chowder, ate it, got up and laid fifteen cents on the counter as he walked toward the door. "Here," sang out the proprietor, "this hain't enough!" "It's all I ever give yet for a chowder," said Oren. "Well, we don't sell jest chowders here; we serve shore-dinners, and they're thirty-five cents." "But I ain't eat a whole dinner!" "That ain't our fault—you could uv." "Then I'll go back and eat a dinner." So Hurd sat down again, and ate, and ate, and ate. The owner grew more and more uneasy as he watched, and finally strode over to Oren's table and said with feeling, "Mister, I don't know who you be, nor where ye come from; but if ye'll stop right now, it shan't cost ye a cent!"

There was Captain Caldwell, harelipped cashier and sole employee of the Essex Bank until Raymond Noyes (my own beloved Raymond) was taken in to assist him. "In balancing the books one day," Raymond used to tell, "I found an error that Cappy had made, and I had to go over and point it out to him. I could see it made him mad, and being a young fellow I tried to mollify him by adding that everybody made mistakes, that nobody was perfect in this world. At that Cappy boiled over, and snarled out, 'Oh, yes they are, Raymond Noyes: you're a perfect damned fool!' "

There were the Griffin brothers, very respectable shoe manufacturers but quite human after their several fashions, to whom a buyer (also a "sport," as his sort was called in those days) came on Saturday and so had to stay over Sunday at the Eagle House. He approached Reuben Griffin about a means of getting hold of some whisky for solace, since he understood that Haverhill had gone no-license. "I don't know anything about rum sellers," said Reuben tartly, "I don't drink. You had better ask Brother Charles." Thereupon the sport put his problem up to Charles and had it satisfactorily solved. While talking thus familiarly with Charles he went on to say, "I might be a little dull and lonesome tonight and all day tomorrow, Mr. Griffin. You don't happen to know of some brisk young lady who would like to pass the time pleasantly with me, do you?" "I know nothing about any women like that," replied Charles stiffly, "you had better ask Brother Reuben."

There was old Hancock, rusticated on Scotland Hill so that his disreputable habits should not embarrass his aristocratic relatives along Beacon Street, who, having driven down to the post office one Tuesday, heard all the church bells ringing. When it was explained to him that services were about to be held to pray for rain to end the drought, he sneered, "Huh! They can pray and be damned; it won't rain till the wind changes."

The expansion of our settlement, from village to town, from town to city, is graphically shown by Gale's 1832 map, Jaques' 1851 map, Hopkins' 1881 Atlas, and the 1892 Atlas published by Walker & Co. In 1832 Main, Water, Merrimack, How, Pecker, Pleasant, Winter, Washington (to the foot of the hill), Summer, and Essex Streets were the only public ways at all closely settled. Along Main Street from the Pound at Monument Square north to Dustin Square, a distance of nearly two miles, were but two farmhouses.

In 1851 there was no Oak Street, but otherwise the rectangle enclosed by Main, Merrimack, Emerson, and Winter Streets was pretty well built up. Houses had begun to appear on White and Portland Streets. The so-called Acre was congesting, mostly by Irish immigrants. A grove lay along Little River near where the Western Electric Company makes its products. There was a Baptist church on Merrimack Street at the corner of Pecker Street where the Academy of Music was later to be erected. The South Church had not yet been moved from the Hotel Whittier corner. The widened south end of Emerson Street was called Eaton Square, since a family of that name lived on the Indian camping ground where now is the Haverhill National Bank.

By 1881 Main Street was fairly well settled up towards Seventh Street. There was a small district-schoolhouse on Cedar Street above Sixth Street, one on White Street just west from Portland Street, and one on Pond Street near Webster Street. River Street forked away narrowly from Washington Street farther uphill than at present, and ran towards Ayer Street to give access to Thom's Hat Factory. Mt. Washington was beginning to take form, largely through the efforts of Bowley and Tilton. In 1867 Bowley sold a piece of land to my maternal grandfather, who laid out a short lane called South Street and on its corner with Washington Street built a home, where I was born and from which my wife still collects rents. It is maliciously untrue, however, that I retain this birthplace in the hope that one of these days a commemorative bronze plaque may be set on it.

The 1892 Atlas shows great spreading. The fast outfielding trio of Tilton-Taylor-Bowley were accomplishing about as much in their line as afterwards the Tinker to Evers to Chance infield did for their particular game. Both sets used much the same technique: innumerable brilliant assists and many gorgeous double-plays. Not that other eager performers were lacking in this real estate league. Charles N. Hoyt made Sheridan Street, just one mile from the centre, out of the Car Barn Lot. The Duncan Estate pushed along home building in the region about Willis and Bell Streets (now Ninth and Tenth Avenues). Yet I was still lugging water to the elephants when Barnum & Bailey circuses came to barren Recreation Park, now elegantly housed and known as Columbia Park; and still I often ranged, trusty airgun in hand, hunting bison and bear, over that immense, trackless wilderness behind the Children's Home which Marshland, Hamilton, and Brockton Avenues now penetrate.

Avenues began to take the place of streets in the nineties, for the same reason that American Boards of Trade became Chambers of Commerce a few years later, namely, because words of two or more syllables derived from Latin sound more pompous and are popularly thought more elegant than vulgar Anglo-Saxon monosyllables. So they renamed Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Streets. Ever since, fields, when turned into houselots, have been crossed only by avenues.

Many other ways started with names different from their present ones: it would puzzle our youths to identify what were once called Harvard, Tremont, Antietam, Jew, and Liberty Streets, Bartholomew's Lane, Bartholomew's Path, Joel's and Old Ferry Roads. The three main roads of the original settlement had various names before they steadied down into Water, Mill, and Winter Streets. For one month in the spring of 1838 Merrimack Street was officially Front Street.[2]

A vast deal of parochial drama was acted in the streets of those days, when ten miles an hour was high speed, few owned horses and buggies, and only swells drove carryalls. A runaway horse tearing madly down Merrimack Street with a slewing cart jabbing at his hind hooves gave one such tension of panic as drunken drivers, going it at eighty miles an hour, nowadays quite fail to cause. More calmly, but inwardly well aware of his dramatic effect, Perley Weeks, sitting perched high on his ridiculous dogcart, with bowler hat on his head, flaring tan box-coat round his body, and yellow English driving gloves on his hands, would mightily impress you with his ducal aloofness as he tooled his dock-tailed high-headed pair of cobs, harnessed in tandem, along Summer Street. For in those days, if you wanted to impress people as being a toff, you went at the business without diffidence, without any delicate nonsense about the emphasis of understatement.

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[2] In 1900, in the area contained in what are now called Water, Mill, Main, and Arlington Streets, there were twelve owners of the land, and eight houses: six on Water Street, one on Mill Street, and one on Main Street. Water Street was, for instance: Highway next the river in 1665; County highway to the ferry over Merrimack River in 1713; Road from Judge Saltonstall's to the Meeting-House in 1748; Main Road in 1775; and Water Street in 1809.

A still calmer street scene might appear on most days when Professor Coates, amiable and intelligent Negro, set himself down before his little table on the sidewalk in Merrimack Street and prepared with skillful fingers to pen visiting cards for his customers. He straightened his curls with grease, reddened his skin, and dressed himself in Rough Rider garb. His harmless airs earned for him the title of "the Henry Gilman of the colored people"—a comparison which has meaning only for us old residents and which I shall not take the trouble to explain. And across the street at the head of the alley between Simonds and Adams and Leslie's (both dress emporiums now forgotten), a queer little shrunken man with a quavering voice and an accordion used periodically to station himself, singing over and over again a querulous ballad, evidently composed by himself, on his life's woes. The last lines of the nearly interminable ditty applied its moral lesson:

> And if you should ever marry and ever have a son,
> Don't be a fool, but re-main cool,
> And shoot the son-of-a-gun.

And occasionally the town's toughest customer, old Henry Farringdon, havin' dhrink taken, went fighting mad in the middle of Merrimack Street and made hard work for the three policemen who had the ill luck to be sent to arrest him. They had learned long before at City Hall that fewer than three could not do the job.

For years on the night before the Fourth of July the boys, in spite of attempted police interference, contrived a dangerously huge bonfire in Currier Square. At nightfall hordes of people pressed up Washington Street hill blowing infernally hoarse horns, dragging sets of cowbells, and shooting off revolvers not all of which were loaded with blank cartridges. That night of the year was as nearly Saturnalian as you could find this side of imperial Rome. Then people habitually decorous, even strait-laced, cut out their mufflers; the really bad boys wore straps studded with pointed nails over their shoulders to make any cop who tried to grab them feel sorry. Apparently it was all right to get drunk and fight on that night.

During Old Home Weeks in the nineties amongst other popular entertainment were divers bicycle races: hill climbing races up Washington Avenue, for instance, an exertion that went far to pulling hearts out of contestants' chests; coasting races which started at the top of Fountain Street hill and, rounding up Main Street, rarely failed to reach the Car Barn at Sheridan Street. And then you had no sleek black surfaces to make your pumping or gliding easier.

Horses were particularly important sixty years ago in street life. Before electric cars the horsecars, drawn by two rugged horses (horsecars and icewagons demanded outstanding horsepower), sometimes made hard work of getting up Main Street hill because of snow and ice. In such weather an extra horse had to be hitched on at White's Corner in front to help with the hauling as far as Arlington Street. The tracks in the streets were single, with a few turnouts; if two cars came near to meeting head-on between turnouts, one driver (the one who ought to have waited back on the turnout) would pull his horses sharply to the right and his car would follow them off the rails into the roadway, cutting a dirt track round the other fellow's team.

But the noblest use of our thoroughfares came about when the firebells rang, the doors of the Court Street enginehouse were flung open, and splendid horses rushed out into Main Street, three abreast, drawing their clanking engine, under whose boiler the fire had already been lit. Then we boys, however conclusively we had decided to become locomotive engineers or to beat trap drums in a marching fife-and-drum corps, or to pitch for the Haverhill nine in the New England League, would have sold out all our hopes in those things for the chance to clutch the reins over those incomparably heroic creatures.

Probably nobody in those times more nearly justified my combination-title than bearded Charlie Jaques, our famous hack driver, for he performed daily over Haverhill's highways, and, as a marked eccentric, practised many of its low ways. One Thanksgiving a citizen asked his two aged spinster aunts to dinner, and sent Jaques to fetch them. When they failed to turn up an hour or so after dinnertime, the host set forth to find them, and at last ran Charlie down at a resort in Water Street. "Where are my aunts?" "O God," groaned Charlie, "I must have locked them in the stable when I put up my horse this noon." And (poor old frightened virgins!) he had. Once upon a time Dudley Porter had guests from Boston over Sunday who needed to return on the 8:10 train Monday morning. Jaques was directed to come for them and was imperiously warned on no account to be late. But he was late. They missed the train, and Polly Porter (a cousin of mine, later Mrs. Otis Wardwell) gave him a scathing tongue-lashing which he endured silently, with bowed head. When she finally ran out of breath, he lifted his pale blue eyes to hers, and with a piteous grin gave this defence: "Well, you know, Miss P., there ain't no such thing in this world as perfect hackin'."

He used so to amuse Thomas Sanders (original financial backer of Alexander Graham Bell) with his naïvetés that Sanders made quite a companion of him. Once, returning from a visit to London, Sanders fetched Charlie a glazed billycock hat, such as the London cabbies were then affecting; and the simple fellow long wore the ridiculous thing about the streets with vast pride. Sanders, going one spring to a cattle auction in New York state, capriciously took Jaques along, explaining on the way that a bull was to be put up which he so greatly needed for his herd that he was going to buy the animal, even if he had to pay, well, $600, for it. Charlie sucked in his breath in awed astonishment at such prodigality. At the sale, however, the first bid for that bull was upwards of $2000. Jaques turned with round-eyed seriousness to Sanders and said loudly, "Gosh, Mr. Sanders, you're a hell of a feller in Haverhill, but you don't amount to a damn in New York, do yuh!" How Sanders enjoyed telling that on himself!

Jaques was one of the tribe of Jehus who made money by driving parties of sports "over the road." The Kenoza Trotting Park (now an airfield) was in a racing circuit for a while after its opening, and drew a good many queer people to Haverhill. Roadhouses sprang up near it along the Newton Road. Outwardly, they were at first tolerably well-behaved; but when horse racing left the vicinity they became really outrageous joints, persisting, in spite of the horror they caused pious folks, into the edge of the present century. Haverhill's churchgoing women were rarely driven by their suitors on the Newton Road, even in the daytime; and after dark—well, it was often really bad. Hen Merrill, who kept a livery stable up in Merrill's Court, in back of the *Gazette* building, maintained himself largely by letting out worn but sophisticated horses to parties going over the road; the old cattle knew the way so well that they required no reins either up or back—luckily for the riders coming back. Some of these brothels, like the Elm House, sprawled over both sides of the state line. When warned of approaching Haverhill police the inmates merely moved the bar across the floor to the New Hampshire side. By arrangement, the Plaistow constables were sometimes allowed to capture enough liquor to warrant a fine in the village court, which fine procured immunity from further interference for a pretty well-defined period. At last one indignant and influential Haverhill father brought about a simultaneous raid by both authorities, and the jig was up for the Elm House.

After local talent had exploited land dealing for a generation, occasionally with balloon ascensions and general hullabaloo, larger operators came in from outside and widened, or attempted to widen, the circumference of the circle, until the First World War, when such activities were suspended for several years. It is in general apparent that Haverhill did not thus expand vigorously until horsecars made regular trips to Groveland, to Dustin Square, and to the Bowley School. Electric cars with greater range brought in wider areas. Now the general use of motorcars makes distance from City Hall quite immaterial: indeed, the farther away we get from it, the safer and more respectable we feel.

Sometime, when everybody flies a helicopter, there will doubtless be one unbroken settlement from Rocks Village, a hamlet in the southeast corner of the wide township, to Ayers Village, in the northwest corner. By a system of tunnels and lifts the steep streets from the river valley to the upland will be undermined, so that nobody need climb, or even walk very far. Then a paternal government, applying severely its principle of the four E's (Enforced Equal Ease for Everybody), may raze all the brick buildings in the mercantile area along the river for a peoples' plane-park.

It may likewise turn out that the entire tribe of eccentrics is not perished, and is fated not to die. Thirty years or so ago George Brooks, collector of the photographic gallery of former Haverhill citizens at the Pentucket Club, himself an excellent citizen but no copycat, was deprecating one day the extinction of "town characters" and the unexciting pattern of manners which his contemporaries seemed to accept for themselves. Mose Dow, a noted wag, who was present, finally interposed, "All the odd characters aren't dead, George; here for example are still you and I."

So even today, with all our inventions and nationally advertised standards, with *Life* and *Esquire* to keep us eagerly aware of what others expect us to wear and to drive and to think, there must be some, even in my own favored circle of friends (modernly though we all, of course, intend to bear ourselves, and to conform and conform), who, having travelled our highways and having at least looked in on our incidental low ways, may one day be thought qualified for inclusion in a definitive edition of the History of Haverhill's Queer Folks.

Department of State Yesterday and Today

William Phillips*

Although I had served two years as Private Secretary to the then American Ambassador in London, Honorable Joseph H. Choate, and a little over two years as Second Secretary of Legation in Peking, it was in July, 1907, that I presented myself to the Third Assistant Secretary of State in the hope of gaining admission to the Department in some clerical capacity.

Since my initiation into diplomacy I had realized more and more the importance of training and experience in the Department of State. I felt that the mysterious ways of the Department could be better understood by securing a foothold within and so I set to work while still in Peking to obtain a transfer to Washington.

Only the higher officers, the Secretary and the Assistant Secretaries, the Legal Adviser and the Chief Clerk, were free of Civil Service regulations and naturally I was not in their class. Nor was there any hope that an early Civil Service examination would be held. It was a discouraging outlook, but at last a way out of the predicament was found. A vacancy occurred in the lowest grade of employees, that of the messengers in the halls, who, when not dozing in their chairs, carried papers from one office to another. I seized the opportunity and was soon installed behind a screen in the office of the Third Assistant Secretary with a consular officer recently returned from China. In due course we became a new unit which changed the Department's methods in handling diplomatic and consular correspondence. Until then the Diplomatic and Consular Bureaus, the two most important in the Department, had charge of their own correspondence, the Diplomatic Bureau attending to outgoing and incoming despatches with our Embassies and Legations, the Consular Bureau handling more routine consular matters.

And then suddenly there appeared on the scene, but behind a screen, two young men from the Far East who sought to gather into their hands all matters, diplomatic and consular, pertaining to the Far East.

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* This paper was read at the November, 1955, meeting.

It was of course a presumptuous experiment but we had the backing of the Assistant Secretary and later of the Secretary himself.

One day a young author who was devoting a chapter in his forthcoming book to the organization of the State Department asked me to introduce him to the Chief of the Diplomatic Bureau, as he wished to know how our diplomatic correspondence was handled. I introduced him. In a few minutes he returned to my desk, crestfallen, with the following report of his interview. The Chief was sitting at his desk in the middle of the room, a large cuspidor on his right, which appeared to be in frequent use. Asked about the correspondence, he pointed to four rather elderly men, each occupying a corner of the office, and said, "Do you see these four gentlemen? They divide up the world among themselves. Good morning!"

Perhaps you can imagine without further description the attitude of this Chief and several other Department officials when two young outsiders dared to alter the Department's agelong routine. But the newcomers won the support of the Secretary of State, Elihu Root, and the Assistant Secretary, Robert Bacon, who looked into the future and realized the importance of having men from the foreign field in the Department. My colleague and I lived behind the screen for perhaps a year and then we emerged into a room of our own with a sign over the door indicating the "Division of Far Eastern Affairs." I was named its first Chief.

I mention these facts because they illustrate the new developments that were beginning to manifest themselves in 1908 and 1909. It was not long after the establishment of my Division that the Divisions of European Affairs and Latin-American Affairs came into being, followed by others. Thus the old Diplomatic and Consular Bureaus were relegated to largely routine matters, and the Department began to develop along new political-geographic lines.

In those early years the huge ornate building to the west of the White House, known as the State, War and Navy Building, housed all of these Departments with the State Department relegated to the extreme southern end of the building and maintaining with difficulty the comparatively few rooms allocated to it. Always the more powerful and expanding War and Navy Departments encroached on our preserves and sometimes it required Presidential intervention to prevent us from being pushed out of the building altogether, for the personnel of the State Department was only 167 all told in 1907.

Today the Department's offices fill the new and gigantic State Building at Virginia Avenue and 21st Street. Built originally for the War Department, this edifice was occupied in 1947 by the State Department and then expected to provide amply for its entire personnel. However, it has already overflowed beyond its walls into twenty-one annexes, scattered about in the neighborhood.

In 1910 I was appointed First Secretary of Embassy in London and returned to the Department in January, 1914, as Third Assistant Secretary of State under President Woodrow Wilson. Due to the years of Republican administrations, the ranks of both Diplomatic and Consular Services were then fairly well filled with Republican appointees. There was no foreign service as yet. However, Secretary William J. Bryan's influence was strongly in favor of spoils to the victors, and consternation reigned throughout the Department. Bryan was certainly picturesque though he was not a great or even a good Secretary of State. How could he be with his slight knowledge of world affairs? But he had qualities which endeared him to millions of people who respected his honesty and found in him a certain spiritual leadership. He was the "great commoner" whom Democrats the country over felt would help them if they sought his counsel. He never let them down. His office was often lined with strange-looking men and women seated with their backs to the wall patiently waiting for a word of advice. He would move down the line, dragging a chair with him, and, seating himself in front of each applicant, give him his entire attention. But if I entered with a rush message to be signed he would immediately leave the person to whom he had been talking, return to his own desk, and sign the document. There was never a thought, I am sure, of annoyance at the interruption, even though I was known to be a Republican.

His desire to please, which was partly the result of his political training and partly of his generous instincts, often led him astray. I soon discovered that he was apt to dictate a cable instruction in response to some urgent request without sending it through the proper channel for notation or coordination, so that the Department was often entirely unaware of his action. It was essential, therefore, to find a remedy without hurting his feelings. So I devised a system by which all messages originating in his office and destined for our representatives abroad should be brought to me before despatch. Not infrequently it was necessary to make some correction, which I would take to the Secretary for his approval, but he never showed displeasure in having his drafts altered.

If I am not mistaken, the only real satisfaction that Bryan obtained from his term of office was in signing his Peace Treaties, or "Cooling off Treaties," as they were called. This was an innovation, in a sense, because they were intended to apply to all nations and thereby, according to Bryan, permanently guarantee the future peace of the world. During his tenure, treaties of this character were negotiated with thirty countries of which twenty-two were ratified and entered into. At present nineteen remain in force. Although they differed from one another in certain respects the general pattern was the same. Article I agreed that all disputes of whatever nature between the High Contracting Parties which had failed of adjustment by other means should be referred to a Permanent International Commission. Article II created the International Commission of five members. Article III authorized the Commission to offer its services if it so desired.

It was Bryan's custom, after the ceremony of signing a treaty, to give a small luncheon to the representative of the country concerned. In the middle of the table always stood a white porcelain bowl with doves sitting on its rim, a replica of a Roman bowl found in the ruins of Pompeii and, according to Bryan, an emblem of peace. On one occasion he presented us with miniature ploughshares melted down from sword blades obtained from the War Department which bore the following inscriptions:

> They shall beat their swords into ploughshares, Isaiah 2:4.
> Nothing is final between friends.
> Diplomacy is the art of keeping cool.

This was a somewhat childish gesture, and the quotations raised smiles among the luncheon guests, but Bryan's sincerity and his profound belief in the sacredness of the written word, and therefore in the permanence of the treaties, was touching and indeed inspiring. I admired his high moral concepts and his confidence in the effectiveness of these documents although I was never convinced of their importance in assuring the peace of the world. But it was pleasant to see his satisfaction in signing them.

Under Woodrow Wilson and with his support a foreign service came into being; with the passage of the legislation the Diplomatic Service was at last statutorily on a Civil Service basis. But many years and much legislation had to pass before a true Foreign Service as we know it today was firmly established. An encouraging step came in 1924 when the Diplomatic and Consular Services were amalgamated into a single organization under the Rogers Act. But its members were miserably paid and there was little inducement for young men to elect a Foreign Service career. Gradually this has been corrected until today salaries are greatly improved and in many posts living quarters are provided for Ambassadors, Consular Officers, and Secretaries. Furthermore, there are now certain entertainment and other allowances. Despite these improvements, allowances for official entertainments are quite inadequate, especially in the important capitals, and officers must pay for them out of their own pockets.

After the First World War and the decision against United States participation in the League of Nations, there followed a decade of widespread sentiment in favor of "going it alone" in the world and against becoming involved in international commitments which might compromise our freedom of action. During this period few important changes occurred in the Department, although there was a growing appreciation in Congress that all was not well with our Foreign Service. The first war had created new responsibilities in the world which affected the future of the United States, but public apathy and even hostility to world involvement stifled the top officers, then Republicans, in the Department in trying to deal with them.

By 1930 the State Department had succeeded in ousting the War and Navy Departments from the combined office building and then occupied the entire building for its own affairs. The total personnel, including that of the Foreign Service, had increased to 4,726 with an aggregate budget of $15,415,214. As a result of the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Program and the creation of the Export and Import Bank, expansion was in the air, although there was no startling increase in personnel until the decade beginning in 1940.

At the same time there was such a growing awareness of the importance of foreign trade that in 1940 an Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, charged with the coordination of commercial and economic questions of major policy, was authorized. During the following years such important subjects were undertaken as (1) an

Economic Assistance Policy to improve economic conditions in underdeveloped areas, (2) International Trade Policies, including the promotion of prosperity through commercial interchange, (3) a Financial Development Policy, relating to the encouragement of United States investment abroad, and (4) International Transportation and Communications, relating to ocean shipping, radio and cable, and discriminations in these fields.

By 1950 the number of persons employed at home and abroad had advanced to 26,449 and the cost of their services plus the large contributions of the United States to international organizations had risen to $331,150,417.

However, the purpose of my paper is not merely to show what the Department was in years gone by, but also what it is today. Under President Eisenhower, it is realized that the vital interests of the United States are affected by developments in all parts of the globe; that it is no longer possible to deal with explosive situations in their final stages; and that if we ever hope to find solutions, we must, in cooperation with other free nations, strike at their basic causes. At the end of the Second World War the international position of the United States had fundamentally changed, and required a more active relationship, both political and economic, with the entire world. The United States had suddenly emerged as a leading world power with new responsibilities which we could not avoid and for which we were not really prepared. Experts with a detailed knowledge of foreign countries were needed and public attention was drawn to the requirements of the Department and its right arm, the Foreign Service.

Even before the end of the war, the word "isolationism" had largely disappeared, giving way to global cooperation with friendly countries, which required commensurate organization in the Department. The United Nations Charter was signed in San Francisco on June 26, 1945, and the Senate ratified our membership by the overwhelming vote of 89 to 2. The United States representative, Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., and his staff, located at the headquarters of the United Nations in New York, constitute the United States Mission to the United Nations. Its participation is active and continues to increase in importance and respect.

A new office, now called the Bureau of International Organization Affairs, under an Assistant Secretary of State, was created for the coordination and direction of United States participation in the United Nations. It is also the focal point for gathering information from all member countries regarding their respective attitudes towards problems before the United Nations and is naturally in close contact with our Mission in New York. Other duties, as the title indicates, include those relating to the specialized agencies of the United Nations and to this country's participation in international conferences of concern to us.

In February, 1949, an office of Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations was established. It has been responsible for presenting to Congress such varied measures as the continuance of the Marshall Plan Aid and its eventual determination, the Korean Aid Act, the Point Four Program providing for technical assistance to underdeveloped areas, and various treaties such as those with the Philippines, Japan, and Korea. Since this office was established it has presented to Congress 98 drafts of legislation in which the Department was interested, plus about 105 treaties or Executive Agreements. It also coordinates Congressional inquiries received in the Department and expedites replies, processing 6,126 queries in 1954.

Because of the eagerness of the public to be kept abreast of world affairs, the Department's domestic information activities are on a vast scale. The work of the news staff increased substantially after the Second World War, partly because the Secretary of State was so occupied in and out of Washington that he could manage to meet the press only once a week. As a result, correspondents now depend upon the press section rather than upon the Secretary in order to keep in touch with the daily developments in our foreign policies. At present the press unit conducts a daily news briefing section and an average of two background conferences each week in major policy developments. Radio and television have now been added and the Department's publication program has been speeded up at the request of Congressional leaders.

Having sketched some of the recent major developments in the Department, I should also touch briefly on the present organization within the Department itself.

Besides the Secretary of State and the Under Secretary, there are now three Deputy Under Secretaries and nine Assistant Secretaries, each with their respective Deputies. There are also the Offices of the

Legal Adviser, the Counselor, the Special Assistant on Mutual Security Affairs, and the Special Assistant on Atomic Energy Affairs. These officers, with their deputies, constitute the higher ranks of the Department. Four of the nine Assistant Secretaries are each responsible for a group of geographic offices; for instance, the Assistant Secretary in Charge of European Affairs has the direction of the office of British Commonwealth and Northern European Affairs, the office of Western European Affairs, and the office of European Regional Affairs. The Assistant Secretary in charge of Near Eastern Affairs and African Affairs is responsible for the offices of Greek, Turkish, and Iranian Affairs, as well as the offices of South Asian Affairs, Near Eastern Affairs, and also of African Affairs. Quite a package of responsibilities!

Other important offices are grouped under the Comptroller, who has the direction of the Department's Budget, the Financial Management, the Operating Management, the Foreign Buildings and Personnel, each with its separate office and staff. The Department's total personnel, including that overseas, is today about 20,250, a considerable reduction from the 26,449 figure for 1950.

A chart of the Department's organization would show all of its multiple offices, divisions, and committees descending directly from the Secretary himself. Just as the President spreads his authority through his cabinet officers, so the Secretary of State entrusts many of his responsibilities to his Under Secretary and principal assistants. As the confused visitor endeavors to find his way through the interminable halls of the vast building, with signs over the never-ending doors indicating the activities within, he is likely to feel that he has been caught in a labyrinth of confusion. But in reality there is orderly supervision over every Departmental function. The recommended action, even when originating from an inconspicuous desk, may lead up for decision through prescribed channels to the Secretary himself. Probably the Department has never been so efficiently organized as it is at present.

It is important to remember that the Department of State now participates in a great many governmental committees which are not included in its better-known activities. Of these 131 committees I need mention only a few examples: the National Security Council; the Operations Coordinating Board; the Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements; the joint United States-Canadian Civil Defense Committee; and the working group on Immigration. Since all of these various subjects require expert knowledge, the Department's voice at committee meetings is often of decisive influence.

Of these 131 intergovernmental committees probably the most important, in the President's opinion, is the National Security Council, composed of the President, the Vice-President, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization, their deputies when appointed by the President, and the appropriate secretariat. Its duties are to assess and appraise the objectives, commitments, and risks of the United States in relation to our actual and potential military power and to consider matters of common interest to the departments and agencies of the Government concerned with national security. Its function is to advise the President with respect to integrating domestic, foreign, and military policies—problems in which the Secretary of State plays an important role.

Another interdepartmental committee, under the direction of the Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs, deals with trade agreements. It consists of persons designated by the Secretaries of State, Treasury, Defense, Agriculture, Commerce, Labor, and the Administration of Economic Cooperation, with the chairman always a member of the State Department. Its duties are carefully defined. Before negotiating any trade agreement, the committee must have the President's approval to the list of articles imported from a particular foreign country and being considered for possible modification of duties or import restrictions in return for future advantages. However, the Tariff Commission has the last word if it finds it necessary to prevent injury to our domestic trade. This so-called "escape clause" has weakened the President's negotiating powers, but Congress insists upon it.

The former Economic Cooperation Administration (E.C.A.) and the Foreign Operations Administration (F.O.A.), headed in turn by W. Averill Harriman and Harold E. Stassen, who reported to the President, have now become the International Cooperation Administration whose Chief, John B. Hollister, a former law partner of Senator Robert A. Taft, reports directly to the Secretary of State. Its principal duties relate to foreign aid, naturally enough.

In spite of these additional functions, today's requirements in the State Department are for the most part an expansion in volume and complexity of its traditional functions. For example, increased interdependence of world economy, increased American business interests, and disposal of farm surpluses require greatly enlarged governmental assistance in marketing, investment, and in exchange of all manner of technical information. No longer are our representatives limited to dealing exclusively through foreign offices, as was the custom in the past. Now our officers abroad often have to deal directly with other foreign ministries and treasuries, and in so doing must have technical knowledge of their subjects. Thus it becomes evident that requirements in connection with new technical developments in radar, atomic energy, and petroleum, have forced the Department to make use of technicians in addition to those officers trained especially for the Foreign Service.

With the multitude of our government's contacts throughout the world, it became necessary to enlarge our Foreign Service substantially. We are now represented abroad through sixty-eight Embassies, eight Legations, and approximately two hundred Consular Offices. The so-called Wriston Report, prepared by a committee headed by Dr. Henry M. Wriston, former president of Brown University, is already partially in effect. It provides that officers in the Department and already in Civil Service, if willing and fit, are to be drawn into the Foreign Service Officers Corps by a process called "Lateral Entry." In other words, qualified experts and technicians in the Department may become Foreign Service Officers. If an individual, to fill any position, must still meet the primary condition of having the ability to execute its duties, it remains to be seen whether the new program will meet this norm. Ideally, there could be a quick expansion of the Foreign Service by transferring to our establishments abroad qualified officers from the Departmental Staff without the prescribed examination. There has been some criticism of the Wriston program, especially from Foreign Service Officers in the lower grades: they entered through examination; now they find the upper levels of the Service partially filled by men who have not gone through the course of training required of those entering through examination. While I see the immediate need of expansion in the upper levels, I see also the need of a sympathetic handling of the transfer problems from home service to service abroad and vice versa. Otherwise much harm may be done to the morale of the Service as a whole.

Beginning in 1952 the country was swept by waves of hysteria which accused the State Department, in particular, of being a center for disloyal persons. Alger Hiss and one or two State employees were judged guilty and sentenced by the courts. Many employees were dismissed, some of them I regret to say for good reasons. A veritable purge of the Department set in, largely, I fear, as a method of appeasing Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. Thereupon a system of loyalty clearance and prior investigation was established in the Department by Executive Order, a system altered from time to time by new directives. Undoubtedly the problems involved were complex and extremely difficult, but as the program was carried out and tightened it did much harm to the Department's prestige. There was widespread suspicion of the Department's integrity, and thousands of loyal and devoted employees suffered as a result of suspicions prevalent throughout the Department. The morale of the entire Service was seriously affected.

One of the basic causes of the security problem was not of the Department's making. It resulted from the sudden transfer at the end of the war of the personnel of three formerly independent government agencies. More than 10,000 persons from the Offices of War Information, Strategic Services, and Inter-American Affairs, without further examination, were literally dumped into the State Department because there appeared to be no other place for them in the governmental machine, which was thenceforth to be dedicated to peace. The transfer was effected by Executive order while Secretary of State James F. Byrnes was in London attending the first meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers.

I repeat—a great deal of the hue and cry against the State Department was the result of the admission to it, without proper clearance and investigation, of these thousands of new employees, many of whose functions were neither essential nor appropriate to the basic functions of the Department. Happily these three agencies have since been removed from the Department.

The national hysteria has passed, although the system of clearance and investigation for new appointees continues. Fortunately it is being carried out quietly and without undue pressure; the fears which it aroused at first are disappearing, although the Department still suffers from the past public censure. The principal complaint now is that an investigation often takes two months or more before an appointment is made, a delay inconvenient alike to Department and expectant employee. Efforts are being made to hasten this procedure. I earnestly hope that this sad exhibition of hysteria will never be allowed to occur again.

I have attempted to draw an outline of the Department's extensive development over the past fifty years. Necessarily it is only an abstract picture of some of the changes which the new role of the United States in world affairs has brought about, a role in which from time to time I have had the privilege of participating. As our country has moved into its new position of leadership and cooperation with the free world in the cause of peace our government's new position becomes better understood and appreciated. As a former Secretary of State has said, "The eyes and ears of our policy makers are the men and women of our career Foreign Service. They are on unceasing duty—watching, analyzing, reporting, interpreting. In peacetime, they are our first line of defense. . . . The time has come to stop shooting our sentries."

Martin Lomasney in the Constitutional Convention of 1917-1919

Henry L. Shattuck*

Martin Lomasney was born in the West End district of Boston on December 3, 1859.

When the Constitutional Convention opened on June 6, 1917, he was fifty-seven years old, and the undisputed leader of the Fifth Ward (previously Ward 8 and now Ward 3). Originally confined to the West End district, this ward was later enlarged to include the North End and a portion of the South End.

Except for a few years at the Mayhew School, Lomasney had had no formal education. At an early age he became active in local politics, and obtained the job of lamplighter. He also began dabbling in real estate, an activity which he carried on all his life with considerable profit. Before many years had passed the city began to convert the manually operated lights to automatic. The lamplighters were up in arms, and held a protest meeting. They got no sympathy from Lomasney. He spoke up, and said, "We cannot stop progress. I am resigning." He thereupon took the job of health inspector. During this time he became the political boss of his ward, first as the leader of a group of young men who called themselves "The Independents," and from 1885 onward as head of the Hendricks Club, named after Thomas A. Hendricks, who was Vice-President in the first Cleveland administration and who had made some flowery references to the Irish people. The clubrooms on Green Street near the North Station were Lomasney's headquarters. From a simply furnished office in these headquarters, with an old-fashioned roll-top desk and a safe for his confidential files, he carried on his political activities and real-estate operations.

Lomasney's first elective office was as an alderman from 1893 to 1895. Thereafter, with a few interruptions, he held office as alderman, state senator, or member of the state house of representatives until 1928. A confirmed bachelor, he died in 1933.

At the time the Constitutional Convention opened, Lomasney had served five years as alderman, two years as state senator, and thirteen years as a member of the house of representatives. He had heard all the debates and given thought to all the questions of the day in the field of municipal and state government. He had a keen mind and a retentive memory. He was independent in thought and action, and steadfast and dependable. Notwithstanding his meager formal education, he was well equipped for the job.

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* This paper was read at the March, 1956, meeting.

The convention was composed of 320 delegates chosen in a non-partisan election, 16 at large, 64 from congressional districts, and 240 from house of representatives districts. Lomasney was one of the delegates from the Fifth Suffolk Representative District. For the first time, he became closely associated with a group of men of national and statewide reputation, such as former Governors Walsh and Brackett, former Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court James M. Morton, Henry T. Lummus, later to be a justice of that court, ex-Mayors Josiah Quincy and Edwin U. Curtis, ex-Attorneys-General Albert E. Pillsbury and Herbert Parker, Congressman Charles G. Washburn, and Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, and with leading business and professional men such as Charles Francis Adams, Charles F. Choate, Jr., Sherman L. Whipple, Henry Parkman, Sr., Augustus P. Loring, Jr., and others. Undaunted, he entered into debate with them, and more than held his own.

Lomasney was appointed to the Committee on the Bill of Rights, of which Edwin U. Curtis was chairman. Among the other members were Robert Walcott of Cambridge and Frederick L. Anderson, a professor at the Newton Theological Institution. Lomasney and Curtis made a fine team. They liked and respected each other and worked effectively together. Walcott has told me that sometimes when Curtis started to speak Lomasney would nudge him and say "Listen to that man. He knows what he is talking about."

The most important resolutions before the committee were those proposing non-sectarian and anti-aid amendments to the Constitution. Among others were proposals to remove the privilege of the accused to stand mute, or at least to permit the court and counsel to comment on his failure to take the stand; and to prohibit discrimination on account of sex in business and professions.

The convention held its first meeting on June 6, 1917, and after the preliminaries of adopting rules and appointing committees had taken place Lomasney, on June 19, 1917, offered a resolution to prohibit the support from public funds of institutions not under public control and management (Docket Number 2). This was a proposal with which he was thoroughly familiar, as it had been the subject of much agitation during his terms in the legislature and it had always received his support. Other resolutions on the same subject were offered, including one filed by Frederick L. Anderson of Newton to prohibit the support of sectarian institutions from public funds (Docket Number 66). This was strongly endorsed by a number of Protestant church groups, and was frankly aimed at the parochial schools. These resolutions were the first to come before the convention for debate. There were many cross-currents. A majority of the convention was clearly in favor of some amendment, but many desired exceptions. There were a number of academies under private management which were located in small towns having no high schools and to which these towns customarily sent pupils and made appropriations. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the Worcester Polytechnic Institute were currently in receipt of annual grants for terms of years not then expired. There were also textile schools to which the state was giving support, and some small town libraries under private control. There was also the Soldiers Home, and there were hospitals and schools for the blind and deaf which had been receiving appropriations from public funds. Many, while opposed to aid for denominational institutions, wanted to preserve the perquisites of at least the current recipients of aid. Curiously enough, though much of the pressure behind the proposals was aimed at preventing Catholic institutions from getting public funds, the Catholic institutions up to date had received only $49,000 in public funds, as compared with $18,762,897.74 received by non-Catholic charitable and educational institutions between 1860 and 1917. The Catholic reaction of "Why pick on us?" was not unnatural. And yet the Catholics were aware of the controversies which had arisen and would arise over the granting of aid to private institutions, and most of them stood with Lomasney for an amendment which would be inclusive.

The debate began on July 20, and covers 180 pages of the report of the *Debates in the . . . Constitutional Convention*. After an attempt by Professor Anderson to obtain immediate consideration of an amendment, Mr. Curtis in an able address presented the case for the measure sponsored by the committee. He pointed out that the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which resulted from the deliberations of the Constitutional Convention of 1853, prohibited appropriations for common schools not publicly controlled, but was silent on the subject of institutions of higher learning and of other privately controlled institutions. The amendment proposed by the Committee on the Bill of Rights and based on the Lomasney resolution was designed to fill this gap. The only exceptions were the Soldiers Home (which was subsequently taken over by the state), free public libraries, and payment for the care of persons in whole or in part unable to support or care for themselves in hospitals and institutions for the deaf, dumb, or blind. A few clarifying words suggested by Mr. Anderson were accepted by the committee, so that Mr. Curtis was able to report that the resolution had the unanimous support of the committee.

Then Mr. Charles G. Washburn of Worcester started the fireworks, with the presentation of an amendment to permit appropriations for scholarships in technical and engineering schools in which state scholarships were then granted. The purpose of this was to permit perpetuation of the grants which the Worcester Polytechnic Institute and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology had been receiving.

In opening his remarks Mr. Washburn said:

> When the gentleman in the first division (Mr. Edwin U. Curtis) and the two distinguished gentlemen in the third division (Mr. Anderson of Newton and Mr. Lomasney) are able to agree upon any proposition as important as this, it would seem to be *prima facie* evidence that no change for good could be made in the measure.[1]

After Mr. Curtis had spoken in opposition to the amendment Mr. Lomasney rose and made one of his fighting speeches, his collar unbuttoned to free his throat, and his big jaw protruding and his teeth showing, with the look of a fierce bulldog, each word shouted with the force of a hammer blow. This picture is not drawn from my imagination, for I saw the man in action many a time during the years 1921–1922 and 1927–1928, when we served together in the legislature. In opening his remarks Mr. Lomasney said:

> I voted for this proposition when it was before the Legislature and I fought for it, and I want to take it out of the Legislature. You see the ability of the gen-

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[1] *Debates in the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention, 1917–1919*, 4 vols. (Boston, 1918–20), I, 81.

tleman, and you will realize, when men of his capacity approach Legislatures to do the things they wish to do and the wires they work with, how hard it is to resist them. Now, sir, what is this proposition? It is to make an exception in favor of this institution, which already has taken $575,000 out of the taxpayers of this State. . . . Now, sir, as the gentleman from Boston (Mr. Edwin U. Curtis) said, if the gentleman from Worcester (Mr. Washburn) would coöperate with the fair-minded citizens of this State, he would rise to-day, and, speaking for the Worcester Institute, would say, as George F. Hoar, one of the founders, would have said: "Let us abandon the present custom in the interest of the State at large." . . . Let the Convention now say to the skilful appeal of the gentleman from Worcester: "Well done, good hearted, intelligent, capable son of Worcester. We recognize your integrity and we glory in your good work. But Massachusetts feels that you have had your day at the public treasury, getting money for a private institution, when the whole State now wants to stop it in the interest of all the people." [Applause.][2]

Lomasney followed the debate like a cat, and frequently jumped into the fray. Chairman Curtis acted the part of the oiler of the machinery. Lomasney was the floor leader, and was constantly on the watch for hostile amendments. Unsuccessful attempts were made to permit cities and towns to spend money for the education of their school children in private schools not under ecclesiastical or sectarian control, and for aid to art museums connected with libraries. The friends of the Worcester Polytechnic and of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology were afraid that grants to these institutions already authorized and having several years to run would be cut off. They said that these grants were legal obligations, but to make doubly sure they offered amendments to expressly exclude them from the prohibition of the amendment. All agreed that if they were legal obligations they would and should be honored, and an amendment offered by Justice Morton was adopted to permit the carrying out of "legal obligations," if any, already entered into. But this did not satisfy the friends of the institutions, and they tried, unsuccessfully, to strike out the word "legal," with the hope that obligations of a moral and not of a legal nature might be honored. Lomasney, again making his appeal on broad principles, said:

If the Convention will pardon me, it is not only the city of Springfield that is affected. We have in Boston an art museum, and they have been trying for years to get an appropriation through the Legislature. They were defeated on several occasions. . . . Now, there is no question but there are some odds and ends like

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[2] *Ibid.*, I, 85–86.

> these that are on the outside that are going to be affected somewhat, but coöperation will bring about the desired result. There is always a way if there is a will to overcome these slight differences; but if you let the bars down everything else will come in. You at once bring up a question about the Boston Art Museum and the other museums and a thousand other things which you do not realize.[3]

Lomasney called attention to the coöperation received from other charitable institutions which had been the recipients of grants, and said:

> Now, Mr. President, what was the attitude of another distinguished son of Massachusetts, the gentleman from the Back Bay, Mr. Parkman? Speaking for an institution that is ministering to the suffering, to the blind that they may see, to the deaf that they may hear, what was his attitude? They were giving up $50,000 a year, and, Mr. President, they were helping the masses, the children of the masses, restoring the sight to eyes which had been darkened. He said: "We recognize the principle in this matter. We recognize the principle in this resolution. We want Massachusetts to be one united State . . . We will ask no more State aid."[4]

Lomasney opposed the proposal of Albert E. Pillsbury to strike out the word "legal" before the word "obligations" in Justice Morton's amendment, and after commending Justice Morton for his amendment said:

> Now, what happened? A suggestion was made by the learned gentleman from Wellesley (Mr. Pillsbury), who is the most skilful lawyer in this Convention in putting in words that mean something different. [Laughter and applause.] There is no question about that, Mr. President. It is to his credit. It is his brain. God Almighty has given him that faculty, and he sprang his amendment. . . . I know the gentleman from Wellesley so well. I realize he is an old fox. [Laughter and applause.] . . . The gentleman from Wellesley . . . rose with an amendment and threw in the word "moral." I would like to see you, gentlemen, trying to get him, when representing interests as he does, to talk about putting through statutes which recognized moral obligations. [Laughter.] Ah, gentlemen, some men who, like him, are talking about moral obligations![5]

Sanford Bates of Boston raised the point of order that the question of motives of another member was improper, and the chair ruled that the point was well taken, and requested the member to refrain from personalities. To this Lomasney replied:

> I have no desire to impugn the gentleman's motives. I was giving him standing as a lawyer of ability. [Great laughter and applause.] Mr. President, he has

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[3] *Ibid.*, I, 118.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, 130.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, 141–142.

> grown gray in the service. I do not see his familiar form around here any more, and I want to tell his old clients that he has still got a good punch.[6]

Lomasney went on to discuss further moral obligations, and said:

> I hope, sir, that the word "legal" will not be stricken out, because if you start on moral obligations I am prepared to talk about moral obligations, Mr. President, not to a few students in institutions of higher learning, but to great masses of people of my race and religion, who, for principle, have stood up and paid for what they believed was right. If moral obligations are to be considered take the parochial schools of this State. . . . I believe the State would have some moral obligations toward these schools that ought to be considered here before these two institutions that were founded and paid for out of the money of the common people of Massachusetts whose sons and daughters were given very few chances to obtain any benefits therefrom.[7]

The closing speech was made by Chairman Curtis, and was followed by brief remarks by Mr. Lomasney, to whom the chairman had given part of his time. All amendments to which the committee objected were rejected, and the resolution, with a few perfecting amendments offered by or accepted by the committee, was passed by a roll-call vote of 275 to 25.[8]

But the convention was not through with the question. Some resolutions had been referred to the Committee on Education, and that committee reported them in a new draft (Docket Number 309). This was a proposed revision of Chapter V of Part II of the Constitution, entitled "The Universities and Colleges, and the Encouragement of Literature." Among the changes proposed were clauses dealing with the anti-aid question, but in somewhat different language. If these proposals were adopted and went on the ballot with the measure sponsored by the Curtis committee, the voters would be confused, and both measures would probably be defeated. If, however, both were ratified by the voters, endless confusion would result. When this resolution came up in the Committee of the Whole on September 28, 1917, Chairman Curtis moved to advance it for consideration on the following Tuesday—

> in order that the Convention itself may be placed right and the public may not think we are playing with them.

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[6] *Ibid.*, I, 142.

[7] *Ibid.*, I, 143.

[8] At the election of November 6, 1917, the amendment was ratified and adopted by a vote of 206,329 to 130,357.

Mr. Lomasney backed up Mr. Curtis, saying:

> I trust the motion of the gentleman will be sustained, for this reason. It is all right to have all conflicting matters disposed of at one time. Of course it would be a very unfortunate situation if we should pass the Bill of Rights amendment, and this Convention should put it on the ballot, to have it said to the people of the State that we had something buried away in a favorable report that nullified the whole matter.[9]

The motion prevailed, and a prolonged, acrimonious, confusing, and at times irrelevant debate followed. Mr. Lomasney frequently stepped in to point out the fallacy of the arguments presented in support of this conflicting resolution. Toward the close of the debate he put the question in a nutshell, saying:

> Why pass two amendments and put them on the ballot, one doing a thing one way and one doing a thing another way? In other words, going before the people of the State and saying: "If you want to keep money for public schools, vote for this amendment; if you want to give the charitable institutions and the hospitals money, vote for the other amendment." You will have two propositions on the ballot, conflicting, and people may vote for one and vote against the other.[10]

The debate came to an end on October 11, and the resolution was defeated. A complete victory was won by the Curtis-Lomasney team.

Another proposal before the Committee on the Bill of Rights was to provide that the failure of an accused person to testify might be considered by the court and jury and made the subject of comment by counsel. The committee reported that the resolution ought not to be adopted, Mr. Walcott of Cambridge dissenting. Mr. Lomasney was in charge of the majority report, and made a masterly plea against the proposed amendment, saying in part:

> This is Massachusetts, and we are making laws for Massachusetts, and any one who tries to change the Constitution of Massachusetts should give sound, sensible reasons. . . . The fathers of the Commonwealth made the Constitution at a time when liberty meant something, and liberty for all was secured when they made liberty for the individual sacred. . . . I submit, Mr. Chairman, before you strike at this fundamental right you should have overwhelming evidence that public necessity requires it. The views of a few judges should not be considered. . . . You, I, every one of us, do not know the day that circumstances may be such that we may have to answer to a criminal charge, and we would want the fairest

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[9] *Debates*, I, 235–236.

[10] *Ibid.*, I, 356.

> trial that any human being can have, and what we would want for ourselves we want to guarantee and give to others.[11]

At the close of the brief debate, the Reverend Roland Sawyer of Ware spoke up and said:

> The final word has been said by the gentleman in charge of the report of this resolution. I want to say, Mr. Chairman, that if the various groups of people in this State shall find a spokesman to champion their cause and their right with the same ability, with the same logic and the same understanding of their problems, as that with which the gentleman in charge of the majority report on this resolution has set before you . . . then we need not fear that our debates here are going to compare unfavorably with the debates in 1820 and 1853.[12]

Without division or further debate the resolution was rejected.

Lomasney always took a particular interest in the courts and in matters of legal procedure. In the debates on a proposal that a jury verdict might be brought in by less than the whole number of jurors, he made an eloquent plea in support of the adverse report of the Committee on the Judiciary. He said:

> Now, sir, they said something about the laws of the Normans and Anglo-Saxons. What have all those things got to do with the question here to-day? We are in Massachusetts and we are trying this case to apply to Massachusetts citizens of to-day, not the people of those days. . . . But the Constitution was drafted by men who could look forward for more than a hundred years, and they made it so strong that it seems to me, after listening to the pleas of lawyers on one side and the other, that those of us in this Convention who are laymen should pause and say: When they cannot agree,—these men who are sworn officers of the Commonwealth, who have received the benefits of education, who are supposed to be learned in the law,—when they come in here and cannot agree, why should we change this law which stands for the protection of liberty and for the protection of property? [Applause.][13]

The resolution was rejected.

One of the most debated proposals before the convention related to the necessaries of life. The question was very much alive at that time, by reason of the shortages and the rising prices during and following World War I. No fewer than thirteen delegates had presented resolutions. These were referred to the Committee on Public Affairs, which reported a resolution permitting the legislature to authorize the commonwealth and its municipalities to go into trade and manufacture in a broad way, including specifically a large number of activities, as, for example, the harvesting and manufacture of ice. Many delegates tried their hands at revision, including such eminent lawyers as Albert E. Pillsbury, Robert P. Clapp, and John W. Cummings, and such eminent political figures as ex-Governor Brackett and ex-Mayor Quincy. After the debate had been going on for some time, Lomasney arose and offered a substitute resolution in simple language, cutting out the enumeration of questionable activities and confining the power to periods of war, emergency, or distress. Speaking for his amendment, he said in part:

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[11] *Ibid.*, I, 377–378. [12] *Ibid.*, I, 379–380. [13] *Ibid.*, I, 421–422.

> This is a very important question, and it seems to me that before we go too far in these extraordinary times we should pause. . . . The Convention, it seems to me, has got away from the fact that we are a Constitutional Convention. We are declaring principles of government, we are not declaring for details of government. It seems to me that is wrong. If we keep on in this way, instead of having a short, concise Constitution, we shall have one as large as our Blue Book. We are going too much into details. . . . Why commit the State to paternalism and to socialism at the start? Why not try my proposition? Why not try it and see what it will do? . . . if we mention in this Constitution all these things, the very thing that might save us might be prohibited because we have not specifically mentioned it.[14]

Later in the debate Lomasney paid his respects to George W. Anderson, then United States district attorney, and subsequently a judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, who was the spokesman for the committee. Anderson, referring to Lomasney, had said:

> . . . although I have no hesitation in paying great tribute to the inspired utterances and the sudden exhibition of statesmanship of the gentleman of the third division, who knows a great deal more in five minutes than all of us lawyers who have worked over this thing two months,—whether four lines of inspired statesmanship are as safe as the results worked out by the arduous efforts of lawyers after two months' debates with the help of the books.[15]

Lomasney replied:

> The gentleman from Brookline in charge of the measure (Mr. Anderson) when he made his statement to the Convention spoke about my egotism. The gentlemen of this body who have served with us know who is the turkey-cock that goes swinging through the chamber. I do not think there is any of that in me. I have no swelled head. Any allusion to "inspired statesmanship" was entirely unnecessary. . . . I want the gentleman to understand that I do not consider him or

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[14] *Ibid.*, I, 780–781.

[15] *Ibid.*, I, 799.

> any one else when I believe I am doing what is right. This amendment was not drawn by me alone; I talked with several men around this building,—the gentlemen who have been a part of the Legislature for years drawing up these amendments.[16]

The debate dragged on for some time. When votes were taken on the amendments, the Lomasney substitute, after some touching up but without change in substance, was adopted by a vote of 142 to 85, and the committee's proposal and the other amendments were defeated. It was subsequently ratified by the people by a vote of 261,119 to 51,826. Almost single-handed, and against the opposition of a strong committee, Lomasney won a victory for common sense and sound constitutional theory.

Lomasney was active in debate on a number of other proposals. As an owner of real estate, he was against what he considered the overburdening of real estate with taxation. He was not sympathetic with bankers and stockholders. My impression is that his few ventures in the stock market were not altogether satisfactory. He had observed the tax-dodging which went on when intangibles were subject to the same direct property tax as real estate, and he attacked as a tax-dodging device the substitution of an income tax for the direct property tax on intangibles. At the same time he showed his fundamental conservatism by opposing the elimination of the requirement that taxes be proportional, and by opposing a broad constitutional amendment to provide homes for citizens. He also advocated unsuccessfully a limit on pensions which might be paid to public employees. During the course of the debate on the pension question he said:

> But what is the use of saying it is justice, what is the use of saying it is not creating a class in this Commonwealth, when you compel the operatives of the mills in Lowell, Lawrence, Fall River and New Bedford to work and contribute taxes to support a class of people through the State with money, for doing no work? What are we trying to do, honestly and fairly? We are trying to make a start and stop this thing now. We want to pass this resolution which will put a restriction upon the power of the Legislature. . . .
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> Now, Mr. President, pensions are getting to be a crying evil. It stifles ambition. It does not bring out the best in a man. Take a crowded community, where one boy has to go out of a tenement-house at half-past six o'clock in the morning and work until five, and he gets the salary that he agreed to work for, say $10, $12 or $20 a week, whereas, when the son of a pensioner wakes up in the morning at ten o'clock, and with a cigar in his mouth and his shoes shined he

[16] *Ibid.*, I, 807.

> laughs at the son of the laborer. Is not this the result of class legislation? Of course it is, and it is for the benefit of the few against the many. Read our Constitution and see how it has been evaded. How do they get around it? They say the pensioner has rendered service to the State. I submit this system is wrong and it should be changed.[17]

I think it probable that Lomasney did not think much of the initiative and referendum proposals. He took almost no part in the long debate on those subjects.

I came to know Lomasney well during the four years we served together on the House Committee on Ways and Means. He was loyal to the committee, and if he could not go along with our proposals he told us so. I learned to respect his advice, and if we came to a parting of the ways on any question I prepared my case with special pains. Though beginning to feel his age, Lomasney was still an opponent to be reckoned with.

In his day, Lomasney was principally known as a ward boss. He was often referred to as the Mahatma, a very fitting description, as he controlled his ward with an adeptness of the highest order. He probably took advantage of prior knowledge of public improvements in some of his real-estate purchases, and sometimes perhaps promoted improvements at locations where he held real estate. On election day he depended a good deal on persons often referred to as "mattress voters," who had moved out of the ward but retained voting residence in the ward. I believe, however, that he never took money for his vote or influence, and he despised those who did. He neither drank nor smoked, and avoided convivial and social occasions. He was grim and austere in demeanor, seldom wrote letters, made no prepared speeches, and avoided telephone conversations. He had no pals, and trusted very few. I never saw him joke or laugh. His humor was ironic, and was confined to debate.

It is a pity that most of Lomasney's record is oral, and that most of those with whom he was associated are now dead and what they could have told has been lost. But in the Constitutional Convention we do have a record. All the debates were taken down, and published in the proceedings. Lomasney was then at the height of his powers, and I believe I am making no overstatement in saying that he rose to true statesmanship. I am glad of this opportunity to salute the memory of Martin Lomasney.

[17] *Ibid.*, III, 491–492.

The Universities in Latin America

Clarence Henry Haring*

This afternoon I propose to talk about the universities of Latin America, and what I shall have to say touches upon two rather distinct though related facets of the subject—the historical past out of which the universities have emerged, especially during the long three centuries of colonial rule, and the universities today, their role in the national life, their merits and shortcomings, and the opportunities for change and reform.

Nearly twenty years ago Harvard University, the oldest institution of higher learning in the United States, celebrated the three hundredth anniversary of its beginnings as a college. It is not, however, the oldest university in America. In the Spanish American empire there were several conferring degrees many years before Englishmen settled in Jamestown and Plymouth.

The university tradition in Spanish America is indeed a long and notable one. Just as an early preoccupation of the English Puritans, after arrival in New England in the seventeenth century, was provision for higher learning in a university college, soon to be called Harvard College, so exactly a hundred years earlier the Spaniards in America, both laymen and ecclesiastics, were petitioning the crown for the establishment of universities in these new, frontier communities, to save the expense and perils of travel to the universities of Europe—appeals to which the crown responded in 1551. Within two years in Mexico City, and somewhat later in Lima, institutions empowered to grant higher degrees were functioning with chairs in civil and canon law, theology and philosophy, and, later, Indian languages and medicine. And among their professors were men of distinguished attainment.

Our friends in the Dominican Republic claim that the city of Santo Domingo had a university even earlier—by decree of the Pope in 1538. But circumstantial evidence seems to show that it did not actually function for many years, and in fact the necessary royal approbation was not obtained until two hundred years later, in 1747. By the close of the colonial era, however, there were six or eight major universities in the Spanish American empire and some fifteen of a minor sort. Even Argentina, during most of the colonial period a region on the rustic fringe of the American empire, possesses in the city of Córdoba a university twenty-three years older than Harvard. It is well for us to remember that genuine universities were numerous in Latin America when schools of professional studies in the English colonies were almost unknown.

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Only Mexico City and Lima, however, and possibly Santo Domingo, aspired to a university in the sixteenth century. It was in the following two centuries that many of the so-called minor universities appeared—nearly all of them developing out of colleges conducted by the religious orders, especially the Jesuits and the Dominicans. For from the early years of Philip IV, such colleges, if situated 200 miles or more from Lima or Mexico, could by royal or papal decree receive the right to confer higher academic degrees.

University endowments and government subsidies were in the beginning very slim. Faculty salaries were generally low, and teaching in a university was more often than not an avocation rather than a profession. Professors usually had other sources of livelihood, as ecclesiastics, judges, or government officials, and a university chair was often prized chiefly for the social prestige it carried with it. This tradition still persists in most *colegios* and universities in the Latin American republics today.

The government of the university resided in a "cloister" consisting of members of the faculties and of doctors and masters resident in or near the university city. The rector, chosen from among the doctors in the community, had police jurisdiction over both members of the cloister and students, and controlled the students' place of residence and their mode of dress. Professorships were usually of two kinds, temporary, for a period of three or four years, and proprietary, for life—both obtained by competition in an oral examination before an assembly of students and graduates, of which I will say more later. Professors had to take an oath to defend the doctrine of the immaculate conception, observe a modest conduct, and keep away from theaters, dances, cock fights, and other haunts of wickedness. Among them the clergy always predominated, naturally enough, inasmuch as most of the universities had an ecclesiastical origin and the clergy made up a majority of the educated class. Moreover, as stipends were generally small, the friar who lived in his own religious community possessed an obvious advantage. The religious orders, too, sometimes endowed chairs in theology or philosophy to be filled by a member of their order.

Described as a guild in which ecclesiastical doctors were preëminent, the university was firmly grounded in the prevailing scholastic discipline of the Church. In the seventeenth century ability to recite long passages in his texts, word for word, was the mark of a scholar. A rector of the University of Mexico signalled out for special praise one student, Francisco Naranjo (later a professor), who was able to recite the *Summa* of St. Thomas Aquinas from memory so swiftly that he could keep four secretaries busy, each copying a different set of propositions!

The university was primarily what we would call a professional school, for training in theology, law, and, later, medicine. Instruction in the liberal arts was merely a preliminary to professional training. It embraced Latin grammar and rhetoric, some Aristotelian philosophy, and mathematics, and led to the Bachelor of Arts degree. This tradition of confining the liberal arts to the preparatory school, or *colegio*, still prevails in Latin American countries.

Like most colleges and universities of our time, the colonial university had to cope with perennial embarrassments caused by lack of funds. Royal patronage was rarely generous—more lavish in words than in deeds—and private gifts were few, although not unknown. Income seems to have come chiefly from the tribute of Indian *encomiendas* and the lease of urban or rural properties. But the *encomienda* system was unreliable, and Indian tributes tended to decrease in value. And as university salaries were partly paid out of them, professors were often owed a considerable amount of back pay. There was also frequent complaint of a general state of disrepair of university buildings. In moments of financial crisis, the university sometimes sold academic degrees. In 1651, for instance, to meet the demand of the crown for a gift or benevolence from all its American subjects, the University of Mexico sold the degrees of *licenciado* and *doctor* to one López de Mendizabal for 1,600 pesos; and four years later for the same reason it sold the same degrees for the same price to Salazar Barahona.

As might be expected, the Spanish colonial universities consciously emulated the older institutions of Spain. To the more important the crown usually granted the privileges and exemptions of the premier Spanish university of Salamanca, and their constitutions or statutes were modelled directly or indirectly upon those of Salamanca or of Alcalá de Henares. These statutes prescribed in detail the structure and government of the university, and were the touchstone of its autonomy and independence. They were, however, often ignored or suspended by the viceroy, or by the university authorities themselves —even when the crown, after a *visita* or inspection in the first half of the seventeenth century, stated that it was the royal prerogative alone to dispense with the statutes.

By statute, for instance, friars were ineligible for the rectorship, but members of the religious orders were periodically so elected. Judges of the Audiencia in Mexico, although they had played a very important role in the early organization of the university, even furnishing the first rector, were also later by statute excluded, as were faculty professors and members of the Inquisition. Yet these rules were as frequently honored in the breach as in the observance.

The rector was chosen annually by a standing committee of the cloister, but viceregal intervention was frequent. Something depended, of course, upon the disposition of the viceroy. Under the Duke of Albuquerque in New Spain (1653–1660), for instance, the rector seems to have been regularly imposed by the viceroy, who on one occasion even illegally dispensed with the statutes in order to make his candidate eligible.

As I have remarked, professors were normally selected by public competition. Not only members of the cloister, but students, properly enrolled, over fourteen years of age, and decently attired, were eligible to vote. As might be expected, not all the viceroys respected this privilege. In 1642 the Duke of Escalona compelled the faculty to install his private physician (a Spaniard named Manuel de Sosa) as professor of medicine, over the faculty's vigorous protest. Eleven years later the students received what was to be a permanent rebuke. In 1653 the Duke of Albuquerque annulled the election of Dr. Marcos de Oportu, chosen by the students to be professor of theology, and appointed a nominee of his own. And a contemporary chronicler of the university remarks that from that time students and bachelors began to lose their ancient right of an active voice in the selection of professors. At any rate, for several years the viceroy seems to have filled all vacancies that occurred. Later on the traditional procedure was abolished, and all chairs except those in theology were filled by an ad hoc committee representing the cloister, the viceroy, and the archbishop. Appointments in theology were reserved to the viceroy and the crown.

The seventeenth century, lying midway between the picturesque and strenuous age of conquest and settlement in the sixteenth century and the dawning intellectual "enlightenment" of the eighteenth, has often been referred to as a time of relative stagnation in the Spanish American colonies—a concept that many believe to be wholly erroneous. Certainly in New Spain literary and scientific activity abounded both within and outside the university. Mexico was indeed the most distinguished of the American centers of learning. A number of new professorships were created, many of them by the viceroys, to meet the felt need of the academic community—in mathematics and in medicine, in Indian languages and in theology—most of them filled in the first instance by members of the major religious orders. A century that produced the dramatist, Juan Ruiz de Alarcón, the fine lyric poet, Juana Inés de la Cruz, and the learned and versatile Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, mathematician, historian, poet, and critic, can scarcely be called a stagnant one. For although outstanding in their time and generation, they were also a product of their age and environment.

In Peru in the seventeenth century the picture is not so impressive, even though it did include a Pedro de Peralta Barnuevo, a contemporary of Sigüenza, and a scholar, scientist, and man of letters of even greater versatility. Lima and its university as a center of literary and intellectual activity seem always to have lagged behind Mexico, until the great awakening near the close of the eighteenth century. Melchor Linãn y Cisneros, both archbishop and viceroy in the years 1678–1681, reports that the University of San Marcos had fallen sadly in numbers, and that nine vacant professorial chairs had not been refilled. His successor, the Duke of La Palata (1681–1689), writes that the lack of a faculty of medicine is keenly felt, the endowment for its two chairs having been lost with the *finca* or agricultural property by which they were supported. The king in a decree of June, 1681, ordered that the chairs be reëstablished, but with funds other than those from the royal exchequer. As the viceroy remarks, this was "an expedient as easy to prescribe as it was difficult to execute." He therefore proceeded to endow one chair, in medicine, with half of the salary of the chair in mathematics, for the professor of mathematics had no students taking his course (although this was no fault of his). Mathematics, he continues, is important from a military point of view, and if a soldier wants to study it he does so at the professor's home. The viceroy does not consider that a lack of students is any reason for doing away with the mathematics chair altogether for, after all, it *has* been founded, and there may perhaps be a professor in some other discipline who might want to study mathematics. In any case, it is useful to have someone in the country who has a knowledge of the subject. Eighty years later another viceroy (Amat) remarked that the chair of mathematics was still without students.

Viceroy Armendáriz (Marqués de Castell-Fuerte, 1724–1736) reported that although the university then had thirty-three chairs, the number of students was so low that there were more teachers than pupils, more doctors than those taking courses. His successor (Marqués de Villagarcía, 1736–1745) attributed the decadent state of the university to the fact that chairs were no longer granted on the basis of merit of the contestants, but rather in order to gain the favor of those backing the candidates. The next viceroy (Manso de Velasco, Conde de Superunda, 1745–1761) reported that everyone in the university aspired to the degree of *licenciado* or *doctor* and for a place on the faculty. But the professors, he said, devoted little time to formal teaching, and students were unpunctual for classes.

In the second half of the eighteenth century the impact of foreign ideas—of the change in intellectual and scientific outlook in northern Europe that we call the Enlightenment—spread to Spain, and from Spain to the colonies. Striking advances were made in medicine, and in the universities both in New Spain and South America the old scholastic tradition began to crumble before the advance of the more modern philosophies of Descartes, Leibnitz, and Newton. The physical and natural sciences were emancipated from theology and began to be cultivated in an experimental manner. Numerous expeditions to Spanish America of distinguished European scientists, sponsored by the crown, also helped to spread abroad the intellectual concepts prevailing in Europe. It is significant that in 1771, even in remote and peripheral Buenos Aires, the cathedral chapter proposed that teachers of philosophy not be obliged to follow a definite, predetermined system, especially in physics, but that they might replace Aristotle with Newton, and that ultimately they might explain natural phenomena in the light of their observations and the experience of the senses.

Nevertheless, during the struggle for political independence that followed in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the universities as such played a very minor role—in contrast to the political activities of Latin American students and professors today. Education continued to be largely dominated by the Church; and although many of the parish priests were found in the patriot ranks, most of the clergy were unaffected by the new current of ideas, and the Church as an institution remained conservative and royalist. In short, in the universities the revolution against tradition was still far from complete, and theological influence continued to be strongly marked. The second Revillagigedo, distinguished viceroy of New Spain in 1789–1794, had stated that the methods of teaching there were still much in need of reform. The classics, for instance, were little taught, and there was no equipment for the study of modern experimental physics. The library was lacking in good books, especially modern ones. The Viceroy Berenguer de Marquina a decade later referring to the university used practically the same words.

Nevertheless, there was an atmosphere of intellectual renovation astir in which the younger generation of revolutionary leaders was reared and nurtured. In the new republics that emerged from the struggle, the universities inevitably became an object of attack and reform by the liberal elements, and many of them fell victim to the quarrel between clericals and anticlericals that dominated much of the history of the nineteenth century. The present day universities, although many of them like to trace their origins to early Spanish times, are essentially modern creations, and few really have a continuous tradition running back behind the nineteenth century.

The colonial university was essentially an aristocratic institution, as in Europe the reflection of an aristocratic society. Although in many of the colleges and universities scholarships or grants-in-aid were available to students of poor families, there was then no middle class to speak of, and in the eighteenth century there was an increasing prejudice against the admission of Negroes and mixed bloods, whether *mestizo* or mulatto. Legitimacy of birth and freedom from the taint of heresy had always been demanded for admission to the university. But in the eighteenth century "unworthy persons of low and despicable type" increasingly proceeded to the degrees of *licenciado* and *doctor*, and consequently were received as physicians and as lawyers of the Audiencia—and so the crown united with the viceroys in a policy of exclusion. These racial prejudices no longer hold—even in the United States we are rapidly learning to overcome them. However, one may say perhaps that the aristocratic tradition still prevails in Latin America in the almost exclusive attention of the modern university to professional instruction. At any rate, if the universities today fail to meet their full responsibilities to society, the reasons are largely historical—they may be traced to the social milieu out of which they have arisen.

As I have remarked in another place, when independence was achieved a century and a quarter ago, secession from Spain or Portugal was only a political revolution—the old social order remained unchanged. The dominant, ruling class in most of these embryo nations was a numerically small, white, educated, landowning aristocracy, supported by a great mass of semiservile workers, Indian or African—a jealously limited caste that inherited from Spanish and Portuguese times a pride of birth and breeding, and an aversion to the common pursuits of trade and industry.

True, in the first days of independence, the landed aristocracy and their natural associates, the educated professional class, men versed in the current philosophical liberalism of the day, held high resolves for the future of their country. They aimed to give it an ideally perfect government, generally based on principles of democracy and equality. But in actual practice they often fell short of early promise.

Moreover, there is no doubt that Latin American society had inherited what has been called a "bureaucratic culture pattern." The only respectable job was a professional job—in the army, the government, or the Church. And in those early years, this pattern was the more pronounced because of the lack of a middle class, of commercial and industrial development, and therefore of economic opportunity in other spheres of life. In short, here was still an aristocratic, agrarian society which offered few careers giving healthy rein to the energies and ambitions of the younger generation.

Under such circumstances, the university became not only the pinnacle of the school system, but the only educational institution in whose preservation and development society was positively interested. And it was an institution designed primarily for the *alta sociedad*. In spite of lip service to liberty, equality, and fraternity, governments made no serious effort to extend the benefits of primary instruction to the mass of the population. And secondary schools, existing essentially as a preparation for the learned professions, were not only few in number and widely scattered, at a time when means of communication were primitive or nonexistent, but remained severely academic and rigid in programs of study, as well.

It need scarcely be said that problems of educational organization and reform have been the object of much debate among our Latin American contemporaries. Many of the republics have produced educational theorists who rank with the best anywhere in the world. Demand is increasingly heard for adequate training for all the children of all the people, and for the reform of antiquated curricula in both urban and rural schools. Much of it reflects the mounting cultural self-consciousness of both Americas, North and South. Some of it in the Latin American nations may also result from a sharper realization of industrial and commercial potentialities. Many obstacles to educational reform, however, remain: social attitudes and traditions, distance and sparsity of population, prevalence of bureaucratic controls, racial complexity, and even religious influences.

Secondary education has been especially subject to criticism, because of overemphasis on verbalism, and on what has been called a superficial, encyclopedic intellectualism. The secondary school has also remained the sole means of access to the university and thence into the professions and government service. Its rapport with the university, both in curriculum content and in educational ideals, is therefore important, and the shortcomings of one are soon reflected in the other. In both there have been too much inflexibility and uniformity, too little diversity to meet the multiform demands of a changing society, insufficient attention to moral and social values. In both, teaching has often been an avocation only, teachers giving only part time to instruction because forced by inadequate salaries to follow other pursuits to eke out an income.

Today universities—state, private, and church—are extremely numerous in both Americas. In the United States there are 163 academic institutions that grant the degree of doctor of philosophy or its equivalent. Sixty are state universities, four are municipal, sixty-two are privately endowed, and thirty-seven are supported or controlled by religious bodies. In the Latin American countries most of the universities are state supported and controlled. That, in contrast to the United States, is the university tradition. Every republic has at least one "national" university located in the capital city, and often several provincial universities as well. And the number of the latter has greatly increased in recent years. In Mexico, for instance, the number of universities has trebled, four in 1930, twelve in 1948, and the number of graduates has increased in proportion.

Privately endowed universities in Latin America are a very recent phenomenon. They are extremely few, often a protest against the older, politically dominated institutions, generally short in resources but animated by enthusiasm and devotion to the cause of higher, and usually more liberal, education—for instance, the University of the Andes in Bogotá, Colombia. Among the private institutions should perhaps be included the so-called Popular Universities, usually without endowment, giving instruction only in the evening, and really addressed to the laboring classes.

In a sense, church universities in Latin America are the earliest in point of time, for in the colonial era, as I have said, although functioning only by royal permission, many were founded by religious orders; and all of them, reflecting the union of the altar and the throne, were completely dominated by the clergy. With independence, as a secularizing liberalism gained headway, the older universities were "nationalized," and the ecclesiastical element largely eliminated. More recently in many of the capital cities the Church has established its own Catholic universities, which compete in influence and scholarly distinction with the national universities—notably in Santiago de Chile and in Lima, Peru.

As the university is the only vestibule for entrance into the professions, and as requirements for entrance are determined by the state, private and church universities of necessity follow in general the same curriculum as the "official" institutions. And this applies as well to the *colegios* or secondary schools, public and private, that prepare for study under a university faculty. The consequence, as already remarked, is a uniformity and inflexibility, and a lack of that autonomy which would encourage initiative, responsibility, diversity, and progress in educational programs—in sharp contrast to the greater freedom that characterizes university programs and instruction in the United States.

A closely related circumstance is that the liberal arts college as part of the system of higher education scarcely exists in Latin America. The university there is a grouping of professional faculties—Law and Political Science, Medicine, Engineering, Natural Sciences, Agronomy, Commerce and Economic Sciences, etc.—faculties aiming solely at professional competence, and lacking most of the "cultural" objectives of the undergraduate college associated with university instruction in the United States and England. Some of the universities, it is true, have a *colegio* attached to them, which serves as a feeder to the higher faculties. But this is an adjunct, rather than an essential and integral part of the university. For the Latin American university stems from the old universities of continental Europe, from Paris and Salamanca. The North American universities are the heirs of Oxford and Cambridge, although inheriting also a continental tradition of advanced scholarship in the arts and sciences acquired chiefly from nineteenth-century Germany. In Latin America the student proceeds directly from the equivalent of the North American preparatory school (although it may teach slightly more advanced subjects) to his field of professional specialization. Independent research is often carried on in institutes connected with the several faculties, but graduate study as the term is understood in the United States is rarely offered. Only occasionally is the *doctorado* granted for advanced study and research of the sort required for the Ph.D. The closest approach to the North American liberal arts college is the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, but this too is in reality a professional school designed to prepare teachers for the secondary grades. And it is a faculty in most instances of very recent origin. The Universities of Havana and Puerto Rico, perhaps because of their proximity to and closer association with the United States, are somewhat exceptional. There, instruction seems to be more closely modeled on that of their northern neighbor.

In Portuguese Brazil the university itself is of very recent appearance. Whereas in both Peru and Mexico a "royal" university was established as early as the middle of the sixteenth century to adorn the viceregal capital, Brazil in colonial times (although provided with some Jesuit colleges and a few ecclesiastical seminaries) had no university, or even a printing press, for that matter. The few young men who aspired to a university education were sent to Coimbra in Portugal. After independence, professional schools sprang up in a few of the principal urban centers, notably in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Recife. But they remained isolated faculties, and not until some twenty-five years ago were the first steps taken, in Rio and São Paulo, to combine them in a central university organization. Since then the university concept has received widespread recognition, and nearly every important state capital possesses a university of sorts. The general outlines of organization and objectives are much the same as in the Spanish republics. But there has been little time to develop a university tradition. The strength of a long corporate consciousness is still absent.

It is not fair to say that the Latin American universities today exist only to educate a social and political elite. The great numbers drawn from all social classes that attend them are sufficient evidence to the contrary. Ten or more of the Latin American universities have an enrollment of over 5,000 students, and in some of the more important the attendance is as great as in the largest in the United States. As the state universities charge little or no tuition, and only a nominal matriculation fee, many of the students are extremely poor, supporting themselves by jobs outside while enrolled for a part time course, often in the evening. For usually there is no limit to the number of years one may devote to securing a degree, or to the number of times that examinations may be repeated.

Moreover, "campus life" as it is known in the United States does not exist in Latin American countries. And in very few cases are there dormitories. Relatively little social life, therefore, revolves directly about the university. There is little or no extracurricular outlet in athletics, student journalism, and like activities. Students live at home or in scattered, often very poor, lodgings. Their principal extracurricular interest is therefore apt to be politics, and it is not surprising that a number of the revolutions in Latin American countries in the past few decades have been sparked by violent student protests against the existing political order. The serious attention that Latin American students devote to politics, both domestic and international, and to its expression in public demonstrations, is much greater than among their counterparts in the United States. That this implies a greater intellectual maturity is not so clear. They certainly are less accustomed to concentration upon academic studies than the North American university student. And given the extreme poverty, frequent undernourishment, and obscure social background of great numbers in the Latin American universities, it is also not surprising that they often find themselves in the ranks of the extreme radicals. It is among university students that communists in Latin America find one of their most fertile fields for proselytizing.

In recent years there has been a movement in the Latin American republics to build "university cities"—an entirely new and more or less complete physical plant concentrated in a single area, somewhat like the campus of a North American university. Until now the various faculties have usually been scattered in isolated single buildings throughout the community, often with no easily recognized university focus. The *ciudad universitaria* is moved out from the urban area to where there is room for expansion, and lecture halls, laboratories, library, faculty buildings, and dormitories are concentrated in the one area. Such new educational centers already exist in Bogotá, Mexico City, Monterrey (Mexico), and Caracas, and are contemplated elsewhere. They are obviously designed not only to provide more adequate modern physical facilities, but also to emphasize institutional unity as opposed to a more or less adventitious conglomerate of faculties. They are doubtless in part inspired by North American example, and are intended to create a new and healthier esprit de corps in the student body. The dormitory accommodations, however, are generally quite insufficient for the great number of students involved, and for the poor student working and living in town the questions of time and adequacy of transportation are sometimes a problem.

Some Latin American observers have been fearful that the vast increase in the number of university students has meant an attenuation of professional culture as compared with earlier times, due both to the "improvisation" of professors, and to the necessity for students to support themselves with a job outside. Discipline is weakened, plans of study suffer dilution, and attention is distracted by exigent social and economic problems. These observations are probably prompted by conditions in the law schools, which are usually crowded. Some 6,000 students are reported as inscribed under the Faculty of Law and Social Sciences of the University of Buenos Aires alone. But it is also true that many young men who have no intention of practicing as professional lawyers attend the law schools because there they can obtain the closest approach available to a university training in the social sciences. And there appears to be no evidence of overcrowding in the professions of medicine, engineering, or the economic sciences. Indeed, as in the United States, these countries could well use the services of many more doctors, engineers, and agronomists. That young men (and women) without minimum economic resources should crowd as never before into the universities presents a social problem; but it is also an indication of the thirst for knowledge in countries whose facilities have in the past been far from adequate.

As for the "improvisation" of professors, this is no new condition. As in colonial days, many of the universities do not receive adequate financial support from the state, nor do they have a large income from tuition or from private endowments. Professors are paid by the course, rather than on a full time basis, and in most institutions the rate of pay is meager. Professors consequently often must supplement their income by other work, or by teaching in several institutions at the same time. Either the teaching load is unduly heavy, or the center of interest is in professional work outside the classroom. Lawyers, doctors, engineers aspire to a professorship (*cátedra*), i.e., to teach a course, often, as said before, because of the social prestige it carries with it —strange as that may sound in our ears. They have no time for, or interest in, research or personal contact with students. Frequently the problem of securing regular attendance in a lecture course has involved the professor more than the students. In fact back in the seventeenth century a visiting inspector of the University of Mexico ordered that statutes prescribing fines to be levied against professors who did not give their lectures regularly be strictly enforced. In short, university teaching has become a sideline, an avocation only.

The technical competence of university professors therefore often leaves something to be desired. Not that able scholars and brilliant teachers are not to be found on Latin American university faculties. In law and medicine especially, Latin American countries have produced in the past, and contribute today, men of outstanding international renown. And almost invariably they serve as university professors in their own country. Nevertheless, too infrequently are professors specialists in their field, in the North American understanding of the term. And too often employment of teachers at all levels suffers from the intrusion of social influences or political pressures. It is one of the most serious obstacles to progress in education.

Increasing student discontent with this state of affairs resulted, some thirty-five years ago, in a general movement of revolt. It began with a series of student strikes in the universities of Argentina in 1918, and sympathetic movements in the next few years spread to other Latin American countries. They resulted in the admission of students to a varying degree of participation in university administration, which still survives in most institutions. Students of the several faculties elect representatives to the faculty council, and directly or indirectly to the university council. These representatives are sometimes themselves students, sometimes members of the faculty. The latter alternative, however, has occasionally proved less satisfactory, for it inevitably leads to unhealthy political maneuvering among the younger teachers competing for an elected place on the council. This reform has given the student body the opportunity to air its grievances or state its point of view to the authorities higher up. And it seems to have had the effect in many cases of improving somewhat the caliber of the teaching staff. Such student representation on the faculties of North American universities is extremely uncommon, and suggestions of it are not generally received with acclaim by the administration, although in some institutions the proposals or criticisms of undergraduate "student councils" on matters of curriculum and administration are given courteous consideration.

In countries where the universities all or nearly all are state institutions, political influences are pretty certain sooner or later to be a disturbing factor. Academic freedom, and genuine university autonomy, rarely exist for any length of time. Conditions vary of course from one country to another, and with changes in the prevailing political regime. Rectors and faculty deans are sometimes appointed by the government, but in any case official confirmation is usually required. And the government as the source of university funds holds the whip hand. Under an authoritarian regime interference through these channels with academic freedom is almost inevitable, but it may as easily occur in more democratic republics. There is no need to cite recent cases in which teachers and educators have been suspended or dismissed from their positions because they failed to conform to the political and social doctrines proclaimed by the powers that be. It is an abuse of authority that is not peculiar to Latin America. It has not been unknown in some of the North American state universities.

By and large the physical appointments of universities in Latin America are more meager than in North America. In the faculties of medicine, engineering, and the natural sciences there are usually not so many laboratory facilities as in corresponding North American schools. Although the best engineering schools are fairly well equipped, and although in theoretical book training they are often excellent, on the practical side they are apt to be deficient. All too often tools of research are scanty, and libraries are small and poorly organized. This is due in part to the traditional tendency to put emphasis in education on the abstract, and to neglect the concrete even in the teaching of the natural sciences. It is also due to inadequate financial resources to provide the necessary equipment. In North America even many of the state universities have a large private endowment, the gift of loyal graduates. In the Latin American republics it has never been the custom of wealthy citizens to leave large bequests to libraries, universities, museums, and other institutions of public benefit. There are exceptions, of course, as in the foundation and endowment by private bequest of the Polytechnic Institute in Valparaiso, Chile, and in gifts to some of the Catholic universities. But in general the Latin American believes that such financial support is almost exclusively a function of the state, and he prefers to confine his beneficence to his own family or to the Church. It may be an ethnic idiosyncrasy, or merely a survival from the days when an absolute monarchy, closely allied with an all-embracing Church, engulfed all such social responsibilities. Lack of financial support by private citizens able and anxious to render it is, however, one of the serious handicaps to university progress in the southern republics. It is in sharp contrast to the munificence of private endowment of universities and analogous institutions customary in the United States.

Some of the chief obstacles to the university's ability to make its maximum contribution to the social and intellectual progress of the nation I have briefly sketched. Certain of the handicaps are peculiar to universities in the republics of Latin America, some of them touch North American universities as well. Perhaps a principal shortcoming in both has been the failure adequately to cultivate a sense of social responsibility, a responsibility that will insure equal opportunities for all in the different levels and branches of education, and that will at the same time contribute to the encouragement and maintenance of the democratic process. In the Latin American universities the cultural emphasis of the "college" years in the United States is often lacking. Training for the major professions must remain of course one of the university's important missions in both Americas. But in North America the inheritance from England of the undergraduate college has given to the university an added solicitude for the liberal arts in education that is frequently missing farther south. Whether in our North American colleges the moral and social values inherent in the study of the humanities and social sciences are always achieved, has often been questioned. However, the intention and the opportunity are present, and in these parlous times of threatened social change and disintegration there is increasing concern among educators that these cultural objectives receive the stress their importance demands. By what means this may be attained under the university organization current in Latin America is a searching problem.

What has just been said appears to involve some other reforms as well. The status of teachers needs to be improved in both secondary school and university by higher salary scales, appointment by merit, and tenure free from politics. The relatively low pay of professional teachers is a problem in both Americas, but more acutely so in some of the Latin American republics. There is urgent need of reform in the selection and professional preparation of university instructors, but at the same time an assurance of commensurate financial reward and permanence of tenure. This implies more adequate financial resources than are at present generally provided. It also implies the removal of the university from political interference and official controls. An autonomous university can more easily escape the rigidities imposed by official curricula, and is freer to experiment with new educational ideas and programs. It can more easily perhaps demand technical competence in its professors, and at the same time promote the cultural aspects of a more general education. Complete university autonomy is the only guarantee of academic freedom, and academic freedom is a sine qua non if there is to be that freedom to acquire knowledge which, as the world is so abundantly learning today, is the touchstone of a genuine democracy.

The Papers of the Adams Family: Some Account of Their History

L. H. BUTTERFIELD*

I

IN Philadelphia, just five days before the Virginia delegates to the Continental Congress moved a momentous resolution of independence, John Adams sat writing a letter to Mrs. Adams in Braintree, Massachusetts. Yesterday being the first day of June, he told her, he had dined with a friend. "We had Cherries, Strawberries, and green Peas in Plenty. I believe the Fruits, are three Weeks earlier here than with you—indeed they are a fortnight earlier on the East, than on the West side of Delaware River. . . . The Reason is the Soil of New Jersey is a warm sand, that of Pensylvania a cold Clay. So much for Peas and Berries."

> Now [he went on] for Something of more Importance.—In all the Correspondencies I have maintained, during a Course of Twenty Years, at least that I have been a Writer of Letters, I never kept a Single Copy. This Negligence and Inaccuracy, has been a great Misfortune to me on many Occasions. I have now purchased a Folio Book, in the first Page of which, excepting one blank Leaff I am writing this Letter, and intend to write all my Letters to you in it from this Time forward. This will be an Advantage to me, in several Respects. —In the first Place, I shall write more deliberately—in the second Place I shall at all times be able to review what I have written. 3. I shall know how often I write. 4. I shall find out by this Means, whether any of my Letters to you miscarry.

It was really wonderful to think how many birds he could kill with this one stone! For that matter, so could his wife. John Adams' pen scratched on: "If It were possible for me to find a Conveyance, I would send you Such another blank Book as a present, that you might begin the Practice at the same Time, for I really think that your Letters are much better worth preserving than mine. Your Daughter and Sons will very soon write so good Hands that they will copy the Letters for you from your Book, which will improve them, at the same Time that it relieves you."[1]

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* In a shorter form this paper was read at the May, 1956, meeting, and a condensed, illustrated version printed as "Whatever You Write Preserve" in *American Heritage*, April, 1959, pp. 26–33, 88–93. The writer must express warm thanks to Mr. Malcolm Freiberg for aid in digging out elusive information quite beyond the line of his duty as Editor of the Society's publications.

The blank book in which Adams wrote the retained draft of this letter is still among his papers. It is a small folio volume in marbled boards with vellum back, and its pages are still white and crisp. Inside the front cover is an ornamental trade card of "WILLIAM TRICKETT, STATIONER & BOOKBINDER from LONDON, Facing *Black-horse* Alley, in *Front-street*, near *Market-street*, PHILADELPHIA," who had for sale "A neat Assortment of Ladies and Gentlemen's Pocket-books and Cases, with or without Furniture, with Silver or Common Locks; Playing Cards; a great Choice of Message Cards," and other stationer's wares, at, of course, "the most reasonable Prices."

John Adams' purchase of this book from William Trickett was, I believe, the first conscious act toward the making and preserving of a matchless family archive. Adams was aware that he, like his country, was on the threshold of great events. They had better be recorded as fully and accurately as possible. Acting on this conviction, he took off, later this same month, the earliest copy of Jefferson's draft of the Declaration of Independence and sent it home soon afterward, thus providing scholars of the present century with invaluable evidence on the early stages of the composition of that celebrated document. Upon his arrival in Paris in the spring of 1778, Adams was horrified by the offhand way in which his fellow commissioner Franklin had been conducting public business. "There never was before I came," he later wrote, "a minute Book, a Letter Book, or an Account Book, or if there had been Mr. Deane and Dr. Franklin had concealed them from Mr. Lee, and they were no where to be found. It was utterly impossible to acquire any clear Idea of our Affairs. I was now determined to procure some blank books, and to apply my self with Diligence to Business."[2] The product of this diligence is an assemblage of records relating to the financing of the war and the negotiating of peace, still preserved in the Adams Papers, probably second in importance only to the official records of the Continental Congress, now in the National Archives.[3]

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[1] June 2, 1776, Adams Papers (Massachusetts Historical Society). Unless otherwise indicated, all manuscripts cited hereafter are in this collection.

[2] John Adams, MS Autobiography: Travels and Negotiations. That he did precisely this is confirmed by an entry in the American Commissioners' household account kept by Franklin's steward at Passy (now in the Connecticut Historical Society) under the date of May 30, 1778: "acheté deux livres a Ecrire pour Monsieur Adam" at 7 livres, 4*s.* 6*d.*

We take you now, as the broadcasters say, to Ghent, some three decades later. Another Adams is now representing his country in another peace negotiation every bit as delicate and difficult as that of the 1780's, for in this case the enemy, instead of having been brought to her knees, is winning victory after victory over France, and the very city in which the American and British commissioners are meeting is garrisoned with Wellington's red-coated veterans. In no hurry to take care of so minor a matter as the war with the United States, the British government is letting the American commissioners cool their heels. This may be all very well for his colleagues, but John Quincy Adams, as usual, is busy. "They sit after dinner, and drink bad wine, and smoke Cigarrs," he complains for only his diary to hear, "which neither suits my habits nor my health, and absorbs time which I cannot spare. I find it impossible even with the most rigorous economy of time, to do half the writing that I ought."[4] So it was to go, even after active negotiations began. Early in September, 1814, he wrote: "III:45 [A.M.]. Just before rising, I heard Mr. Clay's company retiring from his chamber. I had left him with Mr. Russell, Mr. Bentzon, and Mr. Todd, at Cards. They parted as I was about to rise. I was up nearly half an hour before I had day-light to read or write."[5]

It was the most natural thing in the world to assign to a man of these habits the bulk of the commission's paper work, and though his colleagues frequently objected to both the substance and form of his drafts, Adams had at least the compensation of being able to complain of their ingratitude. He was also able to take custody of the records of the mission, though not without a struggle. Henry Clay, who had made and kept no copies of any papers, was returning directly to

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[3] Adams' care in returning the formidable accumulation of his papers in Europe is documented in a letter to Dr. Cotton Tufts of Weymouth, a relative of Mrs. Adams, from London, October 16, 1787: "There is so much Appearance of War, that I thought it a Precaution of Prudence to send my Manuscript Letter Books, and Collections of Papers, relative to all my Transactions in France and Holland, home by Mr. Jenks. They are contained in a large Trunk, and are so numerous as to fill it, so that there is no room for any Thing else in it. I suppose the Custom house officers will let it pass: but they may open it if they please. Yet I hope they will not disturb the order of the Papers. These I suppose are neither prohibited Goods, nor liable to Duties. Let me pray you Sir, to send them to Braintree, to the Care of Mr. Cranch till my Return" (deCoppet Collection; Princeton University Library).

[4] Entry of July 8, 1814.

[5] Entry of September 8, 1814.

America and thought it would be well to study the record of the proceedings at Ghent while crossing the Atlantic. Official precedent and Adams' own inclination opposed Clay's wish. Tempers flared and formal notes were exchanged among the commissioners, but in the end Clay yielded, saying he would not like to have it known that the American delegation had "fallen into a scramble after a few books and papers."[6] This was a fortunate conclusion. Beyond the strictly official records turned over by Adams to the Department of State, there is a mass of material on the Treaty of Ghent still in his files awaiting fuller exploitation. It is doubtful if Henry Clay and his descendants would have been such faithful custodians as John Quincy Adams and his.

But of course the classic example of the family's record-keeping habits is John Quincy Adams' personal journal, a dinosaur among diaries and probably the most extensive and faithful record of its kind ever compiled. The first entries were made in 1779, when Adams was twelve; the last in 1848, a few weeks before the old warrior died. This is a span of seventy years, and during one period of over half a century there are virtually no breaks whatever in the daily journal—which is to say there are 365 entries a year, in leap years 366.

The history of Adams' lifelong struggle to maintain this record of his activities, conversations, and reflections would make an essay in itself. It was one of the great tasks, as it was one of the great accomplishments, of his life. He complained bitterly about the self-imposed burden, saying that his efforts to keep the diary up-to-date were "like the race of a man with a wooden leg after a horse,"[7] and the net result "a multiplication of books to no end and without end."[8] Over and over again he reproached himself for spending so much time on it, observing that he might have accomplished something really worthwhile in science or in literature if he had not devoted so much of his life to journalizing. Just the opposite of ordinary diarists, he would resolve that he would *not* write so fully and faithfully hereafter—and then would go on and write more voluminously than ever. One of the most graphic passages in the whole record occurs in August, 1817, when Adams was in New York with his family en route from Washington to Quincy. Up at dawn to write his stint on the events of yesterday, he totally forgot himself until, a few minutes before seven o'clock, the boys knocked on his door to tell him if he did not hurry they would all miss the steamboat for New Haven. They missed it.[9] In the spring of 1840, when Adams was approaching seventy-three, he tripped on some matting newly laid on the floor of the House chamber, fell heavily, and dislocated his right shoulder. The first attempt to reset it was unsuccessful; he was then taken out of the House and physicians were summoned to reset the bone. Next day he reported that he had had "rather an uneasy night" and that his arm was in a sling. "I write against the kindest remonstrances of my family, and attended the morning sitting of the House against those of both my doctors." The point was that there was business afoot that needed his attention. Someone might slip something over on him, and on the country, if he were not at his post of duty. As for "occasional disabilities" like dislocated shoulders, one should accept them as "admonitions and chastisements of Providence" but not let them interfere with one's work.[10]

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[6] See *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, ed. Charles Francis Adams (Philadelphia, 1874–1877), II, 129–144.

[7] Entry of March 25, 1844.

[8] Entry of September 8, 1831.

Charles Francis Adams did not quite maintain the superhuman pace his father had set. One reason is that the son was drawn slowly and reluctantly into public life rather than early and eagerly. And so, though he began to keep a journal while in his teens, for a long time he had less to record in it than his father had during the corresponding period in his life. Still, Charles Francis Adams became a highly conscientious maker and keeper of records. His diaries, letter books, and other papers, accumulated as a member of the Massachusetts General Court, representative in Congress, minister to London for eight years, and member of the Geneva Arbitration Tribunal, are only less voluminous than those of his father.[11] They are tidier, too, because Charles Francis was born with a talent and taste for archival housekeeping. During intervals in his public service he spent, all told, a good many years in this kind of work. Toward the close of his life he wondered whether the effort had been worthwhile. In 1876, just a hundred years after John Adams had made the first entries in his

[9] Entry of August 15, 1817.

[10] Entries of May 18–20, 1840.

[11] C. F. Adams' Diary runs from January 1, 1820, to November 2, 1880. There are gaps in the early years, but the record appears to be continuous for over fifty years. Only the meagerest scraps have been published, for reasons that will appear farther on in this narrative.

new letter book, his grandson recorded in his diary a day's work in his library gathering up materials for binding and so on, and then added gloomily: "Yet it often occurs to me whether all my labor will prove of any use. The continuation of families is so uncertain, and the changes of habitation so much depend on the growth of the neighborhood that it is idle to expect permanency. This is the only large house left from the early part of the last century, excepting that occupied by Mr. Butler, and this has only been occupied by our family less than ninety years."[12]

At the Old House in Quincy (occupied by Adamses for a mere ninety years or so), the process of accumulation appeared to be nearly complete. But a whole generation of tireless scribblers was just coming on the stage. Three of the four sons of Charles Francis the minister were active publicists, reviewers, and lecturers; Henry only for a time, but his brothers Charles Francis, Jr., and Brooks throughout their lives. Being Adamses, they had to instruct the public how to think and act on a great variety of topics. Ultimately much of what they wrote was added to the collection of family manuscripts and swelled it by some thousands of letters and other papers. Henry came to think that everybody in the family had written far too much. "Thanks entirely to our family-habit of writing," he remarked in a letter to Brooks in 1900, "we exist in the public mind only as a typical expression of disagreeable qualities. Our dogmatism is certainly odious, but it was not extravagant till we made it a record."[13]

II

The creation of this great family archive had resulted from a unique combination of opportunity, talent, and training. From that day in August, 1774, when John Adams rode away from Braintree to attend the first Continental Congress, the Adamses displayed a kind of genius for being in interesting places at interesting moments. Their collective memory embraced Bunker Hill battle, the voting of independence, the making of two major peace treaties, two residences in the White House (including the very first), Te Deums in St. Petersburg for Russian victories over Napoleon, glimpses of Napoleon himself during the Hundred Days, the framing of the Monroe Doctrine, the glorious fight that defeated the Southern "gag rule" and preserved the right of popular petition in the Thirties and Forties, the excitements of the Free Soil campaign and the fugitive slave cases, the great "secession winter," London during the blockade and intervention crises in the 1860's, Antietam, Gettysburg, the fall of Richmond (with an Adams leading a Negro regiment into the burning city), and the successful negotiation of the *Alabama* claims at Geneva. They had known and worked with Washington, Franklin, and Lafayette, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, Jackson and Calhoun, Clay and Webster, Seward and Grant, Schurz and Tilden; many of the major European chancellors and diplomats from Vergennes to Lord Bryce; and countless authors, scholars, and scientists on both sides of the Atlantic.

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[12] Entry of October 21, 1876.

[13] Washington, March 4, [1900], *Henry Adams and His Friends*, ed. Harold Dean Cater (Boston, 1947), p. 487.

All that the Adamses saw and heard they were schooled from childhood to put down in writing. To two young grandsons who were about to sail from Boston to join their parents in England in 1815, John Adams wrote:

> I wish you to have each a Pencil Book, always in your Pockett, by which you minute on the Spot any remarkable thing you may see or hear. A pocket Inkhorn, any cheap Thing of the kind, and a Sheet or two of paper, ought always to be about you. A Journal; a Diary is indispensible. "Studium Sine Calamo, Somnium." Without a minute Diary, your Travels, will be no better than the flights of Birds, through the Air. They will leave no trace behind them. Whatever you write preserve. I have burned Bushells of my Silly notes, in fitts of Impatience and humiliation, which I would now give anything to recover. "These fair Creature are thyself." And would be more useful and influential in Self Examination than all the Sermons of the Clergy.[14]

And so it went from one generation to another, the very children themselves in their various points of vantage in the capitals of Europe addressing one another and their elders, sometimes in numbered series of dispatches that remain in the family files with careful endorsements indicating the dates of receipt and reply. It was obviously a heavy literary responsibility to be born into this family, but very few of the children shirked it.

An equally important responsibility was how to care for the mounting accumulation of papers. Before John and Abigail Adams returned from Europe in 1788 they had purchased a handsome country seat on the road between Milton and Braintree.[15] Disappointed to find that it was less commodious than they had remembered, they had to improvise a library and muniment room in a tenant house that stood close behind the residence. Several times enlarged and revamped, and variously referred to as the "farm building" or "the office," this wooden structure continued to house most of the family's books and papers until after the Civil War. It is a wonder they survived, for there were fires or threats of fire again and again during those eighty years.

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[14] To George Washington Adams and John Adams, 2nd, Quincy, May 3, 1815.

In his old age John Adams used the great airy room on the second floor of the eastern extension of the Old House, now known as "the Presidents' Study," as a combined bedroom and literary workroom. (His wife had planned and directed the building of this addition as a surprise to him during the last year of his Presidency.) Writing his son soon after Abigail's death late in 1818, Adams described himself among the heaped-up papers in his chamber: "Your favour of the 14th. found me deeply immersed in researches, not astro[no]mical or mineralogical or metaphisical; but after old Papers. Trunks Boxes Desks Drawers locked up for thirty Years have been broken open because the Keys are lost. Nothing stands in my Way. Every Scrap shall be found and preserved for your Affliction [or] for your good. . . . I shall leave you an inheritance sufficiently tormenting, for example, The huge Pile of family Letters, will make you Alternately laugh and cry, fret and fume, stamp and scold, as they do me."[16] As good as his word, Adams on the day he signed his will, September 27, 1819, signed a separate deed of gift by which he turned over to his son John Quincy Adams "all my Manuscript Letters, and Account Books, Letters, Journals, and Manuscript papers," contained in several trunks, a bureau, and an escritoire, each carefully described.

The old President died while his son was President in *his* turn. Not until after John Quincy Adams came back to the Old House in the summer of 1829 was he able to consider what should be done with his parents' papers and his own. During the first few months of what he then supposed would be permanent retirement, he thought seriously of building a new house with good library facilities, or at the very least a fireproof office.[17] His means were not sufficient for either scheme. He made long lists of the papers, set some of the neighbors' boys to copying the fragile early diaries of John Adams, and projected a memoir of his father. He started, characteristically, by plunging into the chronicles of early New England, to provide a setting for the arrival of the first Adamses in these parts, about 1640. He got little further with his memoir. It was not long before a committee waited on him to ask if he would serve his district in Congress. Adams tried without much success to conceal his eagerness to accept. To the distress of his son Charles, who had distinct ideas on how ex-Presidents should comport themselves, the elder Adams showed no liking for literary and philosophical retirement, was filled with weariness at the thought of "raking over" the stale excitements of John Adams' political career, and took as much interest in current political controversies, Charles noted with surprise and annoyance, "as if he was a young man." He plunged back into public life and remained there until the day of his death, for, as he once predicted, life would retire from him before he would retire from life.[18]

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[15] John Adams first named the homestead "Peacefields," in allusion to his own public services as well as to the tranquillity of the spot, and in old age he applied various whimsical names to it. But for a century or more the family has simply called the homestead "the Old House." It is now the Adams National Historic Site, 135 Adams Street, Quincy.

[16] Quincy, December 24, 1818. Abigail Adams had died October 28, 1818.

Meanwhile great masses of additional correspondence and other papers accumulated in his files. He did not have time to sort the worthless from the valuable in this "mass of Archives," and so he would throw away none of them, though as he ruefully remarked in 1842, "I have not chests and boxes and bureaus and drawers sufficient in numbers and capacity to contain them."[19] His only hope lay in the archival and scholarly inclinations of his single living son. By the sixteenth article in his will, the phrasing of which he had very carefully thought out, John Quincy Adams bequeathed to his son Charles Francis "my library of books, my manuscript books and papers and those of my father, . . . and I recommend to my said son . . . , as soon as he shall find it suit his own convenience, to cause a building to be erected, made fire-proof, in which to keep the said library, books, documents and manuscripts safe." He added a hope that "as long as may be practicable" the books and manuscripts would be kept together as a single collection and in the possession of the family.[20]

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[17] J. Q. Adams, Diary, June 23, 1829; C. F. Adams, Diary, September 3, 1829.

[18] On the strained relations between father and son over the issue of a "dignified retirement," see the excellent discussion in Charles Francis Adams, 2nd, *Charles Francis Adams* (Boston and New York, 1900), pp. 13-20. Nothing more strikingly points up the differences between the temperaments of father and son than this episode.

[19] Diary, December 9, 1842.

Charles Francis Adams moved immediately to carry out his father's wishes. He loved history more than he did politics and diplomacy, but they kept interrupting him—and, of course, adding to the bulk of the papers he had to care for. Not until after his eight-year mission in England could he go ahead with his long-delayed plans for a fireproof library to replace the old wooden farm or office building. He engaged the architect Edward Clarke Cabot (who had designed the new Boston Athenæum building on Beacon Street), and in April, 1869, they selected a site just west of the mansion and on the edge of the garden. By the fall of 1870 the new building of Quincy granite, with its tile floor, lofty tiers of bookshelves, and mezzanine gallery, was complete. Its owner had scarcely arranged his books and papers ready for use before he was obliged to take off for Europe once more to represent the United States in the Geneva arbitration proceedings of 1871–1872. But his later years were spent quietly and usefully in his library, the charm of whose setting throughout the months from spring to fall made it a delightful spot in which to work.

The provision for the family books and records in Charles Francis Adams' will extended his father's and grandfather's wishes regarding them. Charles Francis left his "papers, manuscripts and printed books . . . to such of my four sons as may survive me, and the survivors and survivor of them, in trust," to be kept together in the Stone Library as long as "any of my male descendants bearing the family name shall continue to reside upon the said mansion house estate."[21]

There is a vivid (and, so far as I know, unique) description of the manuscript records of the family as Charles Francis Adams left them in the Stone Library, written by Edward Everett Hale, who was given access to the papers for his study of *Franklin in France* (1888):

> You enter by the lordly fireplace, you turn to the right, and there is the diary of the first Adams when he left college in 1755. You walk on and you walk on, turning the corners as they come, and at the fireplace end, after your walk, a hundred paces more or less, you have seen the manuscript history of America in the diaries and correspondence of two Presidents and of that Min-

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[20] Signed copy of Will, dated January 18, 1847.

[21] Will dated September 12, 1871, quoted in Abstract of Title to the Old House (photostatic copy at Adams National Historic Site). Charles Francis Adams died November 21, 1886.

ister to England who spoke the decisive word which saved England and America from a third war. Some day, when the secrets of to-day can be uncovered, some one will print in twenty volumes more the rest of John Quincy Adams's diary, which the prudence of his son Charles Francis Adams suppressed when those twelve volumes were published.[22]

The custodial responsibility now devolved on four brothers, all of them gifted but widely different in temperament. The handling of the extensive family real estate and other assets, also left undivided, was at least a relatively easy task, for there were solid Bostonian precedents for this sort of thing, and good financial advice could be had for the hiring. But what precedents were there for administering a private collection of papers including those of two Presidents and three ministers to the Court of St. James's? More by accident than by inclination perhaps, it was Henry, the professional historian in the family, who first gave attention to the problem. During the summers from 1887 to 1889 he was writing and proofreading his *History of the United States* in the Stone Library at Quincy, not because he enjoyed life there, but because he had a job to finish and because his widowed and ailing mother had to be cared for. As an assistant on both the *History* and the family papers, Adams retained Theodore Frelinghuysen Dwight, who had been librarian of the State Department and was later to be librarian of the Boston Public Library.[23] Surrounded by the vast assemblage of his forebears' diaries, Henry reread and committed to the flames his own, kept since college days, leaving, so far as I know, only the single gathering of sheets that recorded this systematic destruction.[24] After his mother's death in June, 1889, he wrote his friend

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[22] Edward Everett Hale, *Memories of a Hundred Years*, new ed. (New York and London, 1904), II, 138–139.

[23] Henry Adams had first encountered Dwight in the 1870's when working, with Mrs. Adams, among the State Department manuscripts on the *Life* and *Writings* of Albert Gallatin, both published in 1879. Dwight evidently became Adams' literary assistant and major-domo soon after Mrs. Adams' death late in 1885. He proved immensely useful to Adams during the composition and publication of the *History of the United States* (1889–1891), as is shown in the Adams-Dwight-Scribner correspondence owned by Mr. C. Waller Barrett and published elsewhere in this volume (pp. 204–271). Among the Adams Papers is a quarto volume labeled in Dwight's hand "Register of Books and Manuscripts Lent from Adams Family Library, Quincy, Mass., August 1888 to [*blank*]"; the last entry is dated October 15, 1889. The "Register" also contains some entries relative to the binding of groups of Adams manuscripts. In his brief term of service at the Boston Public Library Dwight was not a conspicuous success; see Walter Muir Whitehill, *Boston Public Library: A Centennial History* (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 129–130.

[24] Henry Adams, Diary, February, 1888–July, 1889.

Mrs. Cameron in that curiously extravagant way that became habitual with him:

> I am left here with Dwight for a solitary summer. . . . As I expect it to be the last, and am absorbed in publishing, the punishment is not severe. . . .
>
> Apparently I am to be the last of the family to occupy this house which has been our retreat in all times of trouble for just one hundred years. I suppose if two Presidents could come back here to eat out their hearts in disappointment and disgust, one of their unknown descendents can bore himself for a single season to close up the family den. None of us want it, or will take it. We have too many houses already, and no love for this. My country house at Samarcand requires my immediate attention, and the claims of society in Bokhara, Kashgar and Yarkand permit me to entertain no thought of Beacon Street. I shall leave Dwight to guard the family archives, and shall turn the key in the door. After all, my many houses are not half so dead and dull as their owner.[25]

Soon afterward, Henry's brother Brooks decided to use the Old House as a summer residence: Dwight left; and the family archives slumbered.

It was not that the brothers were unaware of their responsibility as custodians of a unique treasure of historical records. They were very well aware of it, but they did not know what to do about it. At one point Henry proposed to leave a substantial sum in his will to provide for the future protection and publication of the papers. But that opened such questions as what should be published, and by whom. Charles Francis and Brooks Adams were both historical writers, but they approached history from different directions and for very different purposes, and to say that they did not admire each other's work would be an understatement. Neither was therefore likely to agree to a publishing program planned or carried out by the other. There was even talk of turning over the papers to the Nation, but this too presented difficulties. Should they not be thoroughly inspected first, and "undesirable" material of any sort removed? And who would do that? Besides, both Charles Francis and Brooks found it useful to have the collection near at hand.[26]

The solution hit upon was primarily a delaying action, and hardly more than that. But under the circumstances this was exactly what was needed. The establishment of the Adams Manuscript Trust in 1905 simply deferred the ultimate disposition of the family archives for a full generation or more. It thereby prevented any division of them among the joint owners, and the almost inevitable consequences of such a division—pilfering, weeding, and loss at worst; sale and wide dispersion at best.[27]

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[25] Washington and Quincy, June 2–12, 1889.

[26] There is scattered correspondence on these matters in the Adams Papers, Fourth Generation (Massachusetts Historical Society). The "Fourth Generation" Adams Papers include all materials later than 1889, the terminal year of the edition of *The Adams Papers* projected by the Society.

One would like to know more about the thinking of the family in creating the Trust, but curiously little is on record about it apart from the formidable legal document in the Norfolk Registry of Deeds.[28] By consent of all the heirs of full age to the undivided estate of Charles Francis Adams, this instrument vested in four trustees (the three surviving brothers and C. F. Adams, 3rd, son of the deceased eldest brother) the ownership and care of the three historic Adams houses in Quincy, the Stone Library, and the furnishings and other contents thereof, including "the public letters, public letter books and public documents, manuscripts, books, private diaries and family letters," to use the lawyers' language. The trustees were authorized to appoint their own successors and were to care for this property for a maximum term of fifty years, or until they chose to dispose of it "with a view to its public or family interest and significance." They could sell or give away any part or all of it, and in the case of the manuscripts they could destroy any offending parts of them before such disposition. Eventually, as everyone knows, the Adams birthplaces at Penn's Hill were given to the City of Quincy (1940), and the mansion house was given to the United States (1946), so that thereafter the only property remaining in the hands of the trustees was the family archives, long since removed for safekeeping to the "Adams Room" in the new building of the Massachusetts Historical Society.[29]

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[27] There is no instance on record of the sale of an historical manuscript from the family archives. In the nineteenth century, especially during the middle decades, autograph hunters were sometimes successful in begging gifts of letters written by the Adams Presidents, their wives, and other celebrities. To Charles Francis Adams these solicitations, which at first he was willing to gratify rather liberally, at length became a perfect nuisance. The Adamses also occasionally gave single or small groups of autographs to learned institutions and charitable fairs.

[28] Vol. 1016, p. 442, dated December 14, 1905.

[29] The papers of the first two generations (John and John Quincy Adams) were deposited for "safe keeping" in May or June 1902 (Massachusetts Historical Society, Council Records, May 8 and June 12, 1902). Those of the third generation were not brought in until later, presumably because Charles Francis Adams, 2nd, was using them for his work on his father's life and writings.

There, where they reposed with relatively little disturbance for about half a century, we leave them for the moment in order to tell something of the use that has been made of them.

III

The earliest use of the Adams manuscripts was by John Adams in preparing the rather fragmentary sketches that are collectively known as his Autobiography. Begun in 1802 and continued at intervals during the next four or five years, the Autobiography was an attempt to supply gaps in and to amplify Adams' contemporary diary record. For this purpose it is valuable, but it is also disappointing because it does not go beyond his diplomatic career into his Vice-Presidency and Presidency, for which there are virtually no diary entries either. Adams' one further sustained effort to write the history of his public life only partly made good the deficiency. Early in 1809 he began what became almost a second autobiography, in the form of letters to a Jeffersonian newspaper, the *Boston Patriot.* Once well started, he could not stem the flow, often posting off two and three long letters a week that must at times have engulfed both printers and readers. Characteristically, he stuffed his communications with letters and documents from his old files and added pungent comments on the men and issues involved. The *Patriot* letters deal with both Adams' diplomatic and Presidential years, but in a very uneven and rambling way. Charles Francis Adams, who had a precise and orderly mind, was exasperated by his grandfather's slapdash method of composition. Of the *Patriot* letters he said:

> The consequence was a perpetuation of his most important documents, it is true, but under circumstances most adverse to any beneficial effect, either to history or to his own reputation. Scattered through the pages of a newspaper of very limited circulation, during three years, without order in the arrangement, and with most unfortunate typography, the papers might, indeed, be described as safe, but it was the safety of a treasure which an individual buries in the ground in his lifetime, and leaves to some straggler of a distant age, perchance to hit the spot where it may with labor be brought to light.[30]

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[30] *The Works of John Adams*, ed. Charles Francis Adams (Boston, 1850–1856), I, 614–615. The letters were printed in the *Patriot* from April, 1809, to May, 1812. Only a fraction of them were reprinted in the work, issued in parts, entitled *Correspondence of the Late President Adams. Originally Published in the Boston Patriot. In a Series of Letters* (Boston, 1809 [-10]); and only a portion of this collection was in turn included by C. F. Adams in John Adams' *Works*, IX, 239–330.

John Quincy Adams planned a substantial memoir of his father and proposed to edit a selection of his papers. The memoir got only as far as 1770 and was then dropped.[31] The publication of the papers did not get beyond some copying work. Charles Francis Adams before long abandoned hope that his father would perform these filial tasks, but Mrs. John Quincy Adams was more persistent. Nor did she mince words in pointing out to her husband the clear path of duty: "Three years ago [she wrote him in 1839] I laid before you a Letter written by you to [your] affectionate Mother, in answer to one of hers on the subject of your Fathers Papers, in which you in your strong language, promise if God spares your life, to perform this sacred duty; and will you let this Letter go down to your posterity, to show the nothingness of such promises; while you are frittering away your precious time in oft repeated observations, beneficial to no one; and wearisome to yourself."[32]

On the back of this letter her husband meekly wrote, "Good advice." But he did not follow it.

Thus the work fell into the hands of *his* son, who fortunately found it wholly congenial. To be engaged in literary labors lent prestige in the Boston of that era, and young Charles Francis, who was well-to-do and cared little for the drudgery of legal practice, had a real penchant for historical scholarship. His work on the family papers proceeded in several distinct stages. There was the first or exploratory period, in the 1830's, culminating in the publication of two pleasant little collections of his grandmother's and his grandfather's letters. The *Letters of Mrs. Adams* (Boston, 1840) met with a phenomenal and quite unexpected success.[33] To us there can be no cause for surprise in this, since it has long been recognized that Abigail Adams was one of the most charming and spirited commentators on the life around her who ever put pen to paper. But the sensation of popularity was a rare one for Adamses in that day, and the family editor shrewdly capitalized upon it by promptly bringing out a matching collection of *Letters of*

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[31] It constitutes the preliminary genealogical sketch and the first two chapters of "The Life of John Adams" in Adams' *Works*, I, 3–89. Most of this work was done in the summer and fall of 1829, following J. Q. Adams' retirement from the Presidency, though he returned to it at infrequent intervals for a decade.

[32] Quincy, August 12, 1839.

[33] The first edition sold out in two months (C. F. Adams, Diary, November 7, 1840). A second edition appeared the same year, a third in 1841, and a fourth in 1848.

John Adams, Addressed to His Wife (Boston, 1841)—a wish having been expressed, as the preface genteelly put it, "that the mode and degree in which the affection and sensibility of the lady were returned should be shown." In other words, the editor was now enabled to present to the public for the first time that amiable side of old John Adams which only his family and intimates had hitherto known. But the editor was also breaking new ground in a general as well as in a particular way. His preface contains a statement of editorial principles so far in advance of those current in an age when myths were forming round the leading names of the American Revolution, and it remains so basically sound even today, that it should be much more widely known.

> Very early in the period of the Editor's labor [Adams wrote] a grave question sprung up for his decision, how far he had a right to use his judgment in altering or omitting such portions of these papers as might for various reasons appear to him to be unsuitable for publication. . . . There were some passages which, although well enough when considered as written in the careless way of confidential correspondence, yet looked too trifling for a grave character when publication was in question. Others presented him as holding opinions upon various subjects which clash with the fashionable sentiments of the present day and with the prevailing political dogmas of the sovereign majority in the United States. And still others contain reflections upon individuals which might by possibility . . . offend the feeling of sensitive descendants or friends. These considerations pressed the Editor very strongly to a thorough revision of the letters, to proceed in which he could feel himself the more justified by the idea that as they had not originally been designed for publication, he should in so doing only be executing what the writer himself would have done if he could have foreseen the use that was now about to be made of them. Yet, however strong these arguments appeared, obstacles of a very serious character presented themselves to the performance of the duty which they recommended. In the first place, it is a matter of doubt to the Editor how far any person, by virtue of a self-constituted office, has a right to alter and modify the language of another so as to make him appear before the public as saying more or less than he really thought. Secondly, admitting such a right to exist in its full extent, the exercise of it, to any great degree, appears to be of questionable expediency. For however it may effect the introduction of a tolerable degree of uniformity in literature, this benefit can be gained only at the expense of all its vitality. The evils attending it appear to be of two kinds. The first, that it inevitably makes the character and opinions of an Editor the standard for judging those of the writer, and thus confounds all ability to discriminate between them. The second, that it tempts him to too great subserviency to the popular doctrines of the existing generation at the hazard of sacrificing of what may after all be truth.

> If there is one recommendation of a literary work more than any other to be prized, it is that it should present the mind of the writer in as distinct a shape and as free from all extrinsic modeling as possible. The varieties that exist among mankind in temper, disposition, principles and affections, are so infinite, that wherever such do not appear in books professing to describe individuals, the inference is almost irresistible that some attempt or other has been made to obliterate those marks by which the difference between them is made visible at all.[34]

Running deliberately counter to the prevailing mode of making the founding fathers as immaculate and heroic as possible by discreet textual omissions and "improvements," Charles Francis Adams declared for fidelity to the record as written. His distinction as an editor is that he not only declared for this principle, but adhered to it with far greater consistency than other historical editors did until a much later time. Having said this, however, it is necessary to say further that the second stage of his editorial labors, expended on *The Works of John Adams,* was much less successful in its result than one might have hoped. That formidable set of books, "bound in black," as Zoltán Haraszti has remarked, "as if for mourning,"[35] is useful only because no substitute for it has yet been provided. It is exceedingly cluttered and confusing in plan, so that one never knows where one will find anything in it.[36] Indeed the chances are good that the inquirer will not find what he is looking for because the work is devoted so very largely to the public and official writings of John Adams, which are usually lengthy and dull, to the exclusion of his much more spirited and informative personal writings, notably his incomparable private correspondence, which his editor regretfully limited to the last volume and a half of a ten-volume set.[37]

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[34] I, viii–xi.

[35] *John Adams and the Prophets of Progress* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 10.

[36] The confusion is in large part owing to the editor's arranging the contents in numerous chronological sequences by subject or type of material. In 1853 C. F. Adams engaged John Langdon Sibley, librarian of Harvard College, to prepare the index. Sibley agreed to do so for $400 and a copy of the ten-volume work, but he lived to regret these terms. He told Adams that it was "the most laborious" task of its kind that he had ever undertaken. "I do not think I shall ever be caught in another in seven chronological series" (Cambridge, January 26, 1855). And a little later he spoke of it as a "millstone" that had prevented his doing anything else for two and a half years (Cambridge, July, 1855).

[37] See *Works,* IX, 331: "The large share of this work occupied by the official papers, necessarily contracts the limits that are assigned to the private letters. From the voluminous collection of these, written in the course of more than half a century, a rigid selection is now made. Probably not a single leading actor of the revolutionary period has left nearly so many as Mr. Adams. . . . Especially is it a matter of regret that room could not be found

To this task Charles Francis Adams devoted about eight years, the interval between the Free Soil campaign and the approach of the sectional conflict that was to draw him back into public service. When he had finished with his grandfather's papers, there remained, he noted in the preface, "yet larger stores" of material in reserve for another work, "to elucidate the history of the generation immediately succeeding."[38] Fifteen crowded years were to pass before he could get at this other great task. Then, at last, settled in his new library building with his books and the family papers conveniently disposed around him, he planned and completed in a surprisingly short time a vast literary memorial to his own father. He did so by forgoing all thought of publishing even a selection of John Quincy Adams' correspondence, which, he observed, "if it were all to be published, as was that of Voltaire, would be likely quite to equal in quantity the hundred volumes of that expansive writer." The example of Voltaire, he thought, should "serve as a lesson for warning, rather than for imitation."[39] The best memorial would be an ample, but selected, text of the diary his father had kept, in sickness and in health, at home and abroad, from boyhood to death. By concentrating on this single great document, eliminating from it "the details of common life and events of no interest to the public," and reducing repetitious "moral and religious speculations," it would be possible, he believed, to bring the enterprise into manageable compass.[40] It would at the same time, he felt, go far toward obviating the need for a biography. The publisher, Lippincott of Philadelphia, was warmly responsive from the outset, but he was staggered by the size of the undertaking as it went on, just as the editor continued to be, though he lopped here and lopped there with great assiduity and effect. As finally issued from 1874 to 1877, the *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams* ran to twelve large octavo volumes.

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for the familiar letters as well of Mr. Adams as of his wife, a small portion of which were collected and published by the Editor in another shape some years ago. A number of letters addressed to Mr. Adams by distinguished men, which had been prepared, are likewise excluded, for the same reason. These materials, however, are not lost. They await a later period, when they may be presented in a shape not less durable than the present, to illustrate the heroic age of the United American States."

[38] *Works of John Adams*, I, ix. A prospectus issued in 1849 by the publishers, Little & Brown, expressed the hope that public encouragement of the work would be sufficient to warrant the editor "to go on and perfect the other and later part of it, the Life and Works of the no less distinguished son, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS."

[39] *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, I, vi-vii.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. viii.

"At last, on a certain day in August, 1877," as the editor's son was later to write, Charles Francis Adams "found the final volume lying on his table. The labor imposed on himself nearly forty years before in connection with his grandmother, his grandfather, and his father was completed; and, laying down the volume, he wrote: 'I am now perfectly willing to go myself. My mission is ended, and I may rest.' "[41]

The great merit of the *Memoirs* as a monument of editing is their textual trustworthiness, so far as the text goes. The available evidence shows that Charles Francis Adams stuck firmly to his prefatory assertion that "Whatever does appear . . . remains just as the author wrote it."[42] What appears, however, is very largely that which relates to the writer's role in public affairs. His private life is illustrated only by occasional passages, and these are not wholly representative, since all references to at least one tragic but profoundly important event in his domestic history are suppressed. Another deficiency is the lack of explanatory comment by the editor at many points where it is needed. This editorial restraint may be justified on the ground that it allowed more space for text and speeded the production of copy for the press, but it reduces the usefulness of the book. And yet for all that, the student who must often ply the pages of nineteenth-century editions of statesmen's writings will find his respect for the editorial standards and skill of Charles Francis Adams constantly growing rather than, as in the case of other editors of that period, diminishing.

Upon Charles Francis' death, the question ever-recurrent in this family arose once more. How could Father's career best be memorialized? Should there be a biography, an edition of his papers, or both? Who should write the biography, and who should edit the papers? There was an abundance of talent in the family for these tasks if a plan could only be agreed on among the brothers. The best qualified brother, Henry, shied off. He had used the family papers for a couple of projects that briefly interested him, but though he wrote and edited important biographical and historical works on national subjects, he made surprisingly little use of these papers in any of them.[43] In later life, as he became more and more convinced that history is a trifling and irrelevant branch of intellectual endeavor, he was—or pretended to be—bored to distraction by anything connected with the annals of the Adamses.

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[41] Charles Francis Adams, 2nd, *Charles Francis Adams,* p. 402.

[42] I, ix.

[43] Henry Adams in 1869 prepared a selection of the letters and autobiographical sketches of his grandmother, Louisa Catherine (Mrs. John Quincy) Adams, whom he had known only when he was a boy but to whom he was strongly attracted. The MS, which was to have

His older brother Charles, a man of versatile talents and incredible energy, grew more deeply interested in family history as Henry grew less. During the 1890's, while managing his far-flung business enterprises and writing and speaking on an astonishing variety of public issues, he studied his father's diary and other papers and projected a biography and an edition of his writings, both of them on an ambitious scale. All that he ever published was a very abridged version of the biography, as a volume in the American Statesmen series (1900). In the preface to that book, which seems to me an exceptionally fine short biography but which his brothers Henry and Brooks agreed was a very bad piece of work, the younger Charles Francis spoke as if his biographical and documentary projects had been merged into one vast work "already far advanced in preparation."[44] In a passage written about the same time (and published in his *Autobiography*, years later), Adams said that his "plan of a *magnum opus* was to write what would have been a diplomatic history of the Civil War."[45] He was to devote many more years to carrying out this plan, searching out and copying, directly and through deputies, great masses of documents in the London, Paris, and Washington archives, and contributing studies of critical episodes in his father's career to the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society. But the grand scheme finally collapsed under its own weight. Even his energy at last faltered, and Charles Francis Adams died in 1915 leaving the work unfinished.[46]

But long before this, both he and his brother Brooks had given some attention to those papers of their grandfather which had not been

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been expanded into a full memoir, is in the Houghton Library at Harvard. In editing *Documents Relating to New England Federalism, 1800–1815* (Boston, 1877), Adams drew one important unpublished document from his grandfather's papers. But in the *Life* and *Writings* of Gallatin, which followed soon afterward, he made very slight use of the Adams Papers; and in the great *History*, still more surprisingly, almost none.

[44] P. vi.

[45] *Charles Francis Adams, 1835–1915: An Autobiography* (Boston and New York, 1916), p. 206.

[46] See Worthington C. Ford's postscript in *ibid.*, pp. 212–217. Adams' extensive collection of transcripts and the drafts of a large portion of his projected biography are among the Adams Papers, Fourth Generation.

used in the great edition of his *Memoirs*. Charles, for example, contributed a valuable early section of John Quincy Adams' diary, hitherto unpublished, covering his years as a law student in Newburyport, to the Massachusetts Historical Society's *Proceedings*, and it was promptly reprinted by a trade publisher.[47] Brooks worked for some years on a biography of his grandfather, documenting it heavily with the correspondence of several generations of the family. Brother Henry's strictures on the manuscript discouraged the author from publication, and no doubt fortunately, for the biography delineated John Quincy rather too obviously as a philosophical precursor of Brooks Adams.[48]

The formation of the Trust in 1905 and the deposit of the papers in the new building of the Historical Society had presented a new opportunity for scholarly use of the collection—always, of course, under family oversight. Charles Francis Adams, who was president of the Society, wanted to see liberal use made of the papers, and it was he who in 1908 induced Worthington Chauncey Ford to leave the Library of Congress and come to Boston to serve as editor of the Society and consultant to the Adams Manuscript Trust.[49] Ford at once proposed to edit a large-scale collection of John Quincy Adams' writings. All three brothers promptly approved; after all, this was a responsibility lifted from their shoulders. But Henry sounded a warning.

> I doubt a little [he wrote to Brooks] whether Ford quite appreciates the magnitude of the job he has planned or the difficulty of fixing a limit at Speeches

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[47] *Life in a New England Town: 1787, 1788* (Boston, 1903); reprinted from Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 2nd Ser., XVI (1902), 291–464. Between 1902 and 1913 C. F. Adams, 2nd, also contributed a number of documentary articles, based on his grandfather's papers, to the *Proceedings* of both this Society and the American Antiquarian Society. The articles were usually preprinted or reprinted separately and gave substantial hints of the extent and value of the materials still awaiting exploitation in the family archives.

[48] A typescript is in the Adams Papers, Fourth Generation. Henry's critique, written in February, 1909, is in the Houghton Library and is partly quoted in Arthur F. Beringause, *Brooks Adams: A Biography* (New York, 1955), pp. 309-311.

[49] Ford was appointed November 12, 1908 (Massachusetts Historical Society, Council Records). Of a remarkable family of scholars and book collectors, he had been useful to Henry and Brooks Adams, in their hobby of predicting the financial collapse of the western world, while working as a statistician in the Treasury Department in the 1890's. At the turn of the century Ford was at the Boston Public Library and aided C. F. Adams, 2nd, in the exploration of J. Q. Adams' literary remains; he also assisted in the gathering of materials for the (never finished) life of the first Charles Francis Adams. On Ford's later career see Stewart Mitchell's tantalizingly brief "Memoir" in *Proceedings*, LXIX (1947–1950), 407–411.

> and Letters. I should think from my experience with Gallatin, that he would require about twenty volumes. The old man did nothing but write, during seventy years without stopping. If I had to publish his Letters, I should want to start with his diplomatic despatches, as yet, so far as I know, untouched. No one has ever read them, within my knowledge. Some dozen years of them would fill an unknown space. We have all recoiled before the scale of the task, and are quite willing to throw it on other people; it would be ten years very hard work if done decently well.[50]

In the face of these difficulties Ford did admirably. He planned an edition in twelve volumes and produced seven, covering very selectively the years 1779 to 1823, before the work was broken off, without explanation, in 1917.[51] Lacking an index, the *Writings of John Quincy Adams* are hard to use, and the work has other limitations. Ford included personal letters, but official writings predominate, and arbitrary excisions appear throughout the texts. Ford also provided many useful notes, especially parallel or supplementary material from omitted documents and from letters printed in the writings of other statesmen; but he did so on no consistent principle and left a very great deal unexplained that only he, who had access to the papers, could have explained. Still more unfortunately, the rapidity with which he worked resulted in a good many errors, especially in dating letters and documents. In this respect his editorial work seems on the whole to be less reliable than that of the first Charles Francis Adams.

The most puzzling thing in Ford's edition is the editor's acknowledgment to the Adams brothers, not for what it says but for what it does not say. He announced his indebtedness to them but did not mention their connection, as trustees, with the ownership of the papers he printed. In fact a reader could not learn who owned the collection or where it was. The same silence, or ambiguity, prevails in certain later publications by Ford of materials drawn from the Trust collection. Apparently the name of the Trust, like the name of the deity in some religions, was something that could not be mentioned aloud. From the standpoint of scholarship, this was not a healthy situation. Manuscripts do not exist in a vacuum, and the printed text of a letter often raises questions in the mind of a student that can be answered only by seeing the original or the other letters and papers around it. As an expert historical investigator himself, Ford surely knew this but probably could do nothing about it. Following the death of Charles Francis Adams, 2nd, in 1915, Ford's freedom of action was further curtailed; and after Brooks Adams' death, in 1927, the family collection seems, in effect, to have been sealed off from him as it was of course from the rest of the public, including the officers and staff of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in whose building it was housed.[52]

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[50] Washington, January 29, 1909 (Houghton Library).

[51] Transcripts in Ford's hand for the text of most of the eighth volume, planned to extend through the year 1828, are in the editorial files of the Adams Papers. From scraps of correspondence between Ford and the Macmillan Company that remain in the Society's correspondence files, it is clear that the edition was a casualty of wartime publishing conditions. Ford thought the interruption only temporary and as late as 1925 expected to resume publication (Ford to William E. Dodd, Boston, January 30, 1925; Massachusetts Historical Society, Correspondence). Mr. Beringause says in a note citing no date or authority that the work was stopped by "the interference of Mr. Brooks Adams" (*Brooks Adams*, p. 306, note).

So it remained for many years under the trusteeship of two members of the fifth generation since President John Adams: Charles Francis Adams (1866–1954) of Boston, and Henry Adams (1875–1951) of Concord, the first of whom had been one of the original trustees and the second of whom succeeded his uncle, Brooks Adams, in 1927. Their policy of custodianship rested on an assumption that, by and large, whatever *ought to be* published from the collection *had been* published. Since it is the business of historians to make discoveries about the past, and the trustees thought it their duty to keep discoveries from being made, intercourse between inquiring scholars and the official custodians was seldom easy or agreeable. To be sure, there were exceptions. Even before the Trust was established, use of letters written *to* members of the family by their eminent contemporaries had from time to time been permitted, and after its establishment this policy was continued with more or less liberality, with the result that substantial runs of letters from Stephen Higginson, Richard Henry Lee, Carl Schurz, William Vans Murray, James and Mercy Warren, Thomas Jefferson, and Benjamin Rush in the Adams manuscripts have made their way into print during the past sixty years. Numerous other instances of limited use of the original sources in the collection could be mentioned.[53]

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[52] Listing Ford's other editorial ventures involving the Adams Papers gives little notion of his incredible industry, since from 1909 to 1929 he also edited the Society's numerous regular and special publications and conducted still other scholarly projects. In 1912 he contributed a long series of William Vans Murray's letters to J. Q. Adams, 1797–1803, to the American Historical Association's *Annual Report* for that year (Washington, 1914, pp. 347–715). In the *Warren-Adams Letters*, issued as vols. LXXII–LXXIII of the Massachusetts Historical Society's *Collections* (1917–1925), he included a good many letters of James and Mercy Warren drawn from the Adams Papers. Meanwhile, almost as a diversion, Ford edited and published the remarkable three-way Civil War correspondence of Charles Francis Adams and his sons Charles Francis and Henry, entitled *A Cycle of Adams Letters, 1861-1865* (Boston and New York, 1920), from manuscripts then evidently in the possession of Mrs. C. F. Adams, 2nd, to whom the two volumes are dedicated. In 1927, just after Brooks Adams' death, appeared Ford's *Statesman and Friend*, a small but valuable collection of correspondence between John Adams and Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, 1784–1822. The relatively few Waterhouse letters were drawn from the Trust, and acknowledgment was made to the then sole trustee, C. F. Adams, 3rd, but in terms suggesting that Ford no longer enjoyed direct access to the family manuscripts. Well before this he had begun to gather in what letters he could from Henry Adams' correspondents, with a view to publishing an edition of Henry's letters. As early as 1920 he told a friend that he had enough "to fill some five or six volumes, which would be an absurd contribution" (to Frederic Bancroft, Boston, May 12, 1920; Massachusetts Historical Society, Correspondence). In the end Ford published only the two familiar volumes, *Letters of Henry Adams* (Boston and New York, 1930–1938), which cover selectively the years 1858–1918, adding to the family archives all the originals and copies that he had assembled.

By far the most important instance occurred near the end of the Trust's fifty-year existence. In Professor Samuel F. Bemis of Yale the family at last found, and fortunately realized that it had found, the answer to its hundred-year-old question of who should write the life of John Quincy Adams.[54] Beginning his work in the 1940's, and possessing qualifications beyond all others for the great task, Mr. Bemis gradually won the complete confidence of the trustees, and the publication of his two-volume biography magnificently justified that confidence.[55] Mr. Bemis' wise and thorough book was at the same time an overwhelming demonstration of the riches available in the Adams family papers for the better understanding not only of a great and poorly understood statesman but of the long span of American history in which a whole succession of Adamses had played prominent roles.

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[53] One of the most remarkable of these concerned John Quincy Adams' metrical translation of Wieland's *Oberon*, an eighteenth-century German romantic epic in twelve cantos. Adams undertook his translation in order to teach himself German while serving as American minister at Berlin, and no fewer than three complete drafts survive among his papers. They were "discovered" there in the 1930's, and the final version was published as a trade book 140 years after it was written: *Oberon, A Poetical Romance in Twelve Books, Translated from the German of Wieland (1799–1801) by John Quincy Adams*, ed. A. B. Faust (New York, 1940). At the very least we may agree with the learned editor that the work "is a monument to the industry, zeal, and scholarship" of the young diplomat (p. xlv).

[54] Two more or less authorized lives had appeared earlier. The first, William H. Seward's *Life and Public Services of John Quincy Adams* (Auburn, 1849), merits attention because of its distinguished authorship and the number of documents that the first C. F. Adams furnished from the family papers for inclusion in it (some of them never elsewhere printed); but it is a very journalistic performance. The other, Josiah Quincy's *Memoir of the Life of John Quincy Adams* (Boston, 1858), is a work of over 400 pages devoted almost entirely to its subject's public services and written in a style of absolutely unrelieved dullness.

[55] Samuel Flagg Bemis, *John Quincy Adams and the Foundations of American Foreign Policy* (New York, 1949); *John Quincy Adams and the Union* (New York, 1956).

While Mr. Bemis was completing his biography, important events were taking place in the Trust itself. Mr. Henry Adams, 2nd, died in 1951, and two young trustees, bearing the historic names of Thomas Boylston Adams and John Quincy Adams, were appointed by the surviving trustee to serve with him. Not being historians themselves, but having no predisposition to distrust members of that profession, they promptly called on a group of scholars to advise them concerning what should be done with the family archives.

As one of the scholars called upon, I have a confession to make. I came to the Old House in Quincy on that lovely summer day in 1952 prepared to argue a case. We sat around the baize-covered table in the Stone Library where Charles Francis Adams had edited his father's *Memoirs* and Henry Adams had finished his *History of the United States*. The scent of roses, some of them growing on bushes brought home from London by Abigail Adams in 1788, drifted in from the garden. When the senior trustee present, Mr. Thomas B. Adams, rose to tell us why we were there, it was at once apparent to my colleagues and me that all we were doing was breaking in an open door. The trustees had already made up their minds. They had reached a decision as historic in its way as any that their statesmen-forbears had made.

What followed is a matter of public record: the launching of a microfilming program, under the sponsorship of this Society, to make available the entire corpus of the Adams Papers in major research libraries;[56] the proposal by the Harvard University Press to undertake a comprehensive letterpress edition of the papers over its Belknap Press imprint; the offer of Time, Inc., to furnish editorial funds to the Society in return for the right to serialize selections from the edited copy in *Life*; and the setting up of the editorial office in Boston late in 1954.[57]

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[56] The microfilm edition of the Adams Papers is being produced under the supervision of the Microreproduction Laboratory of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In progress since 1954, it will include the entire corpus of the papers in the Trust collection dating from 1639 through 1889, conservatively estimated as amounting to over 300,000 manuscript pages. (For materials later than 1889 see note 26, above.) The films are issued in installments to research libraries on a subscription basis and will be completed in 1959. It hardly needs to be pointed out that the microfilms will contain much that the letterpress edition, necessarily selective, will exclude.

Compared with the way in which things ordinarily move in the cautious realm of historical scholarship, these events had occurred with the speed of a nuclear chain-reaction. The ultimate event in the physical history of the Adams Papers took place soon afterwards. One day in April, 1956, there arrived at the Society a one-page typewritten document signed and sealed by the present Thomas Boylston Adams and the present John Quincy Adams, declaring that they, as trustees, thereby assigned, transferred, and conveyed to the Massachusetts Historical Society "all manuscripts, letters, letter-books, documents, public and private, diaries and other material belonging to the said Trust and now located on the premises of the said Society at 1154 Boylston Street, Boston, Massachusetts." The sole condition, which follows in a single brief paragraph, obligates the Society to carry out the agreements made by the Trust in 1954 and 1955 with Time, Inc., relating to funds for editorial work, and with the President and Fellows of Harvard College relating to publication of the papers by Harvard University Press. The acceptance of this obligation is appropriately shown on the document by the signature of John Adams, then the president of the Society.

IV

For the Society, for the world of historical scholarship, and for the public at large, this is a happy conclusion to the long and complicated story I have narrated above. It is not easy to sum up one's feelings and thoughts as one reads this brief legal instrument, but with due diffidence several comments may be offered.

Of its kind, the collection known as the Adams Papers is beyond price and without peer. No such assemblage of historical records touching so many aspects of American life over so long a period has ever been created and kept together by any other family in this country. The history of practically every other collection of early statesmen's papers important enough to bear comparison makes a tragic

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[57] See *Life,* October 25, 1954, pp. 39–41; July 2, 1956, pp. 66–76; Walter Muir Whitehill, "The Adams Papers: the Records of Two Centuries of a Harvard Family," *Harvard Alumni Bulletin,* LVII (October 23, 1954), 117–119, 123–124; L. H. Butterfield, "The Adams Papers," *Dædalus,* LXXXVI (May, 1955), 62–71.

contrast with that of the Adams Papers. Benjamin Franklin's papers were divided between two continents, largely lost, then partly recovered from a stable in Pennsylvania, a tailor's shop in London, and elsewhere. They are only now being reassembled, in photostatic reproductions, by a corps of scholars at Yale and the American Philosophical Society. George Washington's carefully preserved official and personal archives were plundered by autograph hunters and carted about the country before they were, so far as possible, brought together in Washington by an Act of Congress that purchased them from the heirs. As conscientious a record-keeper as any man who ever served his country, Thomas Jefferson left his incomparably complete files of papers to his family, who contrived to keep them for some time, even though they lost the rest of his estate. In 1848 Congress moved to purchase them for the nation, but in its wisdom supposed that only the "official" papers of the Virginia statesman could have historical value. The result was that a bungling sorting process went on for many years, and the bulk of the papers Jefferson left at Monticello are now divided in two unequal shares between the Library of Congress and the Massachusetts Historical Society, with smaller segments, thanks largely to an incredibly careless editor, scattered among half a dozen repositories elsewhere in the United States.

Nothing is more instructive than to read the debates in Congress on the proposed purchases of historical manuscripts during the middle decades of the nineteenth century, when the American people were first growing conscious of their heritage. In 1848 the papers of both Jefferson and his great colleague and antagonist Hamilton became available, and in view of sectional jealousies then prevailing it seemed best to present the two collections together for Congressional action. This strategy proved successful, but by a narrow margin and not until after a great deal of wind had risen on Capitol Hill. Members of the House rose to point out that the Constitution said nothing about the purchase of statesmen's papers. It was none of the federal government's business to see that such papers were safeguarded and published. If they were worth publishing, let other agencies undertake the work, but let us keep our chaste Constitution inviolate. This was the line of Abraham Venable of North Carolina, later a member of the Confederate Congress. He would, he said, "vote for the purchase of these papers [Jefferson's and Hamilton's] as soon as for those of anybody; but if this course was to be pursued, it would not be many years before the hundred volumes of Mr. J. Q. Adams' journal and writings and perhaps the papers of ex-president Tyler would be purchased." (John Quincy Adams, who had been laid in an honored grave only a few months before, would have shuddered at this conjunction of his name with that of "His Accidency" John Tyler.) Adams' good friend John G. Palfrey, a member from Massachusetts and the historian of New England, immediately rose to deny "with some warmth . . . that the House would ever be asked to purchase the papers of Mr. Adams."[58]

And so it has proved. Thanks to the collective vigilance, pride, financial solvency, and wisdom of the Adams family, their representatives have been enabled to turn over to the public, and have now turned over, intact, a uniquely extensive and significant body of historical records. After the manner of Adamses, they have discharged their trust well.

This is a beginning as well as an ending, but it would lengthen an already overlong paper to attempt to list or even suggest the areas of our history on which the Adams Papers can be expected to shed new light. Of one thing those of us who have worked with the papers are especially confident: they will unfold a great *human* story. In the preface to his recent biography of Gladstone, Philip Magnus mentions that Gladstone's son said of Morley's monumental life of Gladstone, published in 1903, that "luminous and interesting as are Lord Morley's pages, they do not preserve, for those who did not know Mr. Gladstone, a true and complete view." The burden of his complaint was that Morley had followed the dictates of nineteenth-century taste, which forbade lifting the curtain on a great man's private life, unless to show him in a conventional pose amongst his family.[59] In this respect, surely, modern biographers and historians have improved on their predecessors, despite occasional excesses of an opposite kind by irresponsible writers. It is now beyond dispute that we cannot fully comprehend a man's public conduct, to say nothing of the man himself, if we see only his public face. We have to see him in the round and in *all* of his relationships. How poorly we would understand

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[58] William Dawson Johnston, *History of the Library of Congress*, I (Washington, 1904), 321–326.

[59] Philip Magnus, *Gladstone: A Biography* (London, 1954), pp. xii–xiv.

Lincoln's tragedy and triumph if we did not know what we have learned about Mrs. Lincoln! What moving and illuminating pages Mr. Bemis has written on John Quincy Adams' homecoming in 1829, after his grievous political defeat, to find that his eldest son had taken his own life! No wonder Adams repeated over and over again the verses of the French poet that he had first heard as a boy in Europe and now thought must have been meant for himself:

> Oh! Richard! Oh! mon Roi—
> L'Univers t'abandonne.[60]

These are examples of the kind of evidence that nineteenth-century biographers and editors systematically suppressed. The theory was that a great man should never be allowed to be merely human. But it is doubtful if a truly great man ever wants to be thought of as more than that. The job of the historian is to scrutinize *all* the sources available to him, including both official documents and personal records, and to sift from them every scrap of evidence bearing on the subject in hand. The Adams Papers are almost inexhaustibly rich in both these kinds of records. And by an act of unparalleled generosity they are now placed before those whose task and privilege it is to interpret the past to the present and future.

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[60] Diary, November 7, 1830.

Memoirs

Shepard Pond

Shepard Pond

Walter Muir Whitehill

Shepard Pond was born in Winchester, Massachusetts, on February 18, 1889, and lived there all but four years of his life. He was the son of Handel Pond, an appropriately named piano manufacturer, and Amelia Ripley Herrick, his wife.

A graduate of Milton Academy and member of the Harvard Class of 1910, Shepard Pond received his degree in three years. He went to work in 1909 for the investment house of Hayden, Stone & Co., and he remained there, save for Army service in World War I, until 1923, when he joined his brother, Clarence H. Pond, in their old family business, the Ivers and Pond Piano Company. At the time of his twenty-fifth reunion he was still a bachelor, but on June 4, 1936, he married June Anne Thornton. They had one daughter, Susan Shepard Pond, born on August 19, 1938.

Shepard Pond was a quiet man who stuck close to his origins, but he made various trips to Europe, and through them became fascinated by numismatics. His collecting and his contributions to learning were in this field. In 1921 he became a member of the Boston Numismatic Society, and eventually served that Society in all offices save that of Vice-President. He was its President from 1937 to 1939, and again from 1940 to 1943. In 1928 he became a Fellow of the American Numismatic Society; in 1938 he was elected a member of its Council and in 1944 of its Board of Governors, an office that he also held in the American Numismatic Association. Abroad he was a Fellow of the Royal Numismatic Society, London, member of the Société Française de Numismatique, the Société Royale de Numismatique de Belgique, and Corresponding Secretary for the Numismatic Society of South Australia.

On November 20, 1940, he addressed the Club of Odd Volumes and made so agreeable an impression that he was elected to membership a few months later. Gus Loring was responsible for this, as for so many other good things in Boston. On January 8, 1942, in consequence of the friendships made at 77 Mount Vernon Street, Shepard Pond was elected a Resident Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and almost immediately appointed Curator of the Society's Cabinet of coins and medals.

He took his curatorship seriously as a working assignment. As early as April 9, 1942, he reported to the Society on the state of the collection, which had had scant attention since the death of Dr. Malcolm Storer in January, 1935. In May he suggested, and the Council adopted, as a policy for enlargement by purchase that "special attention be paid to the numismatics of Massachusetts, its municipalities, institutions, and personalities, and to American historical events and national characters; that the coin collection be kept up to date as regards representative United States coins." He regarded Spanish and Spanish-American coins which once circulated legally in the United States, English coins through 1820, the cut and counterstamped pieces of the West Indies, and the private gold coinages of California as suitable material for the Cabinet, but recommended against the purchase of further ancient, oriental, or mid-European pieces.

At the November, 1942, meeting he read an illustrated paper on "Pretenders to the French Throne in Numismatics" that was published in volume LXVII of our *Proceedings*. In 1943 he was elected a Member-at-Large of the Council. During his first year of office he rearranged and studied the collection, added seventy coins and sixteen medals by gift and purchase, and, by circularizing all the numismatic societies in the United States, succeeded in selling a considerable number of copies of Dr. Storer's *Numismatics of Massachusetts*, which had been published in 1923 as volume LXXVI of our *Collections*.

Shepard Pond published numerous studies of European coins and medals in numismatic journals. To the *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society* he contributed in 1940 and 1941 a fascinating series of articles on the ducat, Louis d'or, the Spanish dollar, and the Maria Theresa thaler—all coins once significant in the conduct of international business. In *The American Neptune* for April, 1942, he published the medal struck in 1687 to commemorate the recovery of shipwrecked treasure by Sir William Phips off the coast of Hispaniola, a copy of which is in this Society's Cabinet. Two years later he contributed to the March-April, 1944, issue of *The Coin Collector's Journal* a fully illustrated account of the eleven silver medals presented to General Washington by the French government that were given to the Society in 1874 by the Honorable Peter Harvey.

Shepard Pond loved coins and medals for their beauty of design and execution; he also regarded them as an inducement to learn more of political and social history. His study *Napoleon, Emperor of the*

French Republic, first published in 1939, which involved detective work in the constitutional and personal aspects of Napoleon's transformation from First Consul to Emperor, originated from the curiosity aroused, while traveling in France as an undergraduate, upon receiving in change coins bearing the seemingly contradictory legends: NAPOLÉON EMPEREUR and RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE. In spite of the extent of his knowledge, he was always ready to take the time to help a child who showed any curiosity about numismatics. On such occasions he would suggest lines of collecting, within fields where coins could reasonably be found at modest prices, that would stimulate the child's interest in history.

His premature death on May 28, 1945, deprived us of a valued friend whose interests were concentrated upon a field in which this Society has distinguished but generally unappreciated resources. Seldom has the Massachusetts Historical Society elected a more active, amiable, or useful member than Shepard Pond. The fact that he had been pursuing his interests in Boston all his life with the modesty that becomes a true scholar, and had been elected only three years before his death, illustrates the ease with which a society of this kind can miss the opportunity to secure a distinguished specialist for its membership. It also emphasizes the usefulness of such an imaginative figure as Augustus P. Loring in bringing men and institutions together.

Charles Eliot Goodspeed

WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

CHARLES ELIOT GOODSPEED, who was born at Cotuit, Massachusetts, on May 2, 1867, went to work at the age of fourteen. After fourteen years as a traveling salesman in farm machinery and three in the New York office of the firm that he had represented on the road, he found himself out of a job in consequence of the business depression following the panic of 1893. He converted this misfortune into the opportunity to do what he most cared for, and became a bookseller. The shop that he opened in the basement at 5A Park Street, Boston, on December 1, 1898, started on a shoestring; it soon became a valued Boston institution, and in time one of the best known and respected antiquarian bookshops in the United States. In 1937 Charles Goodspeed told the story of Goodspeed's Book Shop and the more impersonal aspects of his first seventy years in a delightful autobiography.[1] What I write here has to do with his thirteen last years and is a tribute to an example of old age in its ideal manifestation.

It is not surprising that, with a Cape Cod background, he should have made his mark in his chosen profession in the old New England way, but those who knew him well came to discover that he possessed qualities but rarely found in the successful New Englander. A devout disciple of Izaak Walton, he had much of Walton's simplicity and sweetness of character. After reaching the age of seventy he made his permanent home on a hillside at Shirley, where he had formerly summered. There, with a magnificent view across a valley towards Wachusett, he gardened, collected minerals, and read the seventeenth-century writers that he loved. Leaving the routine cares of business to younger members of his family, he experimented with the latest evolutions of iris in his perennial beds, and lovingly nurtured the wild things of the New England countryside in his woodland. It seemed entirely natural that Scotch heather grew readily for him, or that the rarer ferns responded to his wishes.

In 1941 his house in Shirley burned, completely destroying the personal library that he had assembled with care over the previous

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[1] *Yankee Bookseller* (Boston, 1937).

Charles E. Goodspeed

half century. There can be no greater tragedy for a bookman than this, but his response was typical. On the same site he built a convenient modern house, the main portion of which was to be occupied by his son-in-law and daughter, Mr. and Mrs. Gordon T. Banks, while a secluded wing, with its own access to the garden, accommodated Mrs. Goodspeed and himself. At seventy-five he had no desire to attempt to recreate the library he had lost. Instead, he built only a few bookshelves, on which he placed the authors who gave him particular pleasure at the time. When space ran short he would give something to an appreciative friend to make room for a new enthusiasm.

I remember vividly coming back to my desk in the Athenæum in the summer of 1950 after three days in the Pentagon and a rocky night in the Federal Express. During my absence Charles Goodspeed had quietly left there three seventeenth-century editions of Launcelot Andrewes' writings, with a note suggesting that as his library shelves in Shirley were becoming overcrowded I might find room for these books on mine in North Andover. The enjoyment that these three volumes give me whenever I see them makes me particularly conscious of the tragedy of the Shirley fire when books conveying a lifetime's association were swept away.

In this new library in Shirley I first came to know the essays of William C. Prime, which have since given me much pleasure, and there I first encountered the unpublished correspondence—now in the Boston Athenæum—between the President of Rollins College and Will Rogers regarding an honorary degree, which Charles Goodspeed loved to share with his friends as an instance of the absurdity of academic scalp hunting.

One day a dozen years ago, after dividing and resetting his finest iris, Charles intimated that Willard Cogswell and I might help him out by carrying away some of the corms for which he had no space. When we arrived at Shirley we were conducted to a shed where a great variety of roots was neatly arranged on a trestle table. As he wished some to go in my garden in North Andover, some in Willard's in Haverhill, and some in the front yard of the Club of Odd Volumes, he had prepared three sets of neatly lettered tags for each variety, on which were indicated not only the name but the height and color. We were then furnished with a great pile of fresh paper bags, a ball of string, and a pair of scissors, and invited to help ourselves. Thanks to Charles's meticulous preparations, the iris were soon divided three ways and ready to be carried home in the neatest and most convenient manner. We next walked through the woods, where we found at every turn wild plants looking completely at home, although in most cases transplanted by him, and finally settled down in his living room to admire the view of the western hills and talk about books.

In these last years when Charles Goodspeed came to Boston he was more apt to be found in my place of business at 10½ Beacon Street than in his own at number 18. It was an unfailing delight to see him at a fourth floor Athenæum table behind a pile of books, for he would look up with a singularly winning smile and convey, ever so briefly, some diverting bit of historical or bibliographical information that he had just uncovered. Early in his retirement he published his *Angling in America*, and in 1946 compiled *A Treasury of Fishing Stories*, which furnishes agreeable reading even for a non-fisherman like myself.

Charles Goodspeed became a member of the Club of Odd Volumes in 1914. From 1944 to 1951 he served as its Librarian, occupying the high-ceilinged little second floor room over the front door at 77 Mount Vernon Street. Mrs. Augustus Peabody Loring, the Assistant Librarian, would laughingly complain that she served no useful purpose in the Club, for Charles could never bear to see her climb a ladder or carry an armful of books. In 1946 the Club published his *Nathaniel Hawthorne and the Marine Museum of the Salem East India Marine Society or The Gathering of a Virtuoso's Collection*, which was an amusing piece of literary detective work.

In 1921 he was elected to the American Antiquarian Society, of which he was a devoted and generous member. He became a member of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts in 1926, and was its President in 1945–1946. The Massachusetts Historical Society elected him to Resident Membership in 1938. He served on the Council from 1943 to 1945, and from 1943 was Chairman of the Library Committee. Upon his death, Stewart Mitchell wrote: "Long before he became a Member, Mr. Goodspeed had served this Society with constant good will, in finding books and manuscripts which he always gave us the first chance to buy. His service as Chairman of the Library Committee terminated with his successful descent into the basement of this building, out of which he persuaded the Council to remove many precious books to the Special Libraries Room."

C. K. Shipton, his friend and neighbor in Shirley, described Charles Goodspeed as the best-educated man whom he, personally, had ever known. The appreciation of his scholarly qualities was however not confined to his friends and to the Massachusetts learned societies, for Brown University in 1935 made him an honorary Master of Arts, and in 1946 the Harvard Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa elected him to honorary membership.

Charles Goodspeed was a deeply but unobtrusively religious man. He had in his day served as a Baptist deacon. His most fervent convictions were expressed in five verses—Romans vi. 23; John iii. 16–17; Romans viii. 38–39—that he copied in his Bible and repeated as he died on October 31, 1950.

In attempting to describe him, I cannot do better than to repeat C. K. Shipton's appraisal: "Never in life or in history have I known any one in whom were combined to such a degree the qualities of gentle goodness, modesty, wisdom, knowledge, and practical ability."

George Parker Winship

Walter Muir Whitehill

George Parker Winship was born in Bridgewater, Massachusetts, on July 29, 1871. He went from the Somerville High School to Harvard College, where he received an A.B. *cum laude* in 1893 and an A.M. in 1894. After two years as an assistant in history at Harvard, he went to Providence in 1895 as librarian of the great private collection of Americana formed by John Carter Brown, which was then owned by his widow. In 1898 Mrs. Brown gave the library to her son, John Nicholas Brown, who immediately made plans for its safekeeping and use by scholars as a public trust. Although the new owner died before his generous intentions could be carried out, he left the books, with an endowment, to trustees who in 1901 gave them to Brown University. In accordance with John Nicholas Brown's instructions, his father's collection was to be housed in a separate building with its own staff, and administered by a Committee of Management appointed by the Corporation of Brown University. Thus the John Carter Brown Library, as a semiautonomous institution under the wing of the University, was opened for scholarly use on May 17, 1904. Thus also George Winship, who had gone to Providence as a private librarian, was drawn into the Brown faculty.

Working in one of the great collections of Americana, Winship was early fascinated by the literature of discovery and exploration. *The Coronado Expedition,* which he published in 1896 in the fourteenth annual report of the U. S. Bureau of Ethnology, and his *Cabot Bibliography,* which appeared in 1900, established his reputation as a working bibliographer in the field. Soon after his election to the American Antiquarian Society at the precocious age of twenty-eight, he read a paper there on "Some Facts about John and Sebastian Cabot." His appreciation of the contents and of the beauty of language of some of the books committed to his care was shown in his edition of *Sailors Narratives of Voyages along the New England Coast, 1524–1624,* published in 1905 by Houghton Mifflin Company. Four hundred and

George Parker Winship

forty copies, handsomely set in large Caslon type, were printed from a design by Bruce Rogers, who was then at the height of his career at the Riverside Press.

Winship's interest in contemporary fine printing was to some extent connected with the Club of Odd Volumes in Boston, of which he became a non-resident member in 1898. This little knot of bibliophiles and collectors, founded in 1887, was still an itinerant dining club without premises of its own. Its earliest publications had been expensive rather than discriminating; witness two pretentious volumes of Imbert de Saint-Amand concerning the mistresses of Louis XV, rather stupidly printed by the University Press, Cambridge, but with luxurious color plates done by Goupil in Paris. The paper that Winship read at the Club in 1900 on the five hundredth anniversary of Chaucer's death was converted, with equal lack of inspiration, by the University Press into a little book chiefly distinguished as to form by the excellence of its handmade paper and the limited size of its edition.

Within a very few years someone in the Club—and I strongly suspect it was Winship—woke up to the fact that, with Bruce Rogers at the Riverside Press and D. B. Updike at the Merrymount Press producing some of the handsomest books of the day, the Club had an opportunity and an obligation to place itself in the advance guard of the revival of fine typography. Thus in 1906 Mr. Updike printed for the Club the *Historie of The Life and Death of Sir William Kirkaldie of Grange, Knight* and the next year Bruce Rogers designed the publication of Percival Merritt's *Horace Walpole, Printer*. Once embarked on this experiment of using the best available designers and printers, the Club even crossed the Atlantic. Winship's paper *William Caxton*, read at the January, 1908, meeting, was superbly printed the following year in London by T. J. Cobden-Sanderson at the Doves Press.

Although George Winship remained in Providence for twenty years, he was intimately involved in things that were going on in Boston. In 1899 he was elected a Corresponding Member of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, and in 1905 to the same status in the Massachusetts Historical Society. From 1904 to 1915 his name appeared in the Harvard catalogue in the honorary capacity of Curator of Mexican History in the Harvard College Library. Of his two decades in the John Carter Brown Library, his successor, Lawrence C. Wroth, has observed that Winship's "bold and intelligent collecting had more than doubled the size of the Library and had added to its resources a considerable number of books and maps of the highest individual importance." He wrote a history of the library, a great number of articles, and edited an extraordinary variety of early documents.

Partly because of these widely scattered enterprises, and partly because he had the temperament of an intellectual gadfly, Winship never became a second Justin Winsor, as his earliest work might have suggested. Some unkind observers of methodical temperament might have been inclined to call him lazy, although he was usually buzzing about in a variety of directions. He viewed the constituted order of New England with a curious mixture of veneration and disrespect; though his manner verged on the obsequious under certain circumstances, he had a sharp and whimsical wit that he could turn in any direction. As C. K. Shipton observed: "He was never happier than when reprinting some account of isolated ancestral misbehavior in such a way as to cloud the reputation of a whole generation." Paradoxes enchanted him; so did succulent bits of gossip, old and new. They filled his conversation and often crept into his writing, as in the foreword to *An Odd Lot of New England Puritan Personalities*, where he wrote: "Some of the statements made or implied on the following pages can not be substantiated by documentary evidence because it never occurred to anybody to write anything about them. They were matters of very commonplace ordinary human experience which were general knowledge in the community, circulating as daily gossip. . . . The truth regarding them can not be proven, and it might be even harder to prove that they do not state correctly what actually took place. The only people who really knew, whose accounts of the events might have been contradictory, are no longer living. . . . A few of the statements, on the other hand, are authenticated by documents that are supported by sworn depositions that have been preserved in the archives of the criminal court of Middlesex County in the State of Massachusetts. Some of these sworn statements are demonstrably untrue." It can be seen from this passage that Winship was a lively and unpredictable adversary in a serious argument.

When Mrs. George D. Widener of Philadelphia offered Harvard University an immense library to replace the long outgrown Gore Hall, in memory of her son, Harry Elkins Widener (A.B., 1907), provision was made for the handsome accommodation of Harry Widener's own library. In the short years preceding his death in the *Titanic,* he had given himself with fervor to collecting. When the new library was opened in 1915, Harry Widener's collection was behind tall glass doors in a high-ceilinged room entered from the landing halfway up the monumental staircase.

Luther S. Livingston, a New York bookseller-bibliographer-horticulturist who had been Harry Widener's mentor in collecting, had been asked by Mrs. Widener to become Librarian of the Harry Elkins Widener Collection when it was installed in its new home. The Harvard Corporation appointed him to that post on November 30, 1914, but he died within the month before taking up his duties. George Winship was then induced to leave Providence and become Librarian of the Widener Collection, with Mrs. Livingston as his assistant. Thus after twenty years he was back at Harvard, with an additional faculty appointment as Lecturer on the History of Printing.

So far as obligations were concerned, the Widener Collection librarianship was a dignified sinecure. The shelves were filled; nothing was to be added; a guard did the dusting, and Mrs. Livingston did what small amount of work there was. A man of another temperament might have used it as the means of completing some major historical or bibliographical enterprise. Winship's solution of what he described in his twenty-fifth anniversary class report as "the interesting problem of making a somewhat ornamental fifth wheel carry its share of the load in an institution which is not accustomed to such luxuries" was different. He outlined his theory in the following terms: "The Harvard Library has been, in the opinion of many who use it, the best students' library in the world. It is also a very great collection of rare and valuable books, which have never had the care and attention that they deserve. If this can now be given to them, and an increasing number of owners of precious volumes realize that their treasures will be appreciated, intelligently preserved for the delight of future booklovers, and made available under proper restrictions and oversight for the use of investigators, the Harvard Library can confidently anticipate rivalling some day even the Bodleian at Oxford. Laying the foundations for such a future is what my present job calls for."

The Harvard College Library, like the Boston Athenæum, had during the nineteenth century acquired books for their scholarly content and usefulness, without any particular regard for bibliographical rarity, association interest, or the whims that entrance private collectors. The extraordinary additions to its resources made after Professor Archibald Cary Coolidge became Director of the University Library in 1910 were similarly designed to help the faculty's research. The architects who planned the Widener Library provided on the main floor a modest Treasure Room for exhibition purposes that, it was hoped, would also accommodate the books that had been segregated in Gore Hall because of their rarity. As this provision proved inadequate from the beginning, a door was cut through to the adjoining stack, a few bays of which were enclosed with wire grilles for the Treasure Room overflow. When I first saw this Treasure Room in 1922, it was presided over by a Miss Moulton, who used in her lunch hours to go home to bathe her canary. It was a place where one went rather unwillingly to consult specific books whose call numbers one had found in the catalogue, in contrast to the Widener Room which George Winship made a welcoming center for members of the university who cared for fine books in a broader sense.

Winship gave much thought to means of attracting his fellow members of the Club of Odd Volumes and other private collectors to the Harvard library, and of securing their continued interest in its growth and welfare. In the pages of *Harvard Library Notes*, an unofficial occasional publication that first appeared in June, 1920, one sees numerous instances of the attempt to convey the idea that the library welcomed the collaboration of private collectors. In the June, 1921, issue, for example, is reported the gift by Dr. William Norton Bullard, '75, of "71 volumes to the Library's store of 'collector's books,' which will be cared for in the Treasure Room with a proper regard for the condition in which each volume has been preserved by its previous owners." This unsigned article, which is fairly clearly Winship's work, notes that among the Dickens and Thackeray first editions in parts are some titles already in the library, "but the Bullard copies contain 'points,' dear to the book collector's heart, which the others lacked." The February, 1923, issue contains a piece on "Specimens of Typography" which indicates the "increasing realization that certain books were more important for what they are, than for what they contain."

While George Winship was always anxious to attract collectors from outside the university, he was perhaps even more interested in proselytizing from within, for he was keenly aware that the undergraduate body included many actual and potential lovers of books. My own life and career were so extraordinarily shaped through the chance accident of knowing him that I owe his memory a sincere tribute to his quite uncanny genius for reading the mind of youth and tossing out offhand suggestions that proved of lasting influence and value.

I met him sometime during my freshman year, 1922–1923, through having entered the Widener Room out of casual curiosity. The marble domed anteroom, whose great niches still after four decades cry out for baroque sculpture, is a somewhat forbidding approach, but the cheerful log fire that could be seen blazing under Harry Widener's portrait emboldened me to cross it and penetrate the inner library. There, installed on the left behind a vast desk, whose recesses contained the making of tea, was Winship, while on the right Mrs. Livingston industriously typed away at a long table. To my freshman's eyes he was a curious figure—a little man with a billy-goat beard and piercing, roving eyes behind rimless spectacles. He was dressed in tweeds that were reminiscent of his Charles River farm, and would move disconcertingly about the room at lightning speed on unexplained errands. The exhibition cases under the four windows gave me a convenient excuse for lingering to appraise the scene. In the course of my examination, I noted with delight on the steps of a movable platform ladder a great pile of current English booksellers' catalogues. As soon as he observed the effect of this discovery upon me, George Winship engaged me in conversation and explained that this treasure trove was there for the benefit of anyone who might care to use it. Thus I fell into the way of returning to the Widener Room to explore the latest catalogues. On all these visits Winship and Mrs. Livingston made me welcome, passing along hints about dealers, prices, and much else that was invaluable to an inexperienced undergraduate who had to stretch his pennies to the utmost.

A collected Oxford edition had given me an enthusiasm for the poems of Robert Bridges; through George Winship I found the means of assembling a considerable number of that poet's works, including some of those privately printed by the Daniel Press at Oxford. Thus when Bridges came to Harvard in June, 1924, to receive an honorary degree, Winship asked me to install my belongings in the four cases in the Widener Room. These were duly shown off by Mr. Lowell during a tour of the library, with the result that I was summoned to 17 Quincy Street to meet the Poet Laureate. Bridges had little patience with collectors as such. As he and I walked back and forth along the sidewalk opposite the President's house, he lectured me severely on the foolishness of wasting my money on bibliographical trivialities before asking me what particular titles I lacked. In consequence of this encounter, Bridges subsequently sent me copy number 1 of the large paper edition of the *Yattendon Hymnal* in parts, as well as several of his earliest and rarest pamphlets.

There are doubtless many similar unrecorded instances of George Winship's helpfulness to individual undergraduates. It was, however, through a highly individualistic course entitled Fine Arts 5e, History of the Printed Book, that his influence was most widely exercised. This course, which had been established by William Coolidge Lane before World War I, was taken over by Winship in 1915. It had all the earmarks of a "snap." It met on Tuesday and Thursday afternoons at three o'clock in the Widener Room, and was conducted with extreme informality. Winship would bring up from the Treasure Room armfuls of incunabula, Aldines, French illustrated books of the eighteenth century, products of the Kelmscott, Doves, and Ashendene Presses and simply talk about them in the most offhand manner. If there were any examinations I cannot recall them. The standard grade was a gentleman's C, which was quite automatically bestowed unless the student showed cogent cause why he needed something else. If a gentleman firmly wished, for his own reasons, to flunk out of Harvard College and needed an E to accomplish this, Winship would oblige. When I took the course in 1924–1925 I was in process of achieving a somewhat rapid transition from Groups VI to II of the rank list, and felt that an A would improve my morale and consolidate my position. I got it, and, incidentally stayed in Group II and received an A.B. *cum laude* in 1926 in spite of accidented and unpromising beginnings.

The enrollment was limited, because of the number of chairs possible around a table. The students were chosen entirely on Winship's hunches. All were well-washed, but not all were gilded, like Lucius Beebe, for Winship, although he had a healthy respect for property, was quite capable of gathering in impecunious products of parsonages like myself. Despite the air of seeming frivolity about the course, or perhaps more truly because of it, Winship gave his students an intimate insight into the history of printing from the fifteenth to the twentieth centuries that could not have been acquired in any other way. His *Gutenberg to Plantin An Outline of The Early History of Printing* that appeared in 1926 indicated only a part of the ground covered, for he made us quite as familiar with contemporary work as with the beginnings.

In addition he had an oblique way of bringing in all kinds of things that had nothing to do with printing at all. I first heard of both Increase Mather and Kenneth Murdock in conversation with Winship, and also, to my lasting gratitude, of A. Kingsley Porter. In January, 1925, as Fine Arts 5e was drawing to a close, I was in search of a substitute course for the spring term. Winship asked if I knew Kingsley Porter, who had recently been brought to Harvard as Professor of Fine Arts and had settled in Elmwood. I did not. Winship then explained that he was not only an eminent medieval archaeologist but an extraordinary person, and one that he thought I would like. I was urged to take whatever course Porter might be offering, as he was abroad every other term and gave but one course when in Cambridge. Upon consulting the catalogue, I found that Fine Arts 14c, Romanesque Architecture, was being offered in the 1925 spring term. As it was listed in the "Primarily for Graduates" group, and as I was a junior, only recently retrieved from probation, it was clearly necessary to seek the permission of the instructor. Thus I first went to Elmwood to see Kingsley Porter, with whom I enjoyed until his death eight years later as happy a relationship as can have ever existed between student and teacher in the long centuries during which there have been universities. For me Kingsley Porter was the ideal master. The years spent in his company shaped everything that I have done in the twenty-six years since his death or may do in whatever time I have left. Without George Winship's offhand suggestion, it is unlikely that I would have encountered him at the right moment. The ability to make such intuitive suggestions is a gift that cannot be too highly valued in a community of scholars; because Winship possessed it to a remarkable degree he merits happy remembrance, not only as a bibliographer and librarian, but as an inspired teacher.

Not only my scholarly interests but my personal life have been dependent upon the happy accident that first led me into the Widener

Room. On May Day, 1926, I attended a dance at Professor Herbert Weir Smyth's house in Elmwood Avenue. As was the general habit during the Prohibition drought, I took gin whenever I found it lest I not meet it again when wanted. Consequently I arrived at the dance regrettably disguised in drink. Although I first met my wife on this occasion, a second chance meeting with her in the Widener Room a few days later proved more fortunate.

In 1926 Winship ceased to be Librarian of the Harry Elkins Widener Collection and moved downstairs as Assistant Librarian in charge of the Treasure Room. The following year he organized the John Barnard Associates, a characteristically Winship-ian group designed to honor an eighteenth-century Marblehead divine "who loved books and did what he could for Harvard." The means of honoring this long-forgotten worthy were to hold exhibitions, print occasional books, and to dine handsomely every now and then at the Club of Odd Volumes. The first publication, *John Barnard and his Associates,* designed by Bruce Rogers, contained a sketch of Barnard, the articles of association, and the current roster. Such senior alumni as George Herbert Palmer, '64, Percival Merritt, '82, Francis Randall Appleton, '75, William Augustus White, '63, and Grenville Howland Norcross, '75 were honorary members. So were the less venerable Edgar H. Wells, '97, and James B. Munn, '12, who were both valued friends of the library. Bruce Rogers was included, but Daniel Berkeley Updike was not, even though Winship admired Updike's work. The resident members ranged in age from Francis Greenwood Peabody, '69 to thirteen undergraduates, including Carl Pforzheimer, Lincoln Kirstein, Paul Herzog, and Arthur Houghton. Winship, Kenneth Murdock, Ed Whitney, Paul Sachs, André Morize, Nathan Starr, and David Little represented the faculty, and there were a few graduate students like Douglas Gordon, Eric Sexton, and myself. Henry Moriarty, the presiding genius of the Harvard Coop's book department, appeared as Typographer.

I recall a Barnard dinner on an Arctic night when George Herbert Palmer, high in his eighties, appeared at 50 Mount Vernon Street, bowler-hatted but without an overcoat, as was his wont. When he wished to go home in mid-evening, he was bent on walking to the Park Street subway and only with the greatest urging could be persuaded to accept a lift. Perhaps in view of the convivial nature of the Associates he thought the subway safer.

The company was extraordinarily pleasant, and the dinners gave Winship the excuse to print elegant labels to dignify our bootleg-brew, and to write heroic couplets in retrospect. *The Historiographer's Recollections of the Annual Dinner To welcome into Honorary Membership Alfred Claghorn Potter and Augustin Hamilton Parker,* held at the C.O.V. on February 10, 1928, contains the quatrain:

> Reports, 'tis said, were made, and things were read.
> (One hears of incidents e'en now not dead)
> Of how a Member's glass ('til all grew dim)
> By miracle stayed fillèd to the brim.

Such miracles were frequent, and to Winship's way of thinking indispensable. It was therefore somewhat dashing, when he organized a Barnard picnic at his farm in Charles River for Eric Millar, Keeper of Manuscripts in the British Museum, to discover that the guest of honor did not drink.

The John Barnard Associates published in 1928 *A Leaf of Grass from Shady Hill,* which contained a poem by Charles Eliot Norton, inspired, surprisingly enough, by Walt Whitman. The following year they became more ambitious by issuing *The Shelley Notebook in the Harvard College Library,* with a facsimile of the manuscript and notes by George Edward Woodberry. This was an unfortunately ambitious undertaking on the eve of a depression. In 1930 I went off to Spain, and when I returned six years later the Associates had vanished into space. I have a copy of verses printed for a picnic in Wenham in May, 1932, but no evidence of later jollifications.

In 1936 George Winship reached the Harvard retirement age. In the years that have followed, William A. Jackson's Houghton Library and Philip Hofer's Department of Printing and Graphic Arts have been built upon foundations that he began to lay upon his return to Cambridge in 1915. From 1932 Winship's health was never robust, and he spent most of his time on his Charles River farm or in North Sandwich, New Hampshire. He rarely appeared at the societies in which he had been active during his earlier years, although in 1941 he gave the Rosenbach lectures at the University of Pennsylvania, which were published four years later as *The Cambridge Press, 1638–1692.* By the time of his death, which occurred on June 22, 1952, he was an unfamiliar figure in his old haunts, but some of us have cause to keep his memory with extraordinary gratitude.

Friedrich Meinecke

Sidney Bradshaw Fay*

Friedrich Meinecke, who died at his home in Berlin-Dahlem on February 6, 1954, in his ninety-second year, was, I believe, our oldest Honorary Member. He was elected in 1935 upon the generous urging of Professor Roger B. Merriman, whose sympathies were more with England than with Germany but who rightly recognized Professor Meinecke's great distinction as an historical scholar and his steadfast opposition to the Nazi infamy. Professor Meinecke was never able to attend any of our meetings, as he visited this country only once for a stay of three weeks. This was at the time of the Harvard Tercentenary, when I had the pleasure of having him and his wife as my house guests. I know he greatly appreciated his membership in our Society. He was also an Honorary Member of the American Historical Association and a member of many learned societies and academies in Europe.

Professor Meinecke was born in the small town of Salzwedel, not far from Berlin, in the heart of the Hohenzollern lands. As the son of a minor civil servant, he naturally sought a university training at Bonn and Berlin. With his appointment as archivist in 1887, he laid the foundations for his studies in modern German history, working from the sources rather than from secondary printed material. His early writings include an account of Germany during the War of Liberation and a two-volume biography of General von Boyen, whose organization of the new Prussian army contributed to the final overthrow of Napoleon.

In 1893, when only thirty-one years of age, young Meinecke was chosen editor of the *Historische Zeitschrift*, the leading historical periodical in Germany. He continued as its editor for more than forty years, until 1935, when he was forced out of his position by the Nazis. During this long period he added much to the distinction of this important periodical with his own contributions, his wise selection of contributions from others, and the fairness with which he opened its pages to the historical controversies to which German scholars are prone.

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* This memoir was read at the February, 1954, meeting. Like the memoirs of Bliss Perry and Charles Warren elsewhere in this volume, it was preprinted separately in advance of its publication here.

A professorship at the University of Berlin has usually been regarded by German scholars as the supreme goal of achievement. Meinecke reached it by a rapid climb up the academic ladder. After some years as Prussian archivist, he began lecturing as *Privatdozent* at the University of Berlin in 1896. Five years later he was called to a professorship at Strassburg, then to Freiburg, and finally back again to Berlin in 1914. His memories of these years—the great scholars, friendships, social life—are delightfully recalled in his volume of *Erinnerungen* (1949).

At Berlin, for twenty years, he continued in his lectures and writing to uphold true scholarship and the best humanistic tradition. As a teacher he was greatly beloved by his students, both because of his warm personal interest in their work and later career and because of the fine training, broad philosophic outlook, and nicety of expression which they derived from his example. When the Russians entered Berlin in 1945 he was robbed of all his books, no longer having copies even of his own works until some of his students managed to collect them and showed their affection for their aged professor by presenting them to him on his next birthday.

Professor Meinecke was a man of great intellectual vigor and vast erudition, and a liberal in the best tradition. He believed that truth, liberty, and humanity should be the guiding stars of an historian. It was inevitable, therefore, that he should come into conflict with the Nazi ideology. In 1935 he was removed from his professorship at the University of Berlin as well as from the editorship of the *Historische Zeitschrift*. He could, of course, have emigrated from Germany to escape from the Nazi tyranny, but it was characteristic of his quiet courage and patriotic loyalty that he preferred to remain, devoting himself to scholarship and using such influence as he could toward upholding his country's best traditions. He became associated with some of the men who tried first to restrain and then to kill Hitler, though he did not actively participate in the *attentat* of July 20, 1944. After the war his old University of Berlin happened to lie in the Soviet sector of the city. Its domination by Russian Communists was so intolerable that a new "Free University" was soon established in West Berlin. Professor Meinecke was appropriately honored by being chosen its Rector, although his growing deafness and failing eyesight made it necessary for him to turn over the active duties of the position to a younger colleague.

Professor Meinecke's works during his mature middle life dealt with problems to which he gave a meticulous but broad philosophic interpretation. His *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat* (1908) sought to explain and reconcile the cosmopolitanism of the Goethe era with the nationalism of the Prussian State. In *Idee der Staatsraison* (1924) he traced the influence of Machiavelli in modern history. In 1936, turning to a subject that had occupied his mind for years, he published his two-volume work on *Die Entstehung des Historismus*. In this, by examining many writers from the seventeenth century on, he probed deeply a problem that has greatly exercised many American historians of late—the problem of relativity in history.

Of all his books, however, the list of which is too long to recite here, I venture to think that *Die Deutsche Katastrophe* (1946) will prove the most interesting, touching, and influential. Of the multitude of works that have been written about Nazi Germany and Hitler's rise and fall, this is one of the most compact and illuminating. Looking back over a long life, with his vast knowledge of Prussian history, his personal acquaintance with many of Germany's most important leaders, and his keen insight into political and social development, Professor Meinecke here sums up the deeper causes and influences at work in Germany during the past century and a half. More than that, his recollections and reflections trace with touching candor and rare discrimination the changes in point of view which he himself had gradually undergone from his early days of admiration and enthusiasm for what was good and great in Bismarckian Germany to his later days, when the flaws and weaknesses of the Prussian régime had become more evident. Like a good historian, he saw things not as black and white, but as the merging of lighter and darker shades in the web of history. He undertook to reinterpret German history in the light of two world wars, to show deeper causes and relationships, and to indicate the extent to which views held formerly now need revision. His volume is a model of historical objectivity. My translation of it was published by the Harvard University Press in 1950.

And now, Mr. President, if it meets with your approval and that of our fellow members, I should like to write to Mrs. Meinecke a letter expressing our Society's great appreciation of her husband's scholarship and our sympathy with her and her daughters in their bereavement.

Bliss Perry

M. A. DeWolfe Howe *

It used to be told that when one of the founders of an historical society younger than this was asked to explain its purposes, he replied, "Our object will be to preserve the memory of men who would otherwise be forgotten." Such is not the purpose of the tributes and memoirs prepared for the Massachusetts Historical Society. Least of all could anything of the sort be said of one, like Bliss Perry, who recorded himself in many books—especially, for the purpose of personal record, in so admirable an autobiography as *And Gladly Teach* (1936). In that book he referred to the memoirs, more substantial than tributes such as this, destined for our published *Proceedings*. Of his own work not for our Society only, in this special field he wrote, "I have taken great pains with many brief memoirs intended for a very limited circle of readers. One may spend weeks in composing a memoir of some fellow-member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, knowing that it will never be read by more than a few dozen men; but knowing also that for the next hundred years some scholar will be bound to turn to that memoir for authentic information."

After Bliss Perry's death his brother Lewis wrote to me: "I think Bliss was the most modest man I have ever known. He accomplished a lot, and always seemed to be finishing things. He had them finished before he began to talk about them." His autobiography, *And Gladly Teach*, without any flourish of trumpets, does present an extraordinary array of experiences and accomplishments begun and finished. Scholar, teacher, editor, lecturer, he stepped easily from one function to another. To show for much of his work in these capacities, there is a considerable shelf of books bearing his name on their title-pages either as editor—over and above his ten years of editorship of the *Atlantic Monthly*—or as author. Besides the many volumes edited for school, college, and general use, there were some twenty of his own authorship—fiction, essays, biography, and autobiography. One misses only the title of a single book of poetry.

In this brief tribute it would be superfluous to recite many of the biographical details embedded in *And Gladly Teach.* Yet a few dates and a condensed statement of his relations with the Massachusetts Historical Society should be given. He was born at Williamstown, Massachusetts, November 25, 1860, eldest son of Arthur Latham Perry, economist and long-time professor at Williams College. The title of the father's biography by his son Carroll, *A Professor of Life*, might have been applied also to Bliss Perry, himself the son, brother, father, uncle, and grandfather of teachers, a teaching family if there ever was one. He was graduated at Williams in 1881, became a professor of English there, at Princeton, and at Harvard. Honorary doctorates were bestowed upon him by seven American universities. He was elected a Resident Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society on May 11, 1905, midway through his *Atlantic Monthly* decade. In 1908 and again in 1937 he was elected to the Council. For several years before his death at Exeter, New Hampshire, on February 13, 1954, at the age of ninety-three, he shared with Theodore Clarke Smith, also of Williams, the seniority of membership in the Society. Our volumes of *Proceedings* show that between 1906 and 1938 he read a number of papers at our meetings—either chapters of forthcoming books or such separate writings as the memoir of Morris Schaff (1932) or the report of the Council in 1938. Through his reading from Milton's autobiographical poems he took part, with Charles Francis Adams, William Everett, and others, in the Society's celebration of the Milton Tercentenary in the First Church of Boston on December 9, 1908. In 1923 he was a representative of the Society at the Parkman Centenary at Montreal. Of the foregoing pieces of record bearing on his membership in this Society, hardly a trace is to be found in *And Gladly Teach.*

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* This memoir was read at the April, 1954, meeting and separately preprinted.

What is to be found in its delightful pages is the self-portrayal of a memorable character, admirable for the effective uses to which native powers were put, and lovable for the spirit in which both duties and pleasures were shared with others. In the life and character of Bliss Perry there was a unity which, granting the uniting of good qualities, produces the best of human results. His beginnings were fortunate—with parents commanding both affection and respect, in a household and small country town and college community where interests of the mind and spirit were paramount. All outdoors beckoned him. He collected butterflies. He learned early, and continued through life, the joys of a fisherman. A notable baseball player in college, he turned in the course of nature to golf, and enjoyed it till he could no longer stride the links. One detects the budding sportsman in a story of his boyhood—that the possession of his first shotgun so delighted him that he took the weapon to bed with him. Such tenderness could be offset by righteous indignation, as when he saw a bully on a ball field tormenting one of his younger brothers, and felled him on the spot with a furious blow on his temple.

The lithe, athletic body, more than six feet in height, which he carried well poised through life, gave an impression of capacity to hit hard blows. Yet there was something in the handsome, serious face, the twinkling eyes, the sympathetic voice and friendly smile which gave assurance that his real strength lay in the ways of peace rather than violence. He did not hesitate to call himself "a life-long pacifist," and even before giving his whole allegiance to the League of Nations he identified himself actively with earlier agencies for the promotion of world peace. The physical aspects on which I have touched seemed indeed the outward expression of his spiritual qualities.

Even as Sarah Orne Jewett liked—one could not be sure just how consciously—to suggest by word, accent, or inflection, a Down-East origin, so Perry, in circles however academic and sophisticated, seemed to enjoy representing himself as a product of a simple old New England. That he did by reminiscence and anecdote of village, school, and college mates—all of an authentic flavor which persisted throughout his life.

In one particular the unity I have noted seemed broken. That was in the relation between his early graduate studies and the full practice of his profession as a teacher. In accordance with the fashion of the time he felt—when he was promoted from an instructorship to a professorship at Williams and given two years' leave of absence for special training—that these studies, though their subject was English, should be pursued at German universities. The result was a complete concentration, at Berlin and Strassburg, upon philology rather than literature. The mastery of Anglo-Saxon, Gothic, Old and Middle High German, doubtless trained him in the plodding work of higher scholarship. It did not divert him, when the time for teaching came, from his natural bent away from scholastic texts to living letters. There was no Ph.D. to testify to his qualifications for any college teaching. This was true also of Wendell, of Kittredge, and of Copeland, the second of whom could have decked himself out with this apparatus much more easily than the first or the third. Yet here were four famous teachers, contemporaries at Harvard, who managed to dispense with what had become in their day a *sine qua non* for starters in the academic race.

Perry's choice of Germany as the scene of his studies was by no means unaffected by the fact that Miss Annie L. Bliss, of the New Haven family whose name the Perrys had bestowed upon their eldest son, was going at about the same time to Berlin to study music. They were engaged to be married when she preceded him to Germany, and promptly upon their return, in the summer of 1888, their happiest of long married lives, blessed with two daughters and a son, began.

Looking closely into *And Gladly Teach* one encounters many details of Bliss Perry's career. The wide range of his employments has already been suggested, and in this place no more is needed than to offer some general reflections which they provoke. It may be observed, for example, that while he was a professor at Princeton he enjoyed close contacts with both Grover Cleveland and Woodrow Wilson, and that he sympathized with the political views of both. His one foray into practical politics had to do with Wilson at the time of his ill-fated request for the election of a Democratic Congress in the autumn of 1918. As one who joined him in this foray, I feel the more bound to mention it. Wilson had enunciated his Fourteen Points, but had not yet begun in Paris his fight for the League of Nations. He wanted and greatly needed the support of his own party in Congress. There were those, not natural adherents of David I. Walsh, then running for the Senate, who found themselves responsive to Wilson's plea. Accordingly, they signed their thirteen names—more impeccably Bostonian in general than Perry's and mine—to a political advertisement in the local press on November 4, 1918, under the conspicuous heading, "President Eliot and Other Independents Ask the Voters to Support President Wilson by Voting for David I. Walsh for United States Senator." Beneath these words appeared in three paragraphs a specific "Appeal to the Citizens of Massachusetts," to join the Independents. I do not remember that we claimed the distinction of having elected Walsh. But there he was, securely seated for what proved to be a long time.

The scorn and horror with which many of our more respectable friends regarded us at first must have been mitigated a little later when Walsh abandoned the very stand the Independents had expected of him, and joined Senator Lodge as an antagonist of the League. The *Boston Evening Transcript*, hitherto as intense a foe of Walsh as it was a friend of Lodge, closed an editorial when both the Massachusetts senators arrayed themselves definitely against the League, with a triumphant declaration that here they stood, shoulder to shoulder, two noble sons of Massachusetts! A happy day for the *Transcript*, but with sobering implications for the Independents who may, all innocently, have contributed something to the creation of a new Castor and Pollux! Perry and most of the rest of us were cured of meddling in political affairs.

The area of controversy, whether in or out of politics, was alien territory for Bliss Perry. There was little or nothing of it in his books. His brother Lewis has been heard to say that on the roads of life green lights have always been more apparent to him than red. Perhaps this expressed a family characteristic. In Bliss Perry's books the nearest approach to controversy may have come in his life of Walt Whitman (1906), in which the true Whitmanites and the uncommitted were disturbed equally by under- and over-praise. I remember Perry's amusement in repeating, soon after the book appeared, a dictum of his employer, Henry O. Houghton, returning to his office after lunching, as usual, nearby. "Mr. Perry," he said, "your book about Walt Whitman is much deplored at the Union Club." There could have been no such reservation about his other biographies. Chief among them was the life of a beloved friend, Henry Lee Higginson (1921). There was besides the biography (1933), for a more limited audience, of his Cambridge neighbor, Richard Henry Dana, and there were many shorter memoirs produced for the two Saturday Club volumes, the American Academy of Arts and Letters, and other media of publication. Indeed, a substantial book could be made of his shorter biographical writings. Nor were these that I have named by any means all. In the Index of *And Gladly Teach*, under the several headings of "Books," "Essays," "Biographical Sketches and Addresses," "Prefaces," and "Books Edited," fifty titles are listed. Like Cotton Mather, he might have defined himself as *Fructuosus*.

Books, persons, and pastimes—especially that of fishing in *Pools* *and Ripples* (1927)—were his themes. It was only in *And Gladly Teach* that he admitted the reader to a certain sense of personal nearness to a pipe-smoking, golfing, angling, God-fearing, church-going friend. Those who knew his voice can but feel that those who knew it not must hear it in the pages of this book. In them he speaks, as he rarely did in person, of his travels and such experiences as his Exchange Lectureship (1909–1910) at the Sorbonne and the French provincial universities. Both in and out of the book he appears a friend surrounded by friends. As president of two Boston clubs, the smaller, graver Saturday Club, and the larger, gayer Tavern, he demonstrated the charm of his quiet, humorous speech, fraught with sincerity, and a modest avoidance of allusion to the "personages" whom he could not exclude from his autobiography. His talk, and the best of his writing, bore a strong resemblance to each other. What he said, and his way of saying it—simply, directly—were also closely related. It was thus, rather than through profundities and subtleties, that he held his large audiences, of the general public and in his crowded college classes.

The gift of teaching may well have been his greatest gift to his generation. As one who never heard him address a class of college students let me turn to an appreciative pupil for a long-sustained remembrance. It is taken from a letter in the *New York Times* by Mr. J. Donald Adams, of the *New York Times Book Review*, who was graduated from Harvard forty years ago last June. Thus he wrote, immediately upon Perry's death:

> We who sat under him admired Bliss Perry for the force and clarity of his mind, for his keen perceptions and for his generous human understanding. And we felt instinctively, I suppose, that he was no dry-as-dust scholar, no pedant and no bloodless dissector of literature (of which we have too many today), but a well-rounded human being, a man whose warm and humorous personality gave life and interest to whatever he touched. We shall always remember the quizzical smile as well as the logical sequence and the sharp illumination of his lectures. . . .
>
> He was not, to us, "just a teacher," but it was just as that he would want to be remembered. It would be a sorry day for American education if it should ever cease to produce men of his mold.

Multiply by thousands the retention of such memories as these. They constitute an invisible monument calling for no description in words.

Vicente Lecuna

Clarence Henry Haring

Vicente Lecuna, Honorary Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society and dean of Venezuelan historians, died in Caracas on February 20, 1954, at the age of eighty-four. Long prominent in banking circles as president of the Banco de Venezuela, after a visit to Washington in 1920 (where we first became acquainted—the beginning of a long and valued friendship) he devoted himself increasingly to historical studies, especially to the life and times of the Liberator, Simón Bolívar. He came to be universally recognized as the outstanding authority on the subject. The house in Caracas in which Bolívar was born he purchased and restored, and presented to the Venezuelan people as a national monument. Ever zealous to defend the good name of the Liberator, he was often drawn into controversies with scholars less convinced that Bolívar could do no wrong, notably the polemic over the celebrated interview between Bolívar and José de San Martín, the Liberator of Chile and Peru, at Guayaquil in 1822. He was an honorary member also of the American Historical Association.

His published works include *Cartas del Libertador*, 11 vols. (Caracas, 1929–48), *Documentos referentes a la creación de Bolivia*, 2 vols. (Caracas, 1924), *Crónica razanada de las guerras de Bolívar*, 3 vols. (New York, 1950), *La Entrevista de Guayaquil; restablecimiento de la verdad histórica* (Caracas, 1948), and numerous articles.

The Fundación Vicente Lecuna was established immediately by Lecuna's family to stimulate research on the life and work of Bolívar, to support studies that foster a better understanding of inter-American ideals, to establish a library, and to publish various works beginning with unpublished writings by Lecuna. Two have appeared: *Bolívar y el arte militar*, and *Catálogo de errores y calumnias en la historia de Bolívar.*

Robert Howard Lord

Clarence Henry Haring

Robert Howard Lord, a Resident Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and one of its most distinguished historians, died on May 22, 1954, while he was rector of St. Paul's Church in Wellesley, Massachusetts. He was born on July 20, 1885, in Plano, Illinois, the son of Frank Howard and Julia Marie Custin Lord. Prepared in the high school in Plano, he entered Northwestern University as a freshman in 1902, but after a year transferred to Harvard College, from which he was graduated, *magna cum laude*, in 1906. Of his four years as a graduate student, he spent two in residence at Harvard and two in travel in central and eastern Europe, studying for a semester each at the Universities of Berlin, Vienna, and Moscow. On proceeding to the Ph.D. degree in 1910, he was appointed to the Department of History at Harvard as a specialist on Slavic Europe, rising through the ranks from instructor to full professor in 1924.

Two years later he resigned to study for Holy Orders in the Catholic Church at St. John's Seminary in Brighton. He was ordained in the Cathedral of the Holy Cross in Boston on April 5, 1929, and assigned as a curate to St. Cecilia's Church, but after a year and a half, in September, 1930, he was called back to the Seminary as Professor of Church History. Here he remained until 1944, serving also from September, 1933, as vice-rector. In November, 1944, he became pastor of St. Paul's Church in Wellesley. From 1929 he was also Professor of Modern European History at Regis College, Weston. He succeeded Cardinal O'Connell as trustee of the Boston Public Library in 1936 and was a tower of strength in that institution until he was impelled by the press of other responsibilities to resign in 1952.

At the end of World War I Professor Lord was a member of the American delegation to the Peace Conference at Versailles, as technical adviser on Polish and East European questions. There he was the American member, and chief, of the Interallied Commission on Polish Affairs, and one of the two American members of the First Interallied Mission sent out to inspect the new Polish Republic (February to April, 1919). Lord worked out most of the boundaries eventually assigned to Poland by the Treaty of Versailles. As Adolph Berle, Jr., wrote in the *New York Times* after his death, "The reconstructed Poland probably owed more to him than to any other American aside from President Wilson." The Poles themselves knew this, for when the University of Lemberg (now Lwów) in 1921 chose to honor three individuals identified with events that led to Poland's recovered independence, it awarded honorary degrees to Marshal Foch, Cardinal Mercier of Belgium, and Robert Howard Lord. Lord was a member of the Historical Society of Lemberg, the Lemberg Scientific Society, and the Polish Academy of Sciences of Cracow.

The salient event in Robert Lord's career was his conversion to Catholicism. If the writer's memory serves him accurately, when Lord came to Harvard as a sophomore he planned to become an Episcopal clergyman; but suffering one of those religious crises that are likely to afflict young men in their undergraduate years, he felt unable to follow in that career. So he did the next best thing—he became a college professor. Some years later the shock of a domestic tragedy—his mother died in a fire in their home in Illinois—turned his mind back to religion; he rejoined the Episcopal Church and became a faithful member of the Church of the Advent in Boston. From High Anglican to Roman Catholic apparently was not a difficult step. I am told that while he was in Paris at the Peace Conference he visited the Church of the Madeleine and there came to the fateful decision. Given the background, the further decision to become a priest does not seem unnatural. He confessed to my wife and me that all his questionings were resolved, that he had attained an inner peace and security which he had never experienced before.

But Robert Lord was not an expansive person. He would say no more than that in defense of the Catholic position. Throughout his life he was always reticent, soft-spoken, extremely modest, rarely given to argument, but of immense intellectual power and accomplishment, one of the most distinguished scholars of Slavic history of his time. It was a privilege to be accounted his friend. I believe that he read all the written languages of Europe. I remember visiting his room when he was a senior in Grays Hall in the Harvard Yard and seeing books on Chinese and Arabic on his table.

To the Massachusetts Historical Society he annually sent $100 for its Endowment Fund. Your former Director told me that when Father Lord's name came before the Council for nomination in January, 1931, one of the older Members, learning suddenly, but too late, that Lord was a convert to the Catholic Church, shouted from his wheel chair, "If I had known that in time, I should have done my best to *prevent* his nomination." Father Lord read three papers before the Society: "Jean Lefebvre de Cheverus, First Catholic Bishop of Boston" (January, 1933), "The Broad Street Riot of 1837" (February, 1941), and "The Russo-Polish Boundary Problem" (February, 1945). And Father Lord wrote, or contributed to, the following books: *The Second Partition of Poland* (1915), *Some Problems of the Peace Conference* (with C. H. Haskins) (1920), *The Origins of the War of 1870* (1924), *Archibald Cary Coolidge, Life and Letters* (with Harold J. Coolidge) (1932), and *History of the Archdiocese of Boston, 1604-1943* (with Fathers John E. Sexton and Edward T. Harrington) (1944).

Charles Warren

M. A. DeWolfe Howe*

The materials for a memoir of Charles Warren are abundant. As Secretary of the Harvard Class of 1889, he urged his classmates to report their activities in full detail. In the Thirtieth Anniversary Report (1919) he declared that, having commandeered others so to do, he must take his own medicine. So he did liberally in that Report, and more amply still in the Fiftieth (1939)—a notable specimen of what a trained historian may do in a special field of record highly valued by students of American biography. Besides these Reports there are extensive unpublished "Autobiographical Notes," prepared by Warren in 1947 for the benefit of nearest relatives. These Notes I have been privileged to see. Confronted with an embarrassment of riches, the writer of a brief memoir must be content with confining himself to salient points of interest.

Charles Warren was completely a son of New England, and of Harvard. He was born on Spruce Street in Boston on March 9, 1868. When he was only three years old his father, Winslow Warren, a devoted Democrat in politics, a Collector of the Port of Boston, and an ardent anti-imperialist when the Philippine Islands were a highly controversial subject, moved to the town of Dedham, which remained Warren's legal residence for many years to come. Winslow Warren, descended from Governor Winslow of Plymouth, was the great-grandson of General James Warren and his wife, Mercy Otis, sister of the fiery James Otis, and herself a contributor to the political, historical, and poetic writings of her time. Both she and her husband were vigorous left-wing patriots at the time of the Revolution, Mercy herself at one period so merciless towards John Adams as to assail him for excessive conservatism. Her husband was at one time President of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, and Speaker of the House of Representatives when the General Court came into being. Later he was considered too sympathetic with the spirit of revolt which found expression in Shays's Rebellion, and still later became so pronounced a Jeffersonian Democrat that his political fortunes were seriously impaired. These instances of the devotion both of

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* This memoir was read at the May, 1955, meeting and separately preprinted.

Charles Warren

Charles Warren's father and of his great-great-grandparents to underlying principles of Democratic policy are given to suggest the inherited background of his own political beliefs and practices.

By virtue of the eighteenth-century James Warren's place in the government of Massachusetts, he was *ex officio* a member of the Harvard Board of Overseers, as Warren's father, Winslow Warren, was by virtue of two elections to that body, and as Warren himself was yet to be. His preparation for college was made at Noble's school in Boston. Once at Cambridge, he entered heartily into the life of the college, as a member of various clubs and as an editor and president of the *Harvard Advocate*. Was there a faint foreshadowing of his long trusteeship of the New England Conservatory of Music, in which he established the Charles Warren Scholarship Fund, in the fact that he performed on the cymbals and triangle in the Pierian Sodality, the college orchestra? He was a member of Phi Beta Kappa, and was graduated *magna cum laude*. As an undergraduate he had won a Bowdoin Prize by his oration on "Jefferson as a Country Gentleman."

For the year following his graduation in 1889, he found himself at the Adams Academy in Quincy, engaged to help its headmaster, William Everett, to arrange the papers of his father, Edward Everett. The illness of William Everett changed the situation, and for a year Warren became a teacher in the Academy. This year was followed by two in the Harvard Law School, where he became an editor of the *Harvard Law Review*. Admitted to the Suffolk bar in 1892, he entered the office of Storey and Thorndike, and in the next year was appointed private secretary to William E. Russell, Governor of Massachusetts, and held that post until Russell's death in 1896. Through this association Warren became intimately involved in state politics, leading before long to an active interest in national politics. In 1892 he became secretary of the Independent Cleveland Committee, and from 1895 to 1900 served as secretary of the Massachusetts Reform Club. He was nominated twice as a Democratic candidate for the State Senate, but was defeated. In 1896 he attended the Democratic National Convention in Chicago both as a representative of the Massachusetts Reform Club and as a special correspondent of the *Boston Evening Transcript*. Bryan's "Cross of Gold" speech remained always in his mind as the best speech he ever heard, approached in excellence only by Newton D. Baker's speech for the League of Nations.

Later in 1896 he was a delegate to the Gold Democratic Convention at Indianapolis.

In view of the character of most of the books to be written by Charles Warren, it may be surprising to learn that his first book was a work of fiction, *The Girl and the Governor* (1900), made up of a series of short stories published in *Scribner's Magazine.* They reflected clearly his acquaintance at close range with state politics, but did not display in the art of fiction that mastery which he was destined to employ in the field of fact. It was nine years before his next book, *History of the Harvard Law School,* in two volumes, appeared in 1909.

Meanwhile, he was active in successive partnerships as a practitioner of law in Boston, and was serving as counsel for street railways in the East, and for copper and other mining companies, which involved him in much travel throughout the country. During this period he turned his knowledge of politics and business to account through contributions to magazines. On January 6, 1904, he married Annie Louise Bliss, daughter of William H. Bliss of New York and sister of the Honorable Robert Woods Bliss. His long life of incessant industry was well under way. For more than fifty years it went forward, in Boston and Washington, under the happiest of favoring domestic auspices.

In the decade following his marriage one of his chief activities, apart from his law practice, was that of chairman, for six years, of the Massachusetts State Civil Service Commission. Appointed by a Democratic Governor, reappointed by a Republican Governor, he failed of reappointment by another Democratic Governor unable to resist the pressure of Boston Democratic bosses who were antagonized by many reforms for which Warren was responsible.

Were this memoir to proceed in strict chronological sequence, it would have to be interrupted by frequent allusions to two of Warren's major interests, Harvard College and the Massachusetts Historical Society. It is better to make a single interruption and deal briefly in one place with both of these interests.

His student years at Harvard and his long service as Secretary of his Class have already been touched upon. For the formal opening of the Harvard Union in June, 1901, Warren was invited to prepare a poem. This he did. It was to follow a speech by Vice-President Theodore Roosevelt. The day was extremely hot. As Roosevelt ended his speech, he overheard a self-denying remark of Warren's to the presiding officer, and shouted to the audience, "Warren '89 says its too damned hot for poetry. This meeting is now adjourned." The applause that followed made Warren feel that his poem was a success—a feeling confirmed when two Harvard periodicals printed it under the title "The House of Fellowship" after Warren's reading it at the formal opening of the Union in October.

In 1908 he was one of the founders of the Harvard Club of Boston. Elected to the Board of Overseers in 1934, he became President of the Harvard Club of Washington in the following year. In 1941 he received one of the highest offices attainable by a Harvard graduate through his election as President of the Harvard Alumni Association, and he presided at the meeting of the Association on the afternoon of the 1942 Commencement. On this occasion he spoke on the need for better teaching of American history in Harvard College. The printed address provoked wide discussion.

Warren was elected a Resident Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1923. By that time he was living in Washington, though Dedham had not ceased to be his legal residence. In 1944 he was elected a Corresponding Member, and on March 11, 1954, five months before his death, an Honorary Member. His election to Resident Membership in 1923 followed soon upon the publication of *The Supreme Court in United States History* (1922), awarded the Pulitzer Prize for history, and soon, and still, recognized as the authoritative treatment of this subject. Preceded by his histories of the Harvard Law School and of the American Bar to the year 1860, it was followed by six other historical works published between 1922 and 1942, of which *The Making of the Constitution* (1928) is perhaps the most important. This record of production, narrative rather than philosophical in its nature, placed him among the scholars whose membership in the Massachusetts Historical Society reflected highest credit on the Society itself.

Our *Proceedings* show that between 1927 and 1950 he appeared eleven times before the Society with papers and unwritten remarks on a variety of historical topics, that his gifts to the Society, photographs, books, family and other manuscript materials, were made on seven occasions, and that he wrote the memoir of Frederic Jesup Stimson. One further notable gift was that of $5,000 to establish the

Winslow Warren Fund, in commemoration of his father, a valued contributor to the work of the Society, and one of its relatively few members whose membership covered a span of more than fifty years. Warren's own contributions would have made a remarkable record for a member constantly a resident of Massachusetts.

When the Democratic party was returned to power by the election of Woodrow Wilson, it was but natural that Warren's devotion to the party in Massachusetts should be recognized in Washington and that his legal scholarship should appear a qualification for work in the Department of Justice. Accordingly the President appointed him, May 18, 1914, Assistant Attorney General. Entering promptly on his Washington duties, he was assigned at once to the charge of various matters, from Reserve Banks and customs to pardons and paroles, with questions of neutrality, including the Mexican situation, and criminal activities of Germans in the United States. All this was, of course, a valuable preparation for the work that fell to him after we entered the war.

During the period of our neutrality, hundreds of German and Austro-Hungarian hostile activities had been investigated by the Department of Justice, with the result that when war came many arrests were immediately made, and suspicious persons were kept under surveillance. To describe Warren's own duties after war was declared, I cannot do better than to paraphrase—mainly through shifting from the first to the third person—a portion of his own statement in the Thirtieth Anniversary Report to his classmates in 1919. From April to October, 1917, he had charge of all arrests and internments of alien enemies, and drafted the alien-enemy regulations contained in the President's Proclamation of War, April 6, 1917. He drafted the advice to alien enemies used by the Attorney General, concluding with the words: "Obey the law; keep your mouth shut." He also made the original draft of the Espionage Act of June 15, 1917; and from October, 1917, to April, 1918, he had charge of all matters in the Department of Justice relating to trading with the enemy.

In Warren's "Autobiographical Notes" there is the simple statement: "On April 18, 1918, owing to a misunderstanding between Attorney General Gregory and myself, I presented my resignation as Assistant Attorney General after four years' service." In the same Notes he refers, for light upon his war activities, to the book *Federal*

Justice (1937) by Homer Cummings and Carl MacFarland. In that book it may clearly be seen that whatever "misunderstanding" may have arisen between Warren and Gregory, there was more than that. The book and the testimony of a younger associate of Warren in the Department of Justice join to show that in his zeal for defeating all hostile activities Warren found himself co-operating with members of the Senate who favored court-martial trials for civilians suspected of such activities. To this policy both the President and the Attorney General objected. Gregory indeed went so far as to denounce it as "subversive of fundamental principles of justice." Obviously Warren and he could not continue in harmony, and Warren resigned—perhaps also in part because there were opportunities for endeavors outside the Department of Justice to which he wanted to apply his energies. Freed from official duties, he could then devote himself more fully to authorship and practice of the law.

What may have seemed a minor piece of writing when it appeared in the *Harvard Law Review* in 1923 was a study of the Judiciary Act of 1789—a study caused by his own discovery of a neglected bit of manuscript in the attic of the Capitol. Under this law the Supreme Court had always followed the lead of Justice Story in assuming that federal courts were free to disregard state decisions when they were considering questions of "general law." Warren's article on the adoption of the enactment of 1789 showed that this was not its original intention. In the light of his study, confirming a tendency of thought already in motion, the Supreme Court changed its interpretation of the Act of 1789.

One cannot allude to this relation of Warren's to the Supreme Court without passing on to other such relations. His history of the Court stands first among these. Such subsequent related books as *The Supreme Court and Sovereign States* (1924), *Congress, the Constitution and the Supreme Court* (1925), *Trumpeters of the Court* (1927), and *The Making of the Constitution* (1928) confirmed his status as an authority. All these works, be it noted, were produced within a single decade.

Then there were his own pleadings before the Court, especially as Assistant Attorney General. In reference to one of these pleadings he prided himself on being the only Government official ever to appear before the Chief Justice of the United States and the Lord Chief Justice of England, then Lord Reading, who was visiting Washington at the time and sat on the bench with the Court.

Of special importance in the matter of his relations with the Supreme Court was his appointment to serve as Special Master in three interstate cases involving intricate questions of evidence. These cases were *New Mexico v. Texas* (1924), *United States v. Utah* (1929), and *Texas v. New Mexico* (1936). They involved vital questions of boundary lines and irrigation, and called for both a careful study of early records and personal investigations, with the taking of testimony in the several areas concerned.

Warren throughout his life responded to incessant demands for speeches at commencements, Phi Beta Kappa meetings, and public ceremonials of many kinds. The addresses made on these occasions were frequently printed in periodicals and pamphlets. Any compiler of a bibliography of his fugitive writings of this nature would find himself on a long trail of investigation. It is possible here only to suggest the broad extent of Warren's occasional writings in the fields of law and history.

In the very nature of the subjects with which he dealt, his writings were factual and objective rather than emotional and subjective. They expressed conclusions based on the study of historic and contemporary records. If it be said that they were consequently impersonal in their quality, perhaps it should be said also that an impersonal quality prevailed in Warren himself. In the "Autobiographical Notes" there are no allusions to sympathy or the lack of it in matters of religion or to any individual friendships.

It is often in a man's pastimes that his personal quality is most clearly observable, through games, sports, and other means of relaxation. In Warren's case the pastime seems to have been found chiefly in books, whether fiction read for mere pleasure or writings on central or peripheral topics in history. This is by no means to say that he took no pleasure in his relations with colleagues in congenial fields, such as the American Society of International Law, the original board directing the *Dictionary of American Biography*, the American Academy of Arts and Letters, and the several clubs in Boston, New York, and Washington of which he was a member. These associations are to be recalled if only to offset any impression that his unflagging labors marked him as merely a prodigy of industry and achievement.

If he was not to be found on a trout-stream or golf-links, mountain-climbing, sailing, or enjoying any indoor hobby, there was a certain pastime, apart from reading, in which he delighted. This was one of the pleasures of the table, not so much the consumption of food as that feast of reason which goes with good talk. Through many of his later years he found this pleasure at a special lunch-table at the Metropolitan Club in Washington. Though not circular, it was often called "The Round Table," perhaps by transference of title from Herbert Putnam's famous Round Table at the Library of Congress. Younger members of the Club called it the "Old Men's Table." Some of the less reverent even named it "The Last Supper." Under whatever name, it brought together daily ten or a dozen of the most interesting men in Washington—such figures in journalism as Walter Lippmann, Arthur Krock, and Robert Lincoln O'Brien, such participants in government and public affairs as Joseph C. Grew, John Lord O'Brian, and Eliot Wadsworth. The give and take of lively talk on matters of national import flourished exceedingly. Arthur Krock has described the table as the "Forum of the Unfinished Sentence."

Lacking first-hand knowledge, I take the word of others with regard to Warren's part in it all. He was clearly an important contributor to the talk. His accurate knowledge of constitutional matters commanded all respect. The presence of Republicans did not at all weaken his defense of Democratic Presidents and policies. It is reported, however, that when President F. D. Roosevelt's court-packing proposal, of which Warren disapproved, was under discussion, he fell for once into silence.

At a celebration of his seventy-fifth birthday, Arthur Krock produced a mock writ of certiorari to the Supreme Court of the United States, dealing with Warren's high standing collars and that "tie with Harvard," the bow-tie which led some persons to regard him as a "Red." Others found in the contour and expression of his face, with its amused smile, quick eye, and the white hair of his later years, a reminder of Sir Winston Churchill. The capacity to accept such a bit of fooling as Mr. Krock's in good part seems clearly to indicate a spirit that could take as well as give.

Beyond the seventy-fifth birthday another celebration was yet to come—the golden-wedding anniversary. This was celebrated on January 6, 1954. A large number of friends gathered at the Sulgrave Club at the invitation of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Woods Bliss. What made the occasion especially memorable was the presentation to Warren and his wife of a golden bowl, of Paul Revere pattern, as a gift from the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the United States Supreme Court.

Warren's health had been failing for several years. He died in Washington on August 16, 1954. Nothing could have so invigorated him through the final months of his life as this unique testimonial from a Court with which his relations, through the spoken word and the written, in his monumental history, had been correspondingly unique.

Alfred Marston Tozzer

SIDNEY BRADSHAW FAY

ALFRED MARSTON TOZZER was born at Lynn, Massachusetts, on July 4, 1877. From the Lynn Classical High School he went to Harvard, where he received his A.B. degree in 1900 and his Ph.D. degree in 1904. He was appointed an instructor at Harvard in 1905, and thereafter, for forty-two years, served the university as a highly-valued teacher and administrator until he became professor emeritus in 1947. As a scholar who had enriched American history by his studies of the ancient civilizations of Mexico and Central America, he was elected a Resident Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society in February, 1925. He died in his seventy-eighth year on October 5, 1954.

Alfred Tozzer, unlike many men upon graduation from college, knew exactly what he wanted to do, namely, to become an archaeologist. Accordingly, between 1901 and 1905, he spent four winters in Yucatán and Guatamala, living as he says, among "savage tribes unspoiled by civilization." Later, he led several exploring archaeological expeditions of the Peabody Museum to this area, and discovered important new sites of ancient Maya cities and ruins. As a result, he published in 1907 *A Comparative Study of the Mayas and Lacandones,* in 1911 *Ruins of Tikal,* in 1913 *Ruins of Nakum,* and in 1921 *Maya Grammar.* I shall not attempt to enumerate the other books, not to mention more than a hundred articles in learned archaeological publications, that came from his facile pen in later years. I simply note, as characteristic of his great zeal for his subject, that only a few weeks before his death he completed a treatise on Maya civilization and the prehistoric relations between Yucatán and the other parts of Mexico and Central America.

Tozzer was also an admirable teacher and administrator. In his lectures, seminars, and personal talks he inspired his students with his own enthusiasm for archaeological scholarship and research. At the same time he enlarged their horizon on life, often amusingly, by his shrewd, realistic, and sometimes startling comments on the general manners and morals of mankind in the present as well as in the past.

He was a keen judge of men and amazingly frank in criticising his students, but without antagonizing them. On the contrary, they came to have a high respect and deep affection for him, nourished in many cases by his generous financial assistance and by his solicitude in finding good jobs for them. Many of his students are now established as leading professors of archaeology or museum curators in the country.

As an administrator, he had a quick, accurate judgment, sense of fairness, and capacity for detail combined with breadth of vision. It is therefore not surprising that he was drafted for service on many academic committees and boards as well as for desk work by the United States Air Force and the Office of Strategic Services during the Second World War.

He was for many years the efficient curator of, and anonymous donator to, the Peabody Museum. At Harvard he served as chairman of the board of freshman advisors, as member of the university library council and of Yenching Institute, and for twenty years as one of the administrative board of Harvard College. These and other positions gave him a remarkably wide and thorough knowledge of the inner workings of a great university. As valiant champion of equal opportunity for women, he was a most valued friend of Radcliffe College, serving devotedly first as a member of its academic board and then as trustee. He was able to act as a sort of liaison officer between Harvard and the sister institution. President Lowell, and again President Conant, offered him a position as house master, recognizing how admirably Professor and Mrs. Tozzer would have contributed to the success of this new experiment. But Tozzer declined, preferring to retain greater liberty for all of his other activities.

Tozzer was not notably gregarious either with his classmates in college, or in later life with mankind in general. This does not mean at all that he was a recluse or was indifferent to good companionship. On the contrary, he was an active member of many learned societies and academies, too numerous to mention, at home and abroad. He also enjoyed many clubs in and about Cambridge and Boston. If, like some other busy Harvard professors, he did not come to the monthly meetings of the Massachusetts Historical Society as regularly as one might wish, it was because he was so occupied with affairs on the other side of the Charles River.

To his many friends he was a delight, not only because of his wide experience and interesting conversation, but also because he found so much communicable amusement in the trifles of life which he gleefully shared with others. It delighted him, for instance, that his correspondents, many of them foreigners, struggling with his unusual name (the only "Tozzer" in the telephone book) should distort it in some fifty different ways.

In 1913 Tozzer married Margaret Tenney Castle, of Honolulu. They spent many of their summer vacations in the Hawaiian Islands, partly for family reasons and partly as an opportunity for further anthropological research. They had two daughters. The elder died in 1918. The younger, Joan, became famous as an international women's skating champion. After her marriage her children added zest to the later years of the grandparents.

In his archaeological work and in his family, Tozzer enjoyed a truly full and happy life.

Willard Goodrich Cogswell

WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

A TYPE of mind common in eighteenth-century New England that has all but disappeared has been recalled by Professors Harry J. Carman and Rexford G. Tugwell. "There used to be a kind of man," they wrote, "found rather often in earlier generations, who stood to a whole countryside as the representative there of learning. He might be a doctor or a lawyer; sometimes he was a craftsman; at any rate his ubiquitous interest in things of the mind made him notable. Men of this sort have a tendency now to flock together and, having done that, they specialize and develop a fantastic exclusiveness. This spoils the unique quality of the village philosopher."[1] Such a man was Willard Goodrich Cogswell, who was born in Haverhill on December 21, 1881, and died there on May 20, 1955. From the Haverhill public schools he entered Harvard College with the Class of 1904. Receiving the A.B. degree in 1903, not only in three rather than four years but also *cum laude*, he studied law, for a year at the Harvard Law School and then in the Haverhill office of Nichols and Brewster. He was admitted to the Massachusetts bar in 1907. The following year he went west. In 1908 he was admitted to the California bar, where he practiced for about a year before returning to Haverhill for good. Once at home again, he thereafter moved only to the eastward. For the next forty-six years he remained in his native city, practicing law but also enlarging his mind and cultivating the arts in a manner more suggestive of the eighteenth than the twentieth century.

When the *Haverhill Gazette* announced his death, it had an extended list of local accomplishments to catalogue. He was at the time the senior member of the law firm of Cogswell, Davis and Soroka, vice-president and director of the Merrimack National Bank, a director of the Haverhill Cooperative Bank, a trustee of the Pentucket Five Cents Savings Bank, a director and clerk of the Hoyt and Worthen Tanning Corporation, a director and treasurer of the Dole and Childs Funeral Home, a trustee of the Haverhill Public Library

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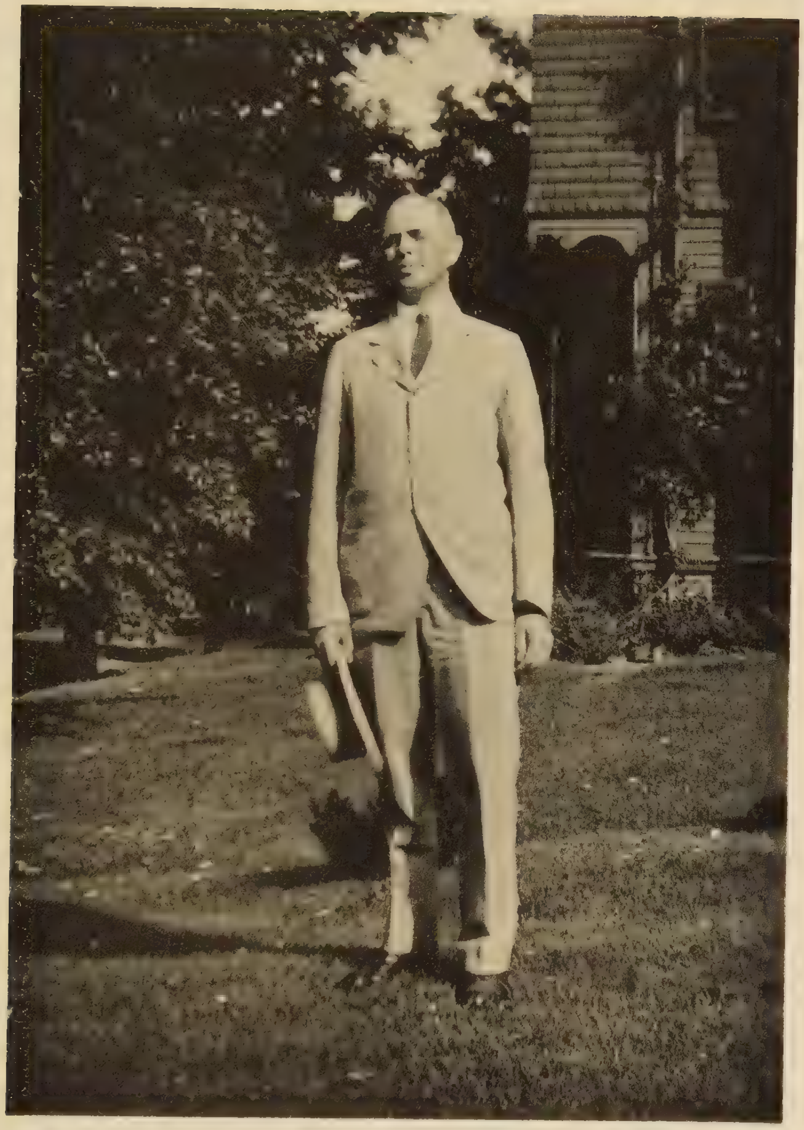
[1] Jared Eliot, *Essays upon Field Husbandry in New England and Other Papers, 1748–1762* (New York, 1934), p. xiii.



Willard Goodrich Cogswell

and of Atkinson Academy, and president of the Trustees of the John Greenleaf Whittier Homestead. For thirteen years he had served on the Haverhill Planning Board. He had been president of the Haverhill Civic Music Association, and had over the years taken part in a great variety of other local enterprises. What such a list fails to reveal is Willard Cogswell's intense concern with the individuality of Haverhill as a place; his detailed affection for its past, and his desire to preserve whatever was distinctive in its character. It completely overlooks the extraordinary variety of subjects that he explored solely because they intrigued and fascinated him. This is not surprising, for he was a shy man, who by nature concealed the breadth and diversity of his interests. To the end of his life he alleged, and more than half believed, that he was a simple countryman, drawing wills in a northern Essex County industrial city, a man whose opinions and tastes could be of no conceivable interest to anyone except himself.

I came first to know Willard Cogswell through plants and trees. In 1936 we settled in North Andover—the next town to Haverhill—in a house whose rear windows looked out upon a somewhat senile orchard and a great number of weed-bound perennial beds. In the attempt to bring some pattern and order into this garden I found my way to the nursery of Gray and Cole in Ward Hill. Paul Gray and Harry Cole, whom I first visited by accident, soon became valued friends, for in addition to being the best nurserymen in the region, they are opposite-minded Thoreauvians whose tastes in books, music, landscape, and conversation rival their skill with plants. As we fell into the way of exchanging visits in the summer twilight, I began to hear of their friend Cogswell, who, it appeared, had around his house in Haverhill some spreading Japanese yews of magnificent proportions, as well as a remarkable planting of azaleas. So it eventually came about that I met the yews and their owner.

Willard Cogswell had settled, immediately after his marriage in June, 1912, to Julia Hayes, in a high-shouldered wooden house of the eighties in Winona Avenue, a shady suburban street at the northern extremity of Haverhill. From the fields behind the house one looked across the state line to the low hills of Plaistow, New Hampshire. The house in itself had no particular architectural distinction, although its rooms were high and tolerably convenient. The Cogswells might well have gone elsewhere, for they both loved eighteenth-century houses, had they not irrevocably planted themselves into 119 Winona Avenue. The man who sets out trees for the future cannot lightly shift his abode when his planting is reaching maturity. Willard had placed around a normal enough side lawn a number of small specimens of *Taxus cuspidata nana*, bought from Paul Gray. Now the Japanese yew is a versatile and accommodating tree. If clipped systematically it will resign itself to becoming part of a hedge, or even an example of topiary fantasy, but if left to its own devices, and given room, its branches will spread into extraordinary and picturesque shapes. Willard had given the yews their head. Over the years they had grown to such dimensions that they rivalled the best specimens in the Arnold Arboretum. They had encroached upon the grass and finally obliterated it, so that from the windows of the house one looked into a rich sea of evergreen branches, of unparalleled beauty and fascination.

Time and the Lord had made the yews what they were, but in Willard Cogswell's "back yard," as he consistently called it, he had helped the Lord a good deal. It was originally a back yard and nothing more, but as he loved New England forests, he planned and planted one behind his house, setting out evergreens in quantity, moving boulders to spots where they might well have cropped out naturally, and, as the trees grew to sufficient height, transplanting to the shady ground below them a rich profusion of ferns and the delicate wild plants that ordinarily resist cultivation. Beyond the wood one emerged into an open space, bordered by masses of azaleas, laurel, and rhododendrons. Willard had an uncanny gift for reproducing nature so skillfully that plants recognized their natural habitats and responded to his persuasion. The only bit of formality in the place was a pair of stiff beds of rather fearful petunias and zinnias, known as "Catherine's garden," where the Cogswells characteristically allowed a devoted cook to indulge *her* theories of horticulture.

The azaleas, which were in their season the bravest show of the place, once marked the extreme limit of the "back yard," but as years passed Willard extended his operations further and further afield, creating an additional herb garden here, a birch grove there. All these points of interest were connected by woodland paths, along which he installed highly comfortable stone armchairs, in which one boulder formed the seat, another the back, and two more the arms. He had a Japanese appreciation of the natural beauty of stones and a Cornish quarryman's skill in moving great boulders with seeming ease. Thus he would pick stones that were attractive in themselves and by some legerdemain set them at angles accommodating to the human posterior. As a result of this gift, six or eight friends might find themselves of a summer evening, seated on Myceanaen thrones, happily consuming noble mutton chops that Willard had brought out from Dole and Bailey in Faneuil Hall and grilled over a nearby open fire.

When darkness came and the company migrated indoors there was as much to admire there as in the "back yard." The walls were crowded with Audubon birds, Hogarths, English county maps, Zorns, Seymour Hadens, and Whistlers. The genial bearded professor, glass in hand, of Zorn's *The Toast* who presided over the dining room was an appropriate tutelary figure for a house in which a cocktail would always be taken out to the kitchen for Catherine Mahoney. The cocktails, the wine, and the dishes in that dining room had been planned with imagination and prepared precisely, only to be presented to guests with a beguiling offhanded modesty. Willard and his wife were the kind of artful hosts who succeed in pressing delicacies upon their friends and at the same time leaving the impression that it is the hosts who have received a favor! The heart of the house was the second floor library, whose walls were crowded with as carefully selected a choice of books as I have ever seen. Their owner clearly subscribed to Thomas Fuller's opinion: "It is excellent for one to have a library of scholars, especially *if they be plain to be read*. I mean of a communicative nature, whose discourses are as full as fluent, and their judgments as right as their tongues ready." This "library of scholars" was clearly assembled for reading rather than rarity; it was a collection of pure literature, with few books about subjects and none about how to do things. Lamb and Hazlitt held the place of honor, but the shelves were rich in English writing of all kinds, for Willard turned readily from Wordsworth to Chaucer, from Walton to Sterne, ranging through the centuries with a fine disregard for current critical fads. At one end of the library was a grand piano on which he played when alone or with his wife; the music available to guests came from a superb phonograph that anticipated the excellences of the "hi-fi" era.

On the magazine table, *Punch, The Countryman, John o' London's Weekly,* and other importations were always to be found, for Willard loved the English countryside as passionately as he did New England. Three times he visited England, where he readily fell in with like-minded persons, such as the retired naval captain at Cheltenham who called his hens by name, as though they were puppies, while feeding them, and who competed with his gardener in raising onions in separate beds, to see which should gain first prize at the country fairs. On the outbreak of World War II he supported projects of the English Speaking Union, and had a particular interest in the welfare of HMS *Bradford,* one of the United States destroyers turned over to the Royal Navy under lend-lease. On June 26, 1941, he represented the people of Haverhill, Massachusetts, in a short-wave broadcast to Haverhill, England, over station WRUL.

As Willard Cogswell never drove a car, his minute explorations of northern New England were made on foot. With his friend George Carter he tramped over most of the unsettled parts of southern New Hampshire. Every year he and his wife would spend some days at the hotel on the top of Mount Mansfield, whose trails he knew as if they were the paths in his "back yard." He knew the White Mountains intimately, and when approaching seventy was capable of climbs and tramps that exhausted supposedly hardy undergraduates who had been so rash as to accompany him. On the backs of Appalachian Mountain Club maps he would transcribe, in a minute hand, passages of prose and verse that delighted him, on the theory that, if he should find himself storm-bound at Guyot Shelter, these old friends would solace him in his imagined loneliness. When the fifty-fourth map was completed he compiled an index, which begins thus: Henry Adams, Addison, Arnold, Roger Ascham, Austen, Francis Bacon, Walter Bagehot, Baring-Gould, William Barnes, Richard Barnfield, Barrie, Clifford Bax, Francis Beaumont, Beerbohm, Belloc, A. C. Benson, Bernard Berenson, Bible, Blake, Borrow, etc. Horace, Homer, Logan Pearsall Smith, Pope, Ronsard, Santayana, Seneca, Charles M. Doughty, Osbert Sitwell, Emerson, Thomas More, and André L. Simon appear in new juxtapositions on the maps. The Book of Job and Brillat-Savarin jostle one another; so do Dante and Gilbert White. From Gilbert Murray's *The Stoic Philosophy* comes the quotation: "You remember the eighteenth century lady's epitaph which ends: 'Blond, passionate, and deeply religious, she was second cousin to the Earl of Leitrim, and of such are the kingdom of heaven.'

One doubts whether when the critical moment came, her relationships would really prove as important as her executors hoped." I hope that some day a publisher will have the imagination to permit David McCord and me to turn these quotations into an anthology, for they are an endless delight.

A man of this turn of mind, however many useful functions he may have fulfilled there, and however great his feeling for the place, can hardly have been entirely at home in a twentieth-century industrial city. Willard Cogswell had intimate friends in Haverhill, but it was in Boston in the later years of his life that he found a greater number of like-minded companions. He and his wife had for years gone to Boston every Friday for the Symphony. They had a share in the Athenæum, and Willard in 1942 joined the St. Botolph Club. In the same year, after rebutting repeated protestations of his imagined lack of qualifications, I wheedled him into becoming a member of the Club of Odd Volumes, where he found himself thoroughly at home. In 1950 he succeeded his dear friend Charles Goodspeed as Librarian of the Club. When his 1952 report was presented in the form of two sonnets, the Club promptly printed them as a broadside. In 1943 he was elected a Resident Member of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts.

Had Willard Cogswell lived in Haverhill in 1791 he would inevitably have been one of the close friends and correspondents of Rev. Jeremy Belknap, and so one of the founders of the Massachusetts Historical Society. His election to the Society in 1951 was a recognition that in northern Essex County he was the outstanding example of the type of broadly cultivated amateur, with a serious interest in history, that had for one hundred and sixty years been one of the Society's strengths. When one looked north from Boston, he stood beyond a doubt in Haverhill as the conspicuous representative of learning. One could wish that he had written as profusely about his region as his British counterpart, Reginald L. Hine, did in *Confessions of an Un-common Attorney*, and other books about Hitchin in Hertfordshire.[2] This "un-common attorney" of Essex County in New England was too much of a stylist to write rapidly. He chose his words with deliberation for their music and their sense, as in the final sentence of a tribute to one of his close friends, which began "This then was George Carter who died in the spring." He was, moreover, too reticent to rush into print. Most of what he was induced to publish was in ephemeral form, as in the case of his perceptive "Notes on the Growth of Haverhill" that were sandwiched between advertisements in the program of a tercentenary pageant. The following extract from that piece is typical of his skill in synthesis, description, and evocation:

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[2] Reginald Lewis Hine (1883–1949) published a two volume *History of Hitchin* in 1927–29, *History of the Hitchin Grammar School* in 1931, *Hitchin Worthies* in 1932, *The Story of Hitchin Town* in 1938, *Confessions of an Un-common Attorney* in 1945, and *Charles Lamb and his Hertfordshire* in 1949. A posthumous *Relics on an Un-Common Attorney* appeared in 1951, with a memoir of this engaging figure by Dr. Richenda Scott.

> Life here [from 1890 to 1915] may have been insular, but it was vibrant and various. Its atmosphere was a compounding of the inflowing of foreign peoples, the building of miles of new streets and row after row of new houses; the characteristic hum of steam-driven shoe-machinery along Washington Street, and the smell of leather being worked on there; the great piles of goods shipped each night across country and over-seas; the sequence of horse-cars, trolley-cars and buses, of driving-horses, bicycles, and motor-cars; toboggan-shutes, roller skating rinks, the Pines; troupes of repertory players at the Academy of Music, band concerts at City Hall Park; Merrimack Street crowded on Saturday evenings; the Haverhill baseball team in the New England League. People learned to use telephones without self-consciousness. Most streets were deeply muddy in early spring, but nobody really minded. They coasted down Main Street after snowstorms, held amateur horse-racing on the frozen river and professional trotting meets at the track on the Newton Road.[3]

For an anniversary in 1939 of one of the banks of which he was an officer he prepared a historical sketch that was published in *One Hundred Twenty-Five Years of the Merrimack National Bank of Haverhill*, and in 1953 he wrote a sonnet in commemoration of the sesquicentennial of Bradford Junior College. The one paper that he gave to the Massachusetts Historical Society, "Highways and Low Ways in Haverhill from Grant to McKinley," is printed in this volume. During its presentation no one was asleep in the Dowse Library, although one literal-minded member loudly denounced the paper as frivolous. In consequence, the denouncer, when proposed for the Club of Odd Volumes, was resoundingly blackballed on the theory that any one capable of such stupidity would be no addition to the Club!

Willard Cogswell cared deeply for history, literature, nature, and the arts; he was not only one of the most cultivated men of his day but to the relatively limited number of friends who knew him well the most engaging of companions. Whether on the top of Mount Mansfield or in a late train to Andover and Haverhill his conversation was a delight. I once attended a particularly dreary Haverhill funeral in his company. It was in winter and I drove him long miles over icy roads to a country cemetery. When it was over, back we went to his library and finished the day with *The Beggar's Opera* and a bottle of Irish whiskey. It was a delight to examine wild flowers with him, and equally pleasant to go to Dudley Street after a lunch at the C.O.V. to buy a phonograph record of "Paddy McGinty's Goat."

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[3] *Official Pictorial Magazine of the Haverhill Tercentenary Celebration, 1640–1940* (Haverhill, 1940), pp. 71–73.

The only touch of bitterness that I ever noted in his conversation was in connection with Harvard College, where as an undergraduate he had led the lonely existence of many a country boy in the days when students lived wherever they could find lodging. At the Odd Volumes he was devoted to John Livingston Lowes, F. N. Robinson, George Lyman Kittredge, J. D. M. Ford, and David McCord as individuals, although his doubts about Harvard as an institution remained. In 1954 he was reluctantly persuaded to go to his fiftieth reunion, during which he was, to his equal pleasure and surprise, elected an honorary member of Phi Beta Kappa.

He was a man of upright character and religious conviction, intimately familiar with the King James Bible and the Anglicanism of the seventeenth century, yet tormented by his inability to accept without reservation the organized manifestation of any Christian body. He was happy in his family life and often accompanied his wife to mass, reverently envying her the comfort of her faith. On his deathbed he accepted the counsel of a wise and sympathetic priest, who, recognizing him as *anima naturaliter Christiana*, made it possible for him to be buried with a requiem high mass from St. James Church in Haverhill, which he had so often attended with his wife. In following him to his grave, many of us shared David McCord's feeling, expressed to her, "Willard has gone on a long walk but we shall overtake him." Those who have not yet done so rejoice that the birthplace of a man who cared so passionately for books has recently become the Cogswell Branch of the Haverhill Public Library.

Fitz-Henry Smith, Jr.

Frank W. Grinnell

Born in Boston on November 10, 1873, prepared at the English High School, graduated from Harvard College in 1896 and the Harvard Law School in 1899, Fitz-Henry Smith was a well-known figure at the Boston bar for more than half a century. Especially active in admiralty law, he was in that field an adviser to the Federal Shipping Board during World War I, committee chairman and draftsman of federal legislation for the Maritime Law Association of the United States, and his work was notable beyond the borders of Massachusetts. He eventually was made one of the few honorary members of that organization.

During World War I he was chairman of a committee appointed to hear evidence and advise the Shipping Board as to the compensation to be paid the owners for vessels requisitioned by the United States on the Great Lakes—a task which he described as novel and interesting, for there were no precedents as to the determination of values under conditions such as the war brought forth.

He was an active member of the Executive Committee of the Maritime Law Association from 1911 to 1919, 1924 to 1925, and 1932 to 1933, and was one of the draftsmen and chairman of the committee which, with the help of a committee of the American Bar Association, secured the passage by Congress in 1910 of the act relative to liens on vessels for necessaries and in 1920 of the act relative to actions for death on the high seas. He was an outstanding legislator, a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives from 1914 to 1919, chairman of especially important committees, and a prominent candidate for the speakership in 1919.

While in the legislature one of his most important assignments was as draftsman of the act under which the Constitutional Convention of 1917 was held—a far more responsible task than is commonly realized, requiring a knowledge of the history and legislation relating to the earlier conventions. Subsequent to that convention, as House Chairman, with Clarence Hobbs of Worcester as Senate Chairman, he drafted the act of 1919 reorganizing the executive branch of the state government. In his fiftieth Harvard class report he wrote, "I also look back with satisfaction to the fact that I was among those who spoke and voted against ratification of the prohibition amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and endeavored to tell the members of the House what they were letting us in for, and, incidentally, sending some of my friends to the dictionary as to the application of the word 'sumptuary' to such a law."

Over the years he was active in the affairs of the American Bar Association, the Massachusetts and Boston Bar Associations, and the Boston Chamber of Commerce. He was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society since 1920, a director for many years and eventually president of the Bostonian Society, and the author of a number of legal and historical articles. Among his legal articles are "Liability in the Admiralty for Injuries to Seamen," published in the *Harvard Law Review* in April, 1906, "The New Federal Statute Relating to Liens on Vessels," 1911, and a review of *The Law of Maritime Liens*, by Griffith Price, published in *American Maritime Cases* in 1940. Among his historical articles are "Were Burgoyne's Officers Quartered on the College?" published in the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine* of September, 1902, "The Story of Boston Light," *Publications* of the Bostonian Society, 1910, and "The French at Boston During the Revolution," 1913.

He was a man with the spirit of unselfish thought and work of a kind which will be needed more and more in Massachusetts as government and law become more complicated and difficult.

Allan Forbes

Walter Muir Whitehill*

On Tuesday noon, July 12, 1955, Salem Street in Boston was so abnormally congested by crowds pouring out of the Old North Church that an Italian fruit vendor hailed an out-of-region passer-by to inquire: "What's going on in the North End today?" His curiosity was well founded, for Allan Forbes's funeral had brought numbers from the rest of Boston to the normally crowded streets of the North End. The variety of people who filled every available pew and gallery bench in the old church—whose restored steeple had been raised into place only the week before—proved quite as much the affection in which this quiet and unassuming man was held as the place that his abilities had won for him in the community. The Vicar of Christ Church and the Rector of St. Paul's Church, Dedham, read—from the clerk's desk below the high pulpit—the Order for the Burial of the Dead from the Book of Common Prayer. The congregation sang John Bunyan's "He who would valiant be 'gainst all disaster" and James Russell Lowell's "Once to every man and nation." As the coffin was carried out of the church—during the singing of "For all the saints" to Vaughan Williams's confident and noble tune—many of us felt poignantly the extent to which Boston was lessened by the death of this good man.

When he died on July 9, 1955, Allan Forbes was in his eighty-first year, for he had been born in Boston on November 20, 1874. His father, James Murray Forbes, had been in China with Russell and Company in the sixties, and his mother was a granddaughter of Nathaniel Bowditch, compiler of the *New American Practical Navigator*. The Murray Forbes house on Milton Hill, built about 1830 by Allan's grandfather, Captain Robert Bennet Forbes (1804–1889)—the most imaginative and versatile of nineteenth-century New England shipmasters and merchants—brought the color and scent of China to Massachusetts. Llewellyn Howland, who visited there in the nineties, recalls that "to arrive there late in the afternoon after a day of work perched on a high stool in a stuffy, noisy office, was for me as if I had

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* An abbreviated form of this memoir was published in a limited edition by the Second Bank-State Street Trust Company in 1956.

Photographed by George M. Cushing
Courtesy Second Bank-State Street Trust Company

Allan Forbes

become a guest of the famous Chinese merchant, Houqua, in his charmingly precise and peaceful country house, as it was depicted in an old painting by a Chinese painter I had lived with as a child. For within doors, here in Milton, there was the subtle and pervasive odor of camphor wood and teak, the muted splendor of blues, greens, golds and red of Canton pottery and of lacquer work; the inimitably correct portraits of vessels of all rigs by Chinese artists, and much else suggestive of traffic with the Far East. While as for the house itself, there were details both in its plan and construction which proclaimed the calling—shipmaster and China merchant—of its builder, and the influence this profession had exercised upon his character, tastes and occupation." Had Allan Forbes been born into such a family and grown up in such surroundings a generation earlier, he might well have gone to sea as a supercargo or to Canton as a clerk. As it was, he attended Milton Academy and Noble and Greenough's, but he also haunted the workshop where his grandfather Forbes amused himself in old age making sailing boat models for young relatives and friends. Allan's cousin, Mrs. Edward Cunningham, recalls how he once proudly took a completed model of his own to their grandfather, attempting to pass it off as a boat that the old gentleman had formerly given him. The deception was soon unmasked, for Captain Forbes, although he showed pleasure over his young grandson's interest in boatbuilding, at once pointed out various defects in workmanship.

After graduating in 1897 from Harvard College—where he had been more absorbed by polo than by academic subjects—Allan Forbes became a clerk in the banking firm of Blodget Merritt and Co., before going into the employ of Maynard and Child, commission merchants. During the winter of 1898–1899, after the weather became too inclement to exercise his string of polo ponies, he and his friend Llewellyn Howland hived up in the carriage house of his parents' home on Milton Hill and built a twenty-foot boat—appropriately named the *Wonderhow*—that won a race for them on the Neponset River on April 19, 1899.

When Allan Forbes became Assistant Treasurer of the State Street Trust Company early in 1899, it was a small bank then only eight years old. Its total force consisted of eight persons, and its deposits were less than two million dollars. From the carefree beginning of his banking career, pedestrian-minded prophets might not have foreseen that in a dozen years Allan Forbes would be President of a bank more than six times that size.

On February 3, 1899, when he was very new indeed at his job, came the ball given by the Myopia and Norfolk Hunt Clubs. As he recalled it forty-three years later in reminiscences of Myopia: "It was my first hunt ball and I had a gorgeous evening—in fact night. Half an hour at home was all that I had for rest and a change of clothes, before starting for the office. My eyes were more than three quarters closed, but I tried to find the combination to the safe. Presently, after a few ineffective attempts, I saw my boss, Charles Lowell, peering over my shoulder. 'I think you ought to go home,' he said softly, and I accepted his advice promptly and it wasn't five minutes before I was on my way to bed." This unpromising start was soon forgotten when the officers of the bank began to observe Allan Forbes's almost uncanny skill in discovering what was going on in Boston, while maintaining a drily humorous air of friendly unconcern and quizzical detachment. In the third and fourth reports of his Harvard class, the chief fact that he chose to record, beyond his connection with the bank, was the ownership of a dog that had reached the patriarchal age of twenty-one years, three months and thirteen days at its death on April 1, 1909. With this disarming talent for the irrelevant, went a singular ability to steer much needed new business to the State Street Trust Company. The latter gift was particularly welcome, for Charles Lowell, the bank's first actuary, was not skilled in human relations. Samuel H. Wolcott, after forty years of close association, observed that Allan Forbes had a keener nose for business than a bird dog has for game; that he would figure out where it was and instantly go after it. This talent led to prompt advancement, for in 1900 Allan Forbes was elected Treasurer of the State Street Trust Company, and in 1901 he became Secretary. When a branch office was opened in 1905 at the corner of Massachusetts Avenue and Boylston Street—a pioneer banking effort in that area—he went up there for six months to scour the region for new business. One of his few failures occurred when Dr. Samuel A. Green, the formidable Librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society, summarily ejected him from the Society's new building at 1154 Boylston Street. The recollection of this initial rebuff always amused him during his subsequent service as the Society's Treasurer from 1921 to 1928 and from 1951 to 1955.

Upon Charles Lowell's death in 1906, Allan Forbes became Vice-President of the State Street Trust Company. Five years later, in 1911, he was promoted to the Presidency, which he held until 1950, when he became Chairman of the Board.

Very early in his career, Allan Forbes began to develop his natural tastes for history and collecting in directions that gave him pleasure, and, simultaneously, brought the bank to the attention of a vast number of potential customers. It had begun business in the basement of the Exchange Building in State Street, which occupied the site of the granite colonnaded Merchants' Exchange of 1842. Late in 1900 it had moved across to a building (now demolished) at 38 State Street, on the corner of Exchange Street. Having grown up in Milton among the relics of the China Trade, Allan Forbes was particularly sensitive to the historical implications of the surroundings in which he did business. From the settlement of Boston, State—originally King—Street had been the center of the town, for it led from the Town House (subsequently replaced by what we know as the Old State House) to the Long Wharf that extended far into the harbor. Here sailors, townspeople, and visiting Indians had jostled each other for decades; here British troops had been landed in 1768; here the Boston Massacre had taken place in 1770; here, in the early days of the Republic, Federalist merchants had met (on the sidewalk in fair weather—in a tavern in foul) to trade views on ships, business, and politics.

Immediately upon becoming Vice-President and Actuary of the bank in 1906, Allan Forbes began the publication of a series of illustrated historical booklets that attracted the attention of a wide group of readers. From a 1906 booklet on State Street, the series had by 1955, with its thirty-ninth volume, reached an audience far beyond New England, for Allan Forbes, as early as 1913, very shrewdly sensed a growing interest in the maritime history of New England. Such booklets as *Old Shipping Days in Boston* (1918) and *Merchants and Sea Captains of Old Boston* (2 parts—1918 and 1919)— drawn largely from little known sources still in private hands—gave New Englanders a foretaste of the material that was to be so brilliantly treated by Samuel Eliot Morison in his *Maritime History of Massachusetts* in 1921. To commemorate the tercentenary of the Landing of the Pilgrims, the State Street Trust Company published in 1920, as the sixteenth in the series, *Towns of New England and Old England, Ireland*

and Scotland, Part I. This work, in a larger format than its predecessors, presented in 225 copiously illustrated pages brief accounts of the relations of British towns and their New England namesakes. A second volume, of equal dimensions, that appeared in 1921, attracted so much interest that, to meet the public demand for copies, Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons undertook to publish the books commercially in New York and London. Although Allan Forbes was personally almost entirely responsible for the collecting of material and the writing of the texts, he characteristically kept his name out of sight until 1921, when he reluctantly signed the Foreword to *Towns of New England and Old England, Part II.*

The 1925 centenary of Lafayette's visit to Boston led to the beginning of a three volume series on *France and New England* (1925, 1927, 1929) dealing not only with the Revolutionary figures of Lafayette, Rochambeau, and Franklin, but with Champlain and early French exploration and settlement. For this series, Paul F. Cadman made extensive researches in France that continued over a number of years, and led in 1938 to the publication of *Boston and Some Noted Émigrés.* This last booklet made an important contribution to our knowledge of Paul Revere's French ancestry, as well as reviving the memories of Peter Faneuil, Bishop Cheverus, Pierre Baudouin, and other French émigrés to New England. Both the British and French series were notable for their richness of illustration of European scenes of interest to Americans. A typical example is the photograph of the Whitehall boat, presented to Lafayette by New York watermen in 1825, that is still preserved in a barn at the Château Lagrange—a craft whose existence is known to few students of American boatbuilding.

New England industries, Indian events, Boston statues, lithographed ship sailing advertising cards, Massachusetts town and city seals, New England taverns and stagecoaches, and Benjamin Russell's paintings of whaleships, all in their turn became the subjects of State Street Trust Company booklets. The variety of subject represented the catholicity of Allan Forbes's curiosity. Although the material is presented simply for popular interest, each booklet contains a fair deal of information not readily available elsewhere. Allan Forbes, who already knew the obvious facts of New England history, constantly asked questions that were not easy to answer. When anyone in a library or museum received a letter from him, two things were certain before the envelope was opened. The letter would be pleasant, and, equally certainly, it would contain a request for some bit of information that was nearly impossible to provide. Yet he amiably persisted, inquiring in likely and unlikely places, and in the end often unearthed curious nuggets of information that would have eluded a less determined curiosity. All assistance received, he acknowledged with such genuine gratitude that the preparation of the booklets—as well as their distribution—enlarged the circle of his and the bank's friends considerably. These thirty-nine volumes maintained over nearly half a century a singularly high degree of quality and consistency for bank advertising, for, however much they were due to Allan Forbes's personal predilections, they were also an uncommonly shrewd bit of business that kept the State Street Trust Company in the minds of New Englanders, and made its name known to lovers of the sea throughout the United States.

The same might be said of the banking rooms, whose decoration was due to this same combined fondness for the past and canny eye to the present and future. While living as a bachelor at Westwood, in the company of his venerable dog "Mike," Allan Forbes had collected good polo ponies, but his interests presently grew to include old furniture and whaling prints. A collector of his enthusiasm could hardly be expected to pass his business hours in surroundings of functional severity. In his 1917 Harvard class report, Allan Forbes said: "When I have any spare time I go down to the State Street Trust Company where I meet picture and furniture dealers from nine-thirty A.M. to four P.M. After these hours I visit them." This report characteristically failed to mention that he had been collecting accounts with a like energy. By 1911, the State Street Trust Company was obliged to move diagonally across the street to the Worthington Building, to accommodate not only its increased business but the models and ship pictures with which its President was beginning to fill the banking rooms.

The new quarters proved inadequate almost as soon as they were occupied. When the bank moved into them in 1911, its deposits totalled $13,000,000; after fourteen crowded years the figure had risen to $57,000,000. The assets and good will of the Paul Revere Trust Company, purchased in 1916, brought the State Street Trust Company not only a number of desirable customers and valued directors, but the Copley Square Office, occupying the street floor of the Wesleyan Building at 581 Boylston Street. In 1925, soon after the move to the bank's present location at the corner of State and Congress Streets, the National Union Bank—founded in 1792—was merged with the State Street Trust Company.

In the planning and decoration of the present banking rooms, Allan Forbes's tastes found their most complete expression. A new building, with a severe granite façade reminiscent of the early nineteenth century, was built on the narrow slice of land at the southeast corner of State and Congress Streets. Behind this dignified and apparently self-contained façade lay the vast recesses of the Exchange Building into which the bank could, and did, expand as necessary during the course of the next thirty years. In the banking rooms flagstone paving, granite counters, oak and pine panelling, antique lanterns, ship models hanging above the tellers' cages like votive offerings in a Basque fishermen's church, innumerable prints and ship portraits, tavern chairs, trestle tables, and pewter inkwells combined to create an atmosphere unique in Boston business. These new counting rooms, occupied on Labor Day, 1925, were in no sense a reconstruction of the surroundings in which business had formerly been transacted in Boston. Although they evoked the past they did not reproduce it archæologically, for they were rather an original creation of Allan Forbes's imagination, basically intended for up-to-date banking, but built around the multiplicity of relics, antiques, pictures, and models that he and the bank were constantly collecting. The words of B. Nason Hamlin's "State Street Trust Chanty"—sung at a dinner on February 1, 1949 commemorating Allan Forbes's fiftieth anniversary with the bank—sum matters up concisely.

> In this banking life,
> With its stress and strife,
> There's only one way to the top.
> Let the public gaze
> On whaling days,
> And give 'em an antique shop.
> Let the harpoon men
> Wield a wicked pen,
> Safe from all mammal harm.
> No blubber—no smell,
> While the ink in the well
> Is brown like genuine sparm!

Chorus

Yo ho! My lads, yo ho!
Keep her east of the State House so.
Oh! a banker's life
On the ocean wave,
When the sea runs high
On the old stone pave.
Heave away, my hearties!
And so we'll yell "Let's go"
And deposit our slip
'Neath the model of a ship!
Yo ho, my lads, Yo ho!

All this was at once good fun and good business, for many times those who first came to see the models returned to deposit their slips beneath them.

When one had business with Allan Forbes, he was quickly found, with none of the normal ceremony by which less busy men often endeavor to convey an illusion of their own importance. He would be ensconced in a low-studded room of seventeenth-century inspiration, with heavy beams, and a great kitchen fireplace, suggesting that he might be about to roast a haunch of venison or cook a mess of succotash. Seated in a Carver-Brewster chair, originally from the tap-room of the Wayside Inn, surrounded by ship models and prints, with fire buckets for waste baskets and a sea chest serving as a wood box, Allan Forbes would deal with an extraordinary variety of twentieth-century business in the course of a day.

Although never a "joiner" in the usual American sense, he had from the beginning of World War I become accustomed to doing the work of many charitable enterprises and relief committees. In 1916 he had been one of the leaders in raising money for a flying school for Harvard undergraduates, known as the Undergraduates' Flying Corps. In December of the same year he was involved in the Boston National Allied Bazaar, which turned over $465,000 to the Allied countries that were then at war, and before the 1918 Armistice he had served on thirteen foreign war charities, as well as acting as Treasurer for one of the Red Cross campaigns, the War Camp Community Service, and other such enterprises. With the approach of World War II, he was one of the organizers, and Massachusetts Chairman, of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, and later became

Secretary of the United Nations Relief Fund. He was Treasurer of Bundles for America, Inc., Bundles for Britain, Inc., American Aid to France, Massachusetts National War Fund, Massachusetts Branch U.S.O., and American Bureau for Medical Aid to China. His war services were recognized by the award of Chinese, Danish, Belgian, and Dutch decorations, as well as by his appointment as an Officer of the Legion of Honor and as an Honorary Commander of Civil Division of the Order of the British Empire.

In the years between the wars, Allan Forbes constantly sought to stimulate and preserve friendly contacts between New England towns and cities, and the communities in Great Britain from which they take their names. He had collected over two hundred and fifty prints of such English towns, with particular emphasis on views of Boston, England. This interest, to which the State Street Trust Company publications bear evidence, was shown even more tangibly in 1930 when he was instrumental in raising here more than $50,000 for the restoration of the tower of St. Botolph's Church in Boston, England. In recognition of this effort, he was awarded the Freedom of the Borough of Boston. From its foundation after World War I, he was a staunch supporter of the English Speaking Union.

In the normal course of events, he was active in the charitable work of the Salvation Army, the American Red Cross, the Community Fund, as well as serving as President of the Boston and Albany Railroad, and as a director or trustee of such organizations as the New England Mutual Life Insurance Company, the Boston Consolidated Gas Company, Franklin Savings Bank, Boston Insurance Company, and the Boston Woven Hose and Rubber Company.

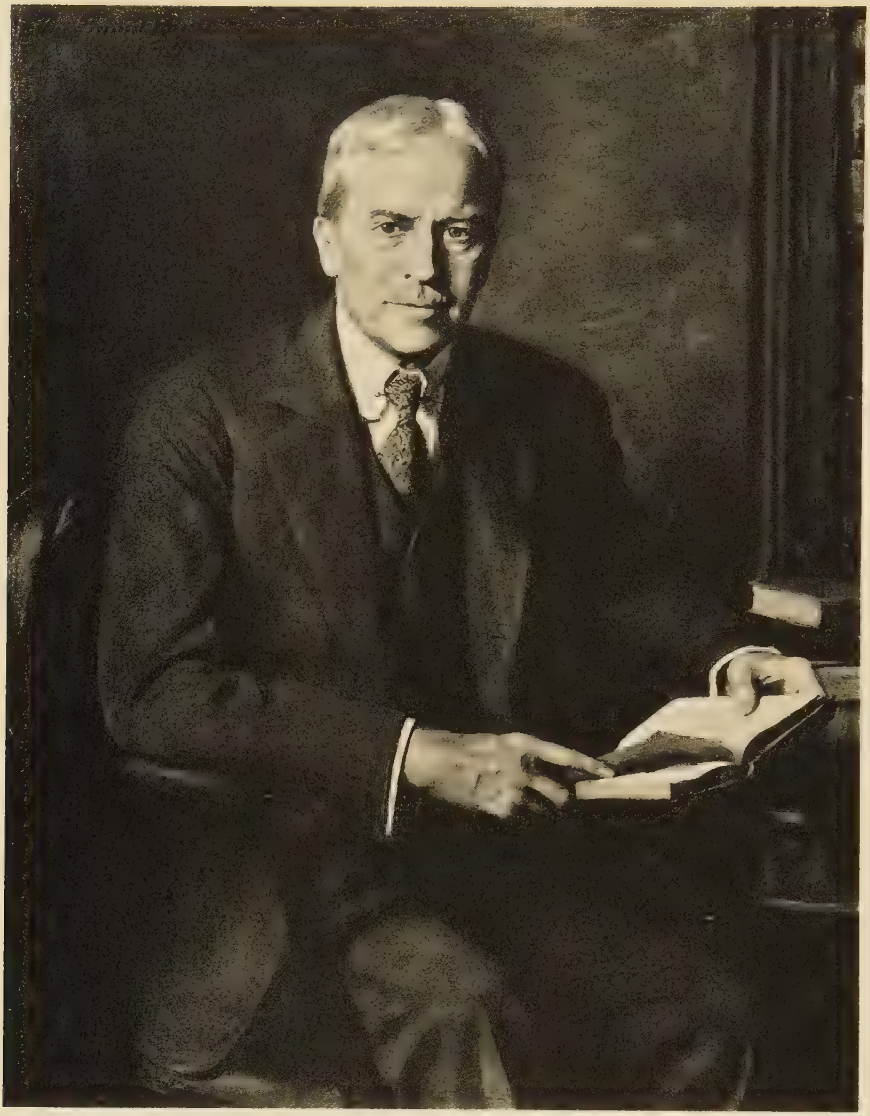
Allan Forbes was President of the State Street Trust Company for thirty-nine years. In 1936, when the Union Trust Company was merged with the State Street Trust Company, Charles Francis Adams became Chairman of the Board of the combined banks. The Union Trust Company office at 24 Federal Street, which was retained as a second banking office in the downtown district, was soon, through Allan Forbes's incorrigible enthusiasm as a collector, decorated with a series of prints and models depicting the development of aviation from the eighteenth-century balloon to the present day airplane. In May, 1950, on the retirement of Charles Francis Adams, Allan Forbes became Chairman of the Board of the State Street Trust Company. Five years later—when the bank's deposits exceeded $187,000,000 and its employees numbered 799 persons—it merged with the Second National Bank to form the Second Bank-State Street Trust Company. In the new organization Allan Forbes became, on February 18, 1955, Co-Chairman of Advisory Committee. Although designations might alter, he and his familiar surroundings remained unchanged. At the time of his death, he had spent more than fifty-six of his eighty years in the bank—thirty-nine of them as President and five as Chairman of the Board. The deposits of $318,856,509.94 shown in the June 30, 1955 statement of condition of the Second Bank-State Street Trust Company are a far cry from the $2,000,000 that existed when he joined the staff in 1899. As a touch of New England frugality, the 1,232 employees of June, 1955 represent a *smaller* number of persons in relation to the size of deposits than the eight that composed the staff of the State Street Trust Company fifty-six years earlier. When one considers the present flowering of bureaucracy in American life—even with due allowance for the marvels of business machines—this simple statistic is worth noting.

For all his record of business and charitable accomplishment, Allan Forbes had an equally full private life. In 1913 he married Josephine M. A. Crosby of New York City. Three years later they bought the spacious granite fronted house at 70 Beacon Street—facing the Public Garden—that, with his country place at Westwood, remained his home for the rest of his life. In his 1917 Harvard class report, he wrote that "after discarding mourning [for the aged dog 'Mike'], I took up polo again as before, and my chief motive then was to see how many good polo ponies I could collect. Since my marriage, four years ago, I have made more of a specialty of children, and prefer the latter. We have two children, the older being called Phyllis, for no one in particular, and the younger named Robert Bennet Forbes, for my grandfather." Shortly before the birth of his second child, he called on his aunt, Mrs. Charles E. Perkins, at 223 Commonwealth Avenue, who soon after wrote one of her sons in the following vein: "Allan tied the tiny oars into the little rowboat that my father made so many years ago, and which has always been on the mantlepiece in the Red Parlor. We agreed that it was wonderful that it had never warped and was in such perfect condition. I said, 'Allan, if your baby is a boy, that boat is his!' and the very next evening I received this note, 'Send round the rowboat!! Allan.' Then came another note—'R.B.F. sends you his love. All well. Allan.' " Three other sons, born after World War I—Allan, Jr., James Murray, and Henry Ashton Crosby—completed the family. All four, and their brother-in-law, S. Tudor Leland, were in the service during World War II. The eldest, named for his grandfather, died in 1944 as a Lieutenant in the United States Naval Reserve.

Although of frail physique as a child, Allan Forbes's early love for horses led to a varied career as a sportsman. He was on the winning Dedham Polo Team in the 1900 National Club Championships held at Brooklyn, New York, and eventually gathered in over 225 cups and prize ribbons won in sporting events that included sailing, polo, bicycle polo, horse shows, and model yachting. As a young man, he wrote the rules for bicycle polo, a game that was later to be revived by his eldest son, R. B. Forbes, with whom he collaborated on a combined history and rulebook that was published in 1942. In 1917 he wrote: "The last few years I have taken up golf in a way to replace polo, but have found it consistently more expensive for the beginner than the latter sport. I prefer golf to tennis because of the lack of spectators." In historical monographs on *Sport in Norfolk County* and *Early Myopia* he preserved numerous details of Massachusetts sporting history that would otherwise have been forgotten.

In addition to outfitting the State Street Trust Company with objects that evoked the maritime and aeronautical past of Boston, Allan Forbes assembled a great collection of whaling prints, which included 250 versions of Jonah's misadventure with the whale. In 1940, when these prints had invaded even the bathrooms and back stairs of 70 Beacon Street, he gave the collection to the Francis Russell Hart Nautical Museum at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. His comprehensive collection of military currency he gave in 1952 to the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Such a summary as this may suggest the manner in which a sensitive nose for game, combined with unobtrusive energy, dry humor, and quiet friendliness, led to remarkable accomplishments both in work and play. It cannot begin to express the extent to which those who made their way to Christ Church, Salem Street, on July 12, 1955 felt that Boston was poorer for the death of Allan Forbes.



David Cheever

David Cheever

HENRY R. VIETS

DR. DAVID CHEEVER was born in Boston, June 25, 1876 and died in Wellesley on August 13, 1955. The only son of a distinguished Boston surgeon, David W. Cheever, he prepared for college at Hopkinson's School and graduated from Harvard magna cum laude in the class of 1897. Popular as a young man, he made many friends among his classmates, particularly those who were to accompany him after graduation to the Harvard Medical School. While in college he became a member of DKE, the Institute of 1770, the Hasty Pudding, and Delta Phi. At the gatherings of his class in later years he always took a leading part, frequently acting as the toastmaster at the reunion banquets, for, with his keen wit and command of language, he was a speaker much in demand. In medical school he continued his notable scholastic career, graduating in 1901 at the top of his class. It was during his final year that plans were announced for the erection of new buildings for the school on Longwood Avenue. The committee which developed the program of expansion was headed by his father, David W. Cheever. Thus the names of father and son, even while David was a student, were closely linked in an appropriate manner. It was a characteristic of the Cheever family that devotion to the College and the Medical School was inevitably part of their daily life. The father's outstanding eminence as a surgeon, moreover, profoundly affected the career of the son, and carried with it a Puritan heritage of hard work and a God-fearing attitude not consistent with frivolity or an easy life. These uncompromising principles were deeply imbedded in David Cheever, and on them he based his surgical career.

His father lived by a rule from which he never deviated—"One School: One Hospital: one pursuit: one profession." On the other hand, his son's life was patterned on a broader outlook, for, in spite of his hereditary conventional entanglements, David added to his main pursuit of surgery an interest in ornithology and medical literature. Essentially a sedulous scholar, with a keen interest in all that pertained to historical and cultural medicine, Cheever, moreover, had a warm feeling for life and a spacious and generous understanding of it. He never got very far away, however, from his father's puritanical influence, and even after his marriage to Jane Welles Sargent his social activities tended to be largely medical in character, although family gatherings of his children and grandchildren at his summer home in Wellesley must have given him great pleasure. He was always particularly pleased when old medical friends and former pupils called on him, and one of the events of his later years was the meeting of his former hospital residents and house officers, along with the Cheever children, at his gracious country home. During the last ten years of his life, when he had retired from active surgery and hospital duties and had become severely crippled with arthritis, he continued his interests, keeping up-to-date with the latest developments of cardiac and pulmonary surgery and in all that was sound in the progress of medicine in general.

Graduating from the Harvard Medical School in 1901, Cheever became a house officer at the Boston City Hospital, where his father was one of the senior staff surgeons. His duties at the Medical School from 1903 to 1913 were mainly in the Department of Anatomy, where he developed a course in surgical anatomy which he carried on with great success for many years. Indeed it became one of the most popular courses ever given at the school. After also serving the Boston City Hospital for a decade, his professional career was radically changed in 1913, when Harvey Cushing invited him to serve on the staff of the newly opened Peter Bent Brigham Hospital. There, with John Homans and Cushing, he established standards of surgical teaching which led to the creation of the first full-time hospital unit in Boston by the three men who differed so markedly in personality, but who had the power to integrate their differences into a harmonious whole. Each had great command of the spoken and written word, and their contributions to medical literature were much admired by the medical profession in general.

World War I interrupted his surgical teaching. In 1915 he volunteered for service with the British Expeditionary Forces and he served with distinction as Chief Surgeon of the Harvard Unit in Boulogne. When he returned from France he took over the duties as Surgeon-in-Chief at the Peter Bent Brigham Hospital when Dr. Cushing went overseas in 1917. He rose progressively in the ranks of the Medical School and finally was appointed Associate Professor of Surgery in 1922 and Associate Professor of Surgery Emeritus in 1939.

In addition to his work at the Medical School and Hospital, Cheever was always interested in extracurricular activities, both regional and national. He served as president of the Boston Surgical Society, of the New England Surgical Society, and in 1940 of the American Surgical Association. In the long history of the American Surgical Association since 1880 no other son had followed his father in the presidency. In addition, he became an honorary member of the Royal Society of Medicine in London and the Society of Surgery in Argentina, as well as a member of other national and international bodies. From 1905 to 1911 he was secretary of the Harvard Medical School Alumni Association and later served as a member of the Council. Another of his interests was the Boston Medical Library. It was during his presidency for a period of five years that a new stack wing was built and the library expanded to become one of the leading institutions of its kind in the United States. From 1940 to 1946 he served on the Board of Overseers of Harvard College.

Elected a Resident Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1941, he attended the meetings regularly until illness prevented him from so doing about eight years later. He was elected a member of the Council in October, 1945 and a member of the Library Committee in November of the same year. A loyal supporter of the Society and a generous contributor to its funds, he had hoped one day to be able to deliver a paper before the Society but his crippling arthritis prevented him from so doing.

David Cheever had a marked influence on the development of American surgery. As an anatomist, a clinician, and a teacher, his every action and thought was based on sound principles and facts. These he taught by example at the operating table and at the bedside, never slurring over the smallest details, and with a marked intolerance of those who did. Although reserved and rather formal in manner, to those who knew him best he was sensitive, charitable, and full of kindly humor. In spite of the fact that he was meticulous and conservative in surgery he performed some of the most formidable operations of his day. One of his chief characteristics was his extraordinary equanimity, evidenced at all times but particularly at the operating table. Cheever was never heard to utter an unkind word about his colleagues or his contemporaries. He will be remembered as a shining example of a scholarly surgeon and a distinguished gentleman.

Robert Lincoln O'Brien

HENRY L. SHATTUCK

ROBERT LINCOLN O'BRIEN was born in Abington, Massachusetts, September 14, 1865, son of Patrick O'Brien, a native of Cork, Ireland, and Lydia H. (Dunham) O'Brien. When he was fourteen years of age his father died and he left school to work in his brother's heel-manufacturing business. He kept the books, ran the steam engine, and drove the delivery wagon. For a short time in 1882 he studied for a teaching career at the Bridgewater State Normal School, now a state Teachers College. From there he went to Pinkerton Academy in Derry, New Hampshire, as a teacher. In his spare time he prepared for college by studying Greek, Latin, and other subjects. After a year at Dartmouth, he transferred to the Lawrence Scientific School at Harvard, and in his senior year to Harvard College, graduating cum laude with the class of 1891.

Immediately after graduating he was employed as a reporter on the *Boston Evening Transcript*. During the presidential campaign of 1892 he became stenographer and personal secretary to Grover Cleveland, and when Mr. Cleveland took office in March of the following year he moved to the White House as executive clerk. In a paper read to the Society at its February meeting in 1951 he gave an entertaining account of his experiences. Upon the termination of this assignment he returned to the *Transcript* as its Washington correspondent, serving in that capacity from 1895 to 1906. I well remember his very informative dispatches under the byline of "Lincoln." In 1906 he returned to Boston to take charge of the editorial page of the *Transcript*. He resigned from this position in 1910 to become Editor of the *Boston Herald* and President of its publishing corporation. My impression is that as the years went by he became more and more out of sympathy with some policies of the principal stockholders, to which he was expected to conform editorially. At any rate, he resigned at the end of 1928.

I remember one occasion in the middle 1920's when I came to him to seek his support for a bill to make it easier for cities and towns to establish municipal lighting plants. At that time the private utilities were riding high and were pretty arrogant. He said to me, "You write an editorial and I will publish it." I did so. Time went by and I never saw the editorial until finally someone sent me a clipping from the early morning northern New England edition of the *Herald*. I inquired of Mr. O'Brien. He was quite apologetic and told me that some of the local utility interests objected to the editorial and got him to kill it in the Boston editions.

In 1931 President Hoover appointed Mr. O'Brien Chairman of the United States Tariff Commission. He was reappointed by President Roosevelt, and resigned in 1937. From that time until his death on November 23, 1955, he spent most of his time in Washington, and on summer travels.

He had an extraordinarily retentive memory for events, dates, election statistics, and anecdotes, and was a most amusing raconteur. It is a great pity that, except for occasional papers, he never wrote his reminiscences, and that he failed to carry out his planned "Intimate Biography of Grover Cleveland." In his latter years I not infrequently had a meal with him at the Union Club in Boston, or the Cosmos Club in Washington, and was always regaled with a steady flow of amusing stories.

Brought up as a Roman Catholic, he became a freethinker with Unitarian leanings. He told me that on his death he had directed that his body be cremated and his ashes strewn over the lawn of his country place.

He was elected to this Society in 1921, and was an occasional contributor to its *Proceedings*. He was also a member of a number of clubs, including the Union of Boston, and the Cosmos, Metropolitan, and Gridiron in Washington.

Zechariah Chafee, Jr.

MARK DEWOLFE HOWE

MR. JUSTICE HOLMES once spoke of "the secret isolated joy of the thinker, who knows that, a hundred years after he is dead and forgotten, men who never heard of him will be moving to the measure of his thought." Zechariah Chafee, Jr. was a scholar who surely knew that joy. He was more fortunate than most thinkers, however, for he lived to see the destiny of men and women—one may even say the destiny of the nation—significantly affected by the impact of his thought.

Chafee, born in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1885, joined the Faculty of the Harvard Law School in 1916, having had a brief experience in his father's business and two years of practice at the Rhode Island bar. A brilliant record as a law student had shown the industry and temperament of a true scholar and had convinced his Harvard teachers that as a professor of law he would keep alive the traditions of imaginative learning and vigorous teaching which were the Law School's pride. The zest with which he made himself a master of that least romantic of law school subjects—Bills and Notes—revealed two distinguishing qualities of his mind. The precision of his mathematical capacities was satisfied by the complex refinements of the law of negotiable instruments. The challenge to a teacher in making those refinements not only important but exciting to students called upon the boundless resources of his expressive enthusiasm. The dusts of scholarship never lay untroubled on roads which Zechariah Chafee travelled.

The field of learning which he made most notably his own was that of Equity. There can be no doubt, I think, that he found his fullest satisfaction in the study of Equity because its history and its processes have at once revealed the shortcomings of our legal system and reflected the aspirations of those lawyers who seek a more perfect scheme of justice. Professor Chafee in his teaching of Equity most casually and easily brought his abundant learning in the humanities into the classroom and made his students see, through his example, that a man is an effective master of the law only if he is a citizen of the world of ideas.

It was through his effort to resolve difficult problems of equity jurisdiction, rather than through a conscious concern for the preservation of human liberties, that Chafee found himself, at the outset of his teaching career, considering the scope of governmental power over speech. It so happened that the scholar's inquiry was conducted at a moment in American history which gave it extraordinary relevance. Almost without realizing that he had become a participant in current controversies Chafee found that the paths of history and of scholarship had led him onto the battlefield of contemporary affairs. Fortunately for the nation he did not withdraw. Instead he determined that he would devote a major portion of his energy to the task of persuading his countrymen that the blessings of liberty are the fruit of courage. He saw that the means of persuasion which he might most effectively use were those familiar in his profession. He would speak to the current issues not as a preacher, not as an orator, but as a lawyer. In his first important book, *Freedom of Speech*, which was published in 1920, he laid the foundations upon which he believed a structure of ordered liberty might be built. It is no exaggeration, I think, to assert that this volume and its revised version of 1941 have had more effect on the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States relating to the Bill of Rights, and therefore on the liberties of the American people, than any other single work of legal scholarship. As I have already indicated, it was Chafee's extraordinary good fortune to see the transformation of his theories of liberty into the law of the land.

Those who knew Zechariah Chafee as an active Member and Officer of this Society and those who knew him as a colleague at Harvard will need no reminder that his abundant energies were never dedicated to a single cause. While molding the standards by which the government's authority over the human mind and spirit should be measured he also concerned himself, in writing and in teaching, with improving the machinery through which justice is administered. He often said that "the accomplished task" on which he looked with greatest pride was his work as draftsman of the Federal Interpleader Act—a statute having little relation to large concepts of freedom but having considerable importance in the effective and prompt administration of the law. His literary tastes led him to deal imaginatively and proficiently with the law of copyright. A younger colleague on the Law

School Faculty, reviewing Professor Chafee's prolific writings in numerous fields of private law, spoke truthfully and with almost reverent awe when he said, "Mr. Chafee was a superlative man."

It is fitting, I think, that a special closing word should be spoken of Mr. Chafee's exceptional gifts as historian. Those of you who have worked with his remarkable introduction to the seventeenth-century *Records of the Suffolk County Court* must have shared my feeling of regret, whenever I turn to it, that he did not make American legal history a principal center of his scholarship. Had he done so lawyers and historians would have come to see, with new vividness, the close affiliation between their separate endeavors and their separate arts. If we had more frequently received that reminder from him, all of us, lawyers and historians alike, would have been led to make the horizons of his interest the goals of our effort. If, however, he had made it his chief responsibility thus to inspire us, even his exuberant energy would not have sufficed to give us those other inspirations for which we are so deeply in his debt.

Meetings

Annual Meeting

OCTOBER, 1953

The Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, October 8, 1953, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of May 14 was read and approved.

The President announced the death of the following Members: William Greene Roelker,[1] May 29, 1953, a Corresponding Member since December 12, 1946; Douglas Southall Freeman,[2] June 13, 1953, a Corresponding Member sinceMarch 8, 1945; and the Duke of Alba,[3] September 24, 1953, a Corresponding Member since March 11, 1937, and an Honorary Member since January 8, 1953.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From George T. Goodspeed, a volume by Robert Jones, *Artificial Fire-Works, Improved to the Modern Practice,* 2nd ed. (London, 1766). This book was presented by John Hancock in 1769 to William Burbeck, gunner of Castle William.

From Mrs. Frank R. Heustis, of Hyde Park, in memory of her husband, a collection of papers of Thomas Reed, 1798–1859.

From Henry A. Jenks, of Cambridge, a manuscript plan of the Battle of Bisland, Louisiana, fought April 13, 1863. The Union forces were under the command of Major General Nathaniel P. Banks.

From Miss Alice B. Lovett, of Cambridge, a broadside *The Condescending Love and Mercy of God. . . .* ([Boston?], 1791), a letter from Samuel F. B. Morse to Henry Cheeves Pratt dated at New York, March 26, 1833, and some printed works by Lucy Larcom.

From Chauncey Cushing Nash, a copy of *A brief Account of the present state of the Society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America* [Boston, 1791?].

From Ray Nash, of Hanover, New Hampshire, a number of eighteenth-century manuscript sermons.

From the Estate of Miss Mary Channing Rogers, of Canton, a volume of Lucretius, *Of the Nature of Things* (London, 1715) bearing the autographs of several members of the Hutchinson family.

From Miss Eva L. Shorey, of Bridgton, Maine, a Civil War diary for 1863 kept by Martin L. Williston, First Sergeant, Company K, Fifty-Second Regiment, Massachusetts Volunteer Militia.

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[1] For a memoir, see American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings,* LXIII (1955), 294–296.

[2] For an obituary, see the *New York Times,* June 14, 1953, pp. 1, 84.

[3] For an obituary, see *The Times* (London), Sept. 25, 1953, p. 8.

From Miss Eleanor M. Tilton, of Springfield, a small collection of letters written by Abiel Holmes to various correspondents, 1810–1831.

From Miss Evelyn K. Wells, of Wellesley, a small collection of papers relating to the Wells house on Salem Street, Boston.

On deposit: from the Misses Anna P. and Margaret A. Revere, of Canton, a draft of the will of Paul Revere in his own hand and a letter from Samuel Adams to Paul Revere dated at Boston, May 18, 1774.

By purchase: a letter from John Williams, the Redeemed Captive, to his son, Stephen Williams, dated at Deerfield, August 28, 1721.

The Society then turned to the business of the Annual Meeting.

In the absence of Parkman D. Howe, the President presented the annual ballot for the Committee of Nomination, Messrs. Howe, Moody, and Seaver:

President
JOHN ADAMS

Vice-Presidents
MARK ANTONY DEWOLFE HOWE
ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR.

Recording Secretary
FRANK WASHBURN GRINNELL

Corresponding Secretary
ROGER WOLCOTT

Treasurer
ALLAN FORBES

Cabinet-Keeper
WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

Members-at-Large of the Council
1953–1956
CLIFFORD KENYON SHIPTON
THOMAS BOYLSTON ADAMS

The Recording Secretary was directed to cast one ballot, and these officers were duly elected for 1953–1954.

The Treasurer submitted his Annual Report.

Investments

Book Value (June 30, 1953)	$1,066,316.17
Market Value (June 30, 1953)	1,375,718.65
Appreciation (June 30, 1953)	$ 309,402.48

	1951	*1952*	*1953*
Income (available for general purposes)	$36,488.79	$35,325.63	$38,224.03
General and Administration Expenses	39,962.62	40,791.44	47,016.42
Deficit	$ 3,473.83	$ 5,465.81	$ 8,792.39

Endowment Fund total to date	$39,558.00
Contributions received since June 9, 1953	$ 2,105.00
Principal Cash October 2, 1953	$ 2,465.83

The Treasurer added that the Auditor's Report, containing detailed information as to capital, income, and expenses, was available for examination by any Member of the Society in the offices of the President, the Treasurer, and the Director, adding that the deficit incurred for General Expenses of $8,792.39 for the fiscal year 1952–1953 had been taken from the balance of the income of the J. L. Sibley Fund in strict accordance with the will of the donor.

The Director read the

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

IN one respect, the past year has been unusually happy; during fourteen months not one Resident Member of the Society has died. From the Corresponding Membership we have lost six members and from the Honorary Membership, three. On October 3, 1952, Victor Hugo Paltsits died in New York City. On November 6, 1952, Sir Reginald Coupland died suddenly at Southampton, England. On February 20, 1953, James Garfield Randall left his great biography of Lincoln unfinished. On May 7, 1953, the Society lost John Marshall Phillips when he was only forty-eight. William Greene Roelker met his death by accident in Rhode Island on May 29, 1953, and last but not least, Douglas Southall Freeman died on June 13, 1953, with his great biography of Washington not yet completed. It seems as if the authors of the lives of famous men had better begin their work very young. On October 20, 1952, Michael Ivanovich Rostovtzeff died in New Haven. On November 20, 1952, Benedetto

Croce died in Italy, and then on September 24, 1953, the Duke of Alba, made an Honorary Member of this Society on January 8, 1953, died at Lausanne.

In accordance with the recommendations of your Committee of Membership and your Council, the following Members have been elected to the Society since the last Annual Meeting: Resident, Robert Peabody Bellows, Samuel Cabot, Edward Pierce Hamilton, George Caspar Homans, Godfrey Lowell Cabot, John Quincy Adams, Waldo Gifford Leland, Henry Morse Channing, Roger Ernst; Corresponding, Francis Brown, of New York, New York, Peter Oliver, of Mt. Kisco, New York; Honorary, Keith Grahame Feiling, of London, England. We now have only seven vacancies, six in the Corresponding Membership and one in the Honorary Membership.

The attendance at meetings continues to be reasonably satisfactory, the average for 1952–1953 being slightly over that of the preceding year—thirty-four and one-fourth, to be exact. Sixty-one members came to the Third Annual Dinner as compared with fifty-one for the Second, and fifty-eight for the First. On Tuesday next, we hope to seat more than sixty in honor of Joseph Sill Clark, Jr., the young reform Mayor of Philadelphia, who courteously agreed to be our guest of honor and our speaker. In spite of discouraging weather, one hundred and twenty-seven guests were entertained at the Second Spring Reception on May 1, 1953. Due chiefly to the loyal assistance of the staff, we were able to cut the cost of this reception to half of what it was in 1952.

Since the Council of the Society finally decided, about six years ago, to ask the Members and the public for direly needed money, $44,086.61 has been added to the capital funds. Within the coming year we hope to raise this to an even $50,000.00. Our Treasurer has wisely decided to read to you today a short and simple statement which anyone can hear and understand. Those who will are always at liberty to consult the Auditor's Annual Report for any detailed information they may desire. From a capital of $1,066,316.17 we receive the handsome income of approximately $57,000.00, of which $10,000.00 must be put into capital annually for the time being. The book deficit of $8,792.39 is taken not from capital, please remember, but from the income of the John Langdon Sibley Fund, according to the terms of his will.

Perhaps the most important undertaking during the past year has been the opening up of the great collection of Adams Papers, which have been on deposit in this building since 1905. A committee is carrying through the proposal to have these papers microfilmed, the cost of the work to be met by a certain limited number of subscribers, each of whom will pay approximately $3,000 for the work. Of sixteen institutions solicited, twelve have already definitely subscribed to these microfilms, and $2,500 has already been paid into the special Adams Manuscript Fund. The whole project has been handled under the supervision of the three Trustees of the Adams Manuscript Trust, Charles Francis Adams, John Quincy Adams, and Thomas Boylston Adams, and an Advisory Committee of eight consisting of Samuel Flagg Bemis, Julian P. Boyd, Lyman H. Butterfield, Samuel Eliot Morison, Stephen T. Riley, Vernon D. Tate, Walter Muir Whitehill, and your Director. It is only fair to say that Thomas Boylston Adams and Mr. Whitehill, the Secretary, have done most of the work. It is one of the greatest projects undertaken by this Society in many years.

The Society has jumped another hurdle with success during the past year. For a long time it has been reprinting the *Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts* at a heavy annual loss, because, according to the bargain of 1920, the Commonwealth has been buying 300 copies of those *Journals* every year at a cost of $2.50 while the income of the William Bradford Homer Dowse Fund of $25,000 was not sufficient for the rest of the cost of the work. After patient negotiations, the Legislature was persuaded to amend the Act so as to provide for the purchase of these volumes from the Society at cost. The first payment on the new basis will be made in 1954. The chief agents in handling this delicate business were our Recording Secretary, Frank Washburn Grinnell, and Senator Christopher Phillips. The Director breathed a sigh of relief when the House passed the bill on June 2, and the Senate on June 3, and when Governor Herter signed that bill on June 8, 1953. It should be remembered that when this work has finally been completed, the income of the Dowse Fund can then be used for the general purposes of this Society.

Last spring copies of *Proceedings*, 68, covering the meetings and contributions from 1944 to 1947, were sent out to every Resident and Corresponding Member who wished to receive them. The edition is already almost out of print, only twenty-five copies remaining in stock. The Director was particularly pleased with the long and favorable review of the volume which appeared in the *Times Literary Supplement* for July 17, 1953. Dr. Shipton is to be complimented for the good reviews of his eighth volume of Sibley, particularly those in the *New York Times Book Review* for July 13, 1952, in the *American Historical Review* for July, 1953, and in the *New England Quarterly* for September, 1953. His ninth volume of *Sibley's Harvard Graduates* has already gone to press. *Proceedings*, 69, covering the years 1947 to 1950, will appear in 1954.

The most notable additions to our Cabinet, or Museum, have been the following:

1. A curious chair which Benjamin Franklin constructed for himself for use in his office in Philadelphia.
2. A magnificent collection of military paper money collected by Allan Forbes.
3. A portrait of William Jenks, Resident Member of this Society from 1821 to 1866 and Librarian from 1823 to 1832, given us by Mrs. Francis M. Jencks, of 1 Mount Vernon Place West, Baltimore, Maryland.
4. Two striking portraits as gifts of Benjamin Joy: the first by Joseph Badger of Dr. John Joy, painted in 1761, and the second by Chester Harding of Grace Fletcher Webster, the first wife of Daniel Webster, as she appeared at the laying of the cornerstone of the Bunker Hill Monument in 1825. The period frame which I placed on the Badger portrait of Joy was a gift to the Society from Charles Dyer Childs.

An anonymous donor has installed electric lights over the cases of the Museum in Ellis Hall, bought an electric refrigerator for the household, and will install a bronze plaque of the late Mrs. Georgine Holmes Thomas, donor of the Stewart Mitchell Fund, on the walls of that Hall.

Mr. Whitehill has asked that those Members who have not yet sent in photographs of themselves for our files should be requested to do so as promptly as possible.

The Director cannot close this report without expressing his thanks for the courteous loyalty of every member of the staff, for the constant co-operation of the Council, and in particular, his appreciation for the kindly services of the Society's President and Treasurer. Hardly a week goes by without Mr. Adams' visiting his office to explore the problems and difficulties of our daily duties, to keep in touch with every part of our business, and to offer friendly suggestions and advice. He has made his office one of the first responsibilities of his life. He will not approve of this tribute, but like it or not, he is going to get it.

Mr. Riley read the

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

THE library of any historical society in order to justify its existence must be used. Its collection of books, manuscripts, and prints must be made available not only to its members but also to other trustworthy competent scholars. Believing thoroughly in this policy, the Society has this past year opened its doors to over 1,400 research students who wished to work here. As is usually the case, the summer months were the busiest, and the staff, reduced in numbers by vacations, was kept active supplying the wants of the readers. That it did so efficiently and courteously has been attested in many ways. It was pleasant and rewarding to talk with these visitors. The majority were young and eager, and their enthusiasm for their studies was heartening. More and more often they come accompanied by wife or husband, a situation that may one day pose a problem to grantors of degrees. We even had a young pair of honeymooners who strangely enough seemed content to spend their first months of married life exploring the mind of Edward Everett.

To a greater degree than ever before the Society received requests for microfilms and photostats of its holdings. In all but a few cases it was glad to comply. Workers unable to come to New England have been greatly helped in this way. For such large scale projects as the Papers of John C. Calhoun and the Papers of Henry Clay we furnished lists of our holdings and made arrangements to have the manuscripts microfilmed. Our assistance to the editors of the Jefferson Papers was gladly continued. We had as a guest this spring a representative of the National Historical Publications Commission seeking documents relating to the ratification of the Constitution and the First Congress. After an investigation lasting three weeks he reported that the Society has the largest number of documents relating to these subjects of any institution outside of the Library of Congress. These are now in the process of being microfilmed. As an indication of the labor involved in complying with such a request, I might add that it took the Assistant Librarian the better part of two weeks to assemble the manuscripts.

Our total acquisitions of printed material for the year numbered 1,273[4] pieces. Many of these are items printed in Massachusetts before 1820, which we make our special field. The more important titles have been reported at the monthly meetings. Of these we were especially happy to acquire a unique issue of *The Boston News-Letter* of May 29, 1710, an unrecorded Massachusetts proclamation *By His Excellency, Joseph Dudley, Esq. . . . A Proclamation . . .* [concerning the return of Indian and French prisoners of war] (Boston, 1713), and a rare pamphlet by Thomas Parker, *The True Copy of a Letter: written by Mr. Thomas Parker . . . Declaring his Judgement touching the Government practised in the Churches of New England* (London, 1644). Through purchases made within the month, we have managed to complete our copy of John Norton, *Three Choice and Profitable Sermons. . . .* (Cambridge, 1664) and immeasurably better our poor copy of John Allin, *The Spouse of Christ. . . .* (Cambridge, 1672).

One of our most devoted members confessed to me at the May exhibition of printed books that he was more attracted to interesting association copies than to extreme rarities. This summer we acquired two books of this nature. George Goodspeed gave the library a copy of Robert Jones, *Artificial Fire-Works, Improved to the Modern Practice*, 2nd ed. (London, 1766). This volume was presented in 1769 by John Hancock to William Burbeck, gunner of Castle William. From the Estate of Mary Channing Rogers we received a volume of Thomas Creech's edition of Lucretius, *Of the Nature of Things* (London, 1715). This belonged to various members of the Hutchinson family, including Thomas Hutchinson and Foster Hutchinson, and bears their signatures.

For the successful operation of the library it is necessary to have

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[4] Complete figures for accessions during the year 1952–1953 are as follows:

Books	330
Pamphlets	303
Periodicals	525
Broadsides	93
Newspapers	19
Maps	3
Total	1,273

certain important secondary works of history and biography. Since our book funds are limited we have been forced to rely on the kindness of members and friends for some of the more expensive publications. Earlier in the year a number of members chipped in to buy the library the new Rutgers edition of *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln.* Last month our Lincoln collection was further strengthened by Mrs. Albert J. Beveridge, who gave the Society the Lincoln library of her late husband, Senator Beveridge. A long-felt want was filled when Stewart Mitchell, with his usual generosity, bought for the library the fifty-six volume extra-illustrated edition of the Yale *Chronicles of America.*

Our collection of manuscripts continues to grow steadily. From various sources we have acquired important letters and documents written by notable figures in our history. A list of them would include such names as Hannah Adams, Samuel Adams, William Ellery Channing, Lydia Maria Child, Joseph Dudley, Hannibal Hamlin, Abiel Holmes, Thomas Hutchinson, Harriet Martineau, Samuel F. B. Morse, Francis Parkman, Wendell Phillips, Paul Revere, Robert Gould Shaw, and John Williams.

One of the letters came to us in such fragile condition that it had to be pieced together before it could be repaired. It proved to be an extremely interesting letter written by Samuel F. B. Morse to another artist, Henry Cheeves Pratt, of Boston, and dated at New York, March 26, 1833. After mentioning his own painting of the Louvre, Morse made this significant statement about the state of the arts:

> I think there is some progress made in the arts since I left home, but we have to contend against old prejudices and an old man in an institution formed for the promotion of the arts, but which has been an incubus on them for many years. The artists here are struggling for professional freedom. We have a few men, and happily they are very few, but unhappily they are in power, who can conceive of no encouragement to art but that which puts the artist in the place of the pauper, and themselves in the seat of nobility. To this spirit we say we will not yield an iota. We shall resist this to the death. We look to artists every where for their sympathy and are sure we shall find it in the hearts of all who have any souls.

To our great Timothy Pickering collection we were able to add a number of manuscripts of the Pickering family which came as a gift. In the lot was a number of letters written by Charles Pickering, the naturalist. He served as Chief Zoologist of the United States Exploring Expedition under Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, which sailed to the South Seas in 1838. Pickering described his travels to his cousin Mary O. Pickering in vivid letters which seem to me worthy of printing. I should like to quote briefly from a letter written on board the "U. S. Ship Vincennes, Feejee Islands, Aug. 8, 1840," in which he touches on the native solution of the old age problem:

> They are acquainted with a method of preventing Old age, a very simple but very effectual process; which I will describe, as I believe you would like to know the truth. For instance, when a son thinks his mother has lived long enough—may be, she is no longer able to bring down *200 lbs of yams* on her back, from the mountains; or he may have got into a pet about something, or may be tired of seeing her about!,—he digs a hole at some little distance and then tells her that he is going to kill her!—the old lady replies, "well my son, if I am no longer of any use, I had better be dead," and goes out with her son to the spot; for it would be very undignified to put him to the trouble of carrying her body. When arrived on the ground, she stoops down, and the ceremony is performed with a club. The son returns to the house, without any more apparent emotion than if he had been slaying a pig, and may be in a month, will hardly recollect it.—Verily those white men that are settled here, must have had good courage!

To our fellow member, Lee Max Friedman, we are indebted for the gift of his collection of Hannah Adams manuscripts and books. Hannah Adams has been described as probably the first American woman to make writing a profession. Among other things, she published *A Summary History of New England* (1799) and a *History of the Jews* (1812). She is also well known for her controversy with Rev. Jedediah Morse about an alleged infringement of her publication rights. The papers throw much light on this controversy, which lasted the better part of ten years, and involved many of the most prominent people in Boston.

Through the good offices of Samuel Eliot Morison we received from Lewis Gannett a large collection of the papers and diaries of Rev. Ezra Stiles Gannett. Gannett was an assistant to William Ellery Channing and later succeeded him as pastor of the Federal Street Church. He was greatly interested in the public questions of the day and although opposed to slavery was unsympathetic with the Abolitionists. The student of slavery will find in the collection some interesting letters exchanged with Samuel Joseph May, the famous Abolitionist.

Several years ago the Society was given a large collection of letters written by our late Member, John Torrey Morse, Jr. His letters proved to be so witty and amusing that I have since campaigned for their publication. If any of the members have Morse letters, I hope they will donate them to our growing collection. In the Gannett Papers there came a sheaf of Morse letters addressed to his classmate, William Channing Gannett. Lewis Gannett described them as evening-of-life letters, and they are touching and tender with much autobiographical information. I cannot resist quoting from a letter of May 26, 1921, in which Morse tries to prevent Gannett from paying for a telegram he had sent him:

> You evidently have carried with you into your adopted home in New York your New England conscience. I have always said that *conscience-itis* is the prevalent malady in this part of the country; and if, instead of removing the appendix, our surgeons had devised an operation for removing the conscience, they would have immensely increased the comfort of the descendants of the Pilgrims.

The past year has been a good year, thanks to our members and friends. May next year be equally profitable.

The President reminded Members that the refreshments would be served in Ellis Hall, the Museum of the Society, instead of in the outer office, and stated that the Fourth Annual Dinner of the Society in honor of Joseph Sill Clark, Jr. (Harvard, 1923), Overseer and Mayor of Philadelphia, would be held at the Club of Odd Volumes in the evening of Tuesday, October 13, at half-past six.

The Society then adjourned.

November Meeting, 1953

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, November 12, 1953, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated and Annual Meeting of October 8 was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From William Richards Castle, of Washington, D. C., a volume of letters from Zadoc Long to John D. Long, 1857–1859, and Volume 10 of John D. Long's Diary, 1864–1866. The other volumes of the Diary were given to us at an earlier date by Dr. Margaret Long.

From Claude Moore Fuess, a small collection of manuscripts and scrapbooks relating to Henry Cabot Lodge (1850–1924).

From Edmund Quincy, of Boston, a number of printed volumes formerly owned by various members of the Quincy family.

From George F. Starbuck, of Waltham, a small collection of books, pamphlets, and photographs relating to Waltham, Massachusetts. Included is an oil painting of the stone schoolhouse built by the Boston Manufacturing Company.

From William Leavitt Stoddard, of Wayland, an account book kept by Colonel John Stoddard (1682–1748), in July–August, 1727. The book also contains genealogical notes on the Stoddard family.

By purchase: a number of rare issues of the *Journal* of the Massachusetts House of Representatives covering the period, September 26, 1750–November 25, 1752.

The President announced the members of the Standing Committees which he had appointed for the year 1953–1954:

Finance: JOHN ADAMS, *Chairman ex officio;* ALLAN FORBES, *ex officio,* PARKMAN DEXTER HOWE, AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, RALPH LOWELL.

House: PARKMAN DEXTER HOWE, *Chairman;* CHAUNCEY CUSHING NASH, CARLETON RUBIRA RICHMOND.

Library: LEE MAX FRIEDMAN, *Chairman;* HENRY LATIMER SEAVER, VERNON DALE TATE.

Meetings: MARK ANTONY DEWOLFE HOWE, *Chairman;* ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR., WILLIAM ALEXANDER JACKSON.

Membership: JOHN ADAMS, *Chairman;* ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR., STEWART MITCHELL, CHAUNCEY CUSHING NASH, WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL.

Publication: ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER, *Chairman;* STEWART MITCHELL, ROBERT EARLE MOODY, SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON, CLIFFORD KENYON SHIPTON, WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL.

The President stated that he had asked the Director to prepare the text of a Fourth Annual Appeal to Members for contributions to the Endowment Fund, this appeal to be put in the mail on December 1. He complimented the Society on having contributed and raised approximately $45,000 since 1950. On that sum the Society had realized an income of nineteen hundred dollars during the past fiscal year. He added that the Council hoped that the Endowment Fund would reach $75,000 by the end of 1954, stating that an appeal to the public would be put in the mail early that year.

The President stated that he regretted to inform the Society that Samuel Flagg Bemis was unavoidably detained in New Haven by illness, and that his paper would be read by Mr. Riley.

The Librarian then read Mr. Bemis' paper, "The Scuffle in the Rotunda: A Footnote to the Presidency of John Quincy Adams and to the History of Dueling,"[5] which dealt with the social consequences of the political differences between President John Quincy Adams and Russell Jarvis, partner of Duff Green, the persistent enemy in Boston of President Adams.

The paper elicited favorable comments from the members, and it was generally regretted that Mr. Bemis could not be present to hear the applause.

Mr. Grinnell then commented on the custom of dueling in Ireland, even in the legal circles, a century and more ago, speaking of a recent article on Governor Thomas Pownall, by Albert West, in which reference was made to John Adams' description of Pownall's "uncouth and disgusting style." He went on to discuss the dangerous shifts in the meanings of common words, such as "prudence" and "interesting," as illustrated in a letter from Harold S. Davis to Albert West, September 5, 1953.

A general discussion of the history of dueling then followed, in which Messrs. T. B. Adams, Hamilton, H. F. Howe, M. A. DeWolfe Howe, and Hale took part.

The meeting then adjourned for refreshments in Ellis Hall.

December Meeting, 1953

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, December 10, 1953, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of November 12 was read and approved.

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[5] Printed in this volume, pp. 156–166.

Reporting for the Treasurer, who was unavoidably absent on account of illness, the President stated that the Society had received, since the Fourth Appeal to members was placed in the mail on December 1, the sum of $1,945.

Reporting for the Cabinet-Keeper, the Director exhibited a large tavern sign bearing a painting of the *Constitution*, the gift of Foster Stearns, who had bought it in Pennsylvania, and an eighteenth-century rapier and a seventeenth-century halberd, gifts of Chauncey Cushing Nash.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From James Barr Ames, of Cambridge, a logbook of the schooner *John Murray*, Jefferson Devereux, master, kept on a voyage from Castine to Baltimore, etc., October 8, 1846–February 8, 1847.

From Frederic Haines Curtiss, a manuscript letter dated at Westminster, December 16, 1647, bearing the signature of Sir Henry Vane, a small engraving of the Battle of Lexington, a small silk banner entitled, "American Republican Procession, Nov. 4th 1844," bearing a likeness of Washington, and a painting of the Battle of Santiago, July 3, 1898. The painting was done by Rufus Fairchild Zogbaum from the deck of Admiral Schley's flagship.

From Mrs. Frank R. Heustis, of Hyde Park, a number of family letters, including four written by a Mrs. Avery Reed to her sister, Mary Faulkner, of Acton, from January 17 to June 14, 1833, while travelling with her husband in the south.

From M. A. DeWolfe Howe, a collection of Civil War letters written by Colonel Samuel Miller Quincy (1833–1887) to members of his family from July 11, 1861 to October 12, 1867.

From Robert Ide, of Springfield, Illinois, an album containing negative photographs of Cape Cod scenes.

From William Phillips, a letter from George Washington to Governor Robert Dinwiddie, of Virginia, dated at Winchester, October 17, 1755, reporting the increase of French influence among the Indians and the necessity of counteracting it.

From Mrs. Hugh D. Scott, of Wellesley, a dispatch book kept by her father, Colonel William W. Sanders, while serving as an aide on General Meade's staff in the Wilderness Campaign, 1864.

From Fitz-Henry Smith, Jr., a volume of printed material relating to the visit of British and French lawyers to Boston in 1930.

From A. Ernest Walters, of Melrose, a commission issued to David Walter on July 12, 1771, appointing him Lieutenant of the Second Troop of Horse in Lunenburg. The commission was engraved by Nathaniel Hurd, and bears the signature of Thomas Hutchinson.

From William L. Warren, of Litchfield, Connecticut, a letter from Edmund Quincy to his daughter Katy, dated at Medfield, March 17, 1779, about the prospects of peace.

The President stated that the Director had told him that only twenty-one copies of *Proceedings*, 68, remained in the stock of the Society and asked those members who did not care to retain their copies kindly to return them to the Librarian.

Willard Goodrich Cogswell then read a paper entitled, "Highways and Low Ways in Haverhill from Grant to McKinley,"[6] a narrative of certain persons and places in that city during the second half of the nineteenth century.

After a lively discussion of terms of personal abuse, the Society adjourned.

January Meeting, 1954

The Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, January 14, 1954, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of December 10 was read and approved with one correction.

The Treasurer reported to the Society that, since the Fourth Appeal to Members for gifts to the Endowment Fund had been sent out on December 1, 1953, he had received a total of $2,910.

President Adams asked the Members kindly to express their preference to the Director for the more appropriate place for the serving of refreshments at the stated meetings of the Society—the office outside the Dowse Library or the Museum on the first floor; whereupon Charles Pelham Curtis suggested that the refreshments be served in the sanctum of the Dowse Library itself. Mr. Adams added that, for the present, refreshments would be served, as of old, in the office on the second floor.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From William O. Gay, Jr., of New York, New York, a plan showing the disposition of the Massachusetts fleet at the Battle of Castine, 1779.

From George Goodspeed, a volume which formerly belonged in the library of Rev. John Norton, Joseph Hall, *A Plaine and Familiar Explication of the Old and New Testament* (London, 1633).

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[6] Printed in this volume, pp. 272–286.

From Mrs. James K. Wardwell, of Boston, a Civil War diary kept by J. Henry Wardwell, January 1–August 3, 1863.

On deposit: from Mrs. Henry Morse Channing, of Sherborn, a large collection of letters and manuscript compositions of Catharine Maria Sedgwick (1789–1867) for the years 1800–1863.

Charles Pelham Curtis then read a paper entitled, "A Strange Story about Marbury *versus* Madison in Salem, 1808,"[7] explaining his surmises as to why Judge John Davis of the United States District Court and Joseph Story for the prosecution, and Samuel Dexter, William Prescott, and Christopher Gore for the defense, all failed to cite Marshall's famous decision of five years before in the current case then before the court of the Brigantine *William* when a jury acquitted its owner of a flagrant violation of the Embargo Act. Mr. Curtis stated that his paper was based not only on his own researches but also on the records which Manlius Sargent kept of what happened in the court in Salem during September and October.

The paper provoked a lively argument among Messrs. Curtis, Chafee, and Grinnell, an argument which revealed a sharp difference of opinion as to the impudent proposed Bricker Amendment to the Constitution.

After nobody had convinced anybody else, the Society adjourned.

February Meeting, 1954

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, February 11, 1954, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of January 14 was read and approved.

The Treasurer reported that gifts to the Endowment Fund, since the Fourth Appeal was put in the mail on December 1, 1953, now amounted to $2,935, and added that $1,000 had been given to the Society for current expenses from the Sarah T. Winthrop Memorial Fund as a gift from Robert, Frederic, and Nathaniel Winthrop.

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[7] Printed in this volume, pp. 133–146.

The Treasurer reported that the total deficit for the past six months amounted to only $900, and that the encouraging decrease in the deficit was the result of decreased expenses and a larger income.

The President announced the death at Berlin on February 6, 1954, of Friedrich Meinecke, an Honorary Member of the Society since March 14, 1935, more than eighteen months before Harvard University gave him his honorary degree in October, 1936.

Sidney B. Fay then presented his tribute to Professor Meinecke,[8] describing his great career as an historian and German patriot opposed to Hitler, and commenting on his last book, *The German Catastrophe*, which was published in 1946 and translated by Professor Fay in 1950.

At the direction of the President and with the consent of the Society, the Corresponding Secretary cast one vote for the election of the following to Corresponding Membership: Bliss Perry, of Exeter, New Hampshire, a Resident Member of the Society since 1905; Robert Lincoln O'Brien, of Washington, D. C., a Resident Member of the Society since 1921; James Bryant Conant, of Randolph, New Hampshire, a Resident Member of the Society since 1936.

Norman Burdett Nash, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, Mr. Whitehill speaking as Sponsor.

Nathan Marsh Pusey, of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, President Adams speaking as Sponsor, and Messrs. Metcalf, Jackson, and Whitehill giving their endorsement.

Kenneth Chorley, of Hopewell, New Jersey, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society, Mr. Shipton speaking as Sponsor.

The Honorable Sir Harold Nicolson, of London, was elected an Honorary Member of the Society, Mr. Mitchell speaking as Sponsor.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Henry Morse Channing, a copy of *Private Letters of William Minot* (Printed for the Family, October, 1895).

From Mrs. Ralph W. Core, of Glendale, California, the Civil War diary of Private George W. Bancroft, November 4, 1864–January 14, 1865. Bancroft was stationed at Augur General Hospital, Arlington, Virginia.

From Goodspeed's Book Shop, a trade card of Samuel Eliot, a Boston merchant, ca. 1790, and a reproduction of the Survey of Walden Pond, done from the original drawing by Henry D. Thoreau in 1846.

From W. Sears Nickerson, of Daytona Beach, Florida, the typewritten manuscript of a study by him entitled, "The Old Sagamore: Mattaquason of Monomoyick."

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[8] Printed in this volume, pp. 376–379.

From Daniel Sargent, of Boston, a small collection of Sargent family papers and various periodicals containing articles by or relating to Francis Parkman.

From Arthur Meier Schlesinger, fifty-five volumes of recently published historical studies.

By purchase: four letters and documents signed by Joseph Dudley, 1679–1713.

Mr. Bellows read a paper entitled, "Some Boston Weathervanes," after which Mr. Chafee, at the request of the President, read his latest poem, "Happy New Year in Moscow," which was published in the *Harvard Law School Record* on February 4, 1954.

After comments by various Members, the Society adjourned.

March Meeting, 1954

The Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, March 11, 1954, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of February 11 was read and approved.

The President announced the death of Bliss Perry,[9] of Exeter, New Hampshire, on February 13, 1954, at the age of ninety-three, Mr. Perry having been elected a Resident Member of the Society on May 11, 1905, and a Corresponding Member of the Society on February 11, 1954.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that he had received the following letters of acceptance of Membership: for Resident Membership, the Right Reverend Norman Burdett Nash, of Boston, and Nathan Marsh Pusey, of Cambridge; for Corresponding Membership, Kenneth Chorley, of Hopewell, New Jersey; and for Honorary Membership, Sir Harold Nicolson, of London.

The Treasurer reported as follows:

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[9] For a memoir, see this volume, pp. 380–385.

ENDOWMENT FUND:

Donations since December, 1953	$ 3,535.00
Donations since February, 1954, Meeting	600.00

J. D. Phillips Fund	$ 4,833.12
Mark Bortman Fund	500.00

Endowment Fund Proper, since October, 1950	$43,503.00

Charles Jackson, of Dover, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, Mr. Wolcott speaking as Sponsor.

Denis William Brogan, of Cambridge, England, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society, Mr. Mitchell speaking as Sponsor.

The Honorable Charles Warren, of Washington, D. C., was elected an Honorary Member of the Society, Mr. Mitchell speaking as Sponsor.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From William B. Albig, of Alexandria, Virginia, a broadside proclamation issued by Governor Francis Bernard, of Massachusetts, on July 9, 1762, ordering a day of public prayer. This copy was owned by Rev. Isaac Backus and read by him from his pulpit.

From F. Lyman Clark, of Brookline, a drum book used by Benjamin Clark, 1797, and several manuscript letters including one written by Ethelbert Nevin dated at Paris, April 19, 1892.

From Mrs. John H. Cunningham, of Brookline, a small collection of manuscripts of Samuel Breck Parkman for the period 1814–1838, and some papers and genealogical notes of William Petit Trowbridge, 1855–1893.

From Edward Pierce Hamilton, the corrected proof sheets of Charles Sumner's address, *Lafayette: the Faithful One* (Boston, 1870), and the original manuscript.

From Mrs. James M. Hemphill, of Elkridge, Maryland, four letters written by Timothy Pickering to Miss Elizabeth Pickering, later Mrs. Hammond Dorsey, 1814–1818.

George Caspar Homans read a paper entitled, "The Anglo-Saxon Invasions Reconsidered."[10]

After remarks from Members, the Society adjourned.

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[10] Printed in this volume, pp. 37–49.

April Meeting, 1954

The Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, April 8, 1954, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of March 11 was read and approved.

Mr. Wolcott reported that he had received letters of acceptance of election to Resident Membership from Charles Jackson, of Dover, to Corresponding Membership from Denis William Brogan, of Cambridge, England, and to Honorary Membership from Charles Warren, of Washington, D. C.

Mr. Adams reported that James Melville Hunnewell,[11] a Resident Member of the Society since November 12, 1930, had died on March 22, 1954, and that Sir Herbert Brown Ames,[12] a Corresponding Member of the Society since February 13, 1941, had died in Montreal, on March 31, 1954, at the age of ninety.

Foster Stearns, of Exeter, New Hampshire, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society, Mr. Mitchell speaking as Sponsor.

Thompson Ritner Harlow, of Hartford, Connecticut, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society, Mr. Whitehill speaking as Sponsor.

Mr. Adams, speaking for Mr. Allan Forbes, who was unavoidably absent, made the following report on acquisitions to the Endowment Fund since December, 1953:

ENDOWMENT FUND:	
Donations since December, 1953	$ 3,545.00
Donations since February, 1954, Meeting	610.00
J. D. Phillips Fund	$ 4,833.12
Mark Bortman Fund	500.00
Endowment Fund Proper, since October, 1950	$43,513.00

Mr. Adams added that, since the first requests for money were sent out in October, 1950, the Society had received a grand total of $43,513.

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[11] For a memoir, see Am. Antiq. Soc., *Procs.*, LXIV (1954), 15–17.

[12] For an obituary, see the *New York Times*, April 1, 1954, p. 31.

Mr. Adams stated that he had decided to make Charles Jackson, of Dover, a Member of the Finance Committee.

At the request of M. A. DeWolfe Howe, the Director read Mr. Howe's tribute to Bliss Perry, this tribute to be printed and distributed as a separate in May.[13]

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From F. Lyman Clark, of Brookline, a small collection of illustrated Civil War envelopes.

From Dartmouth College, a small collection of miscellaneous manuscripts and printed material relating to Massachusetts.

From Theodore F. Jones, of New York, New York, transcripts of tax lists for the town of Roxbury for the period 1697–1804, and the original manuscript list for 1699.

From Mrs. Seymour L. Holbrook, of Norfolk, Connecticut, two letters from Theophilus Parsons to members of his family dated April 27, 1772, and January 12, 1773, and a letter from Maria Parsons to Captain James Gray dated August 17, 1777.

From Samuel Eliot Morison, an important collection of manuscripts of Elbridge Gerry and his descendants, 1772–1882. In addition to the Gerry letters, there are letters from William Carmichael, Henry Clay, Tristram Dalton, Francis Dana, Jefferson Davis, John Drayton, Samuel Huntington, Thomas Jefferson, James Lovell, Henry Marchant, James Sullivan, James and Mercy Warren, Joseph Ward, and others. Mr. Morison also gave the Society a small collection of shipping papers of J. Ingersoll Bowditch, including a long run of the printed *Prices-Current* issued in Calcutta, India, in the mid-nineteenth century. This material will be valuable to students of American commerce.

By purchase: a letter from Samuel Sewall to Edward Taylor dated at Boston, June 14, 1712, and eleven broadsides issued by the province and state of Massachusetts during the years 1769–1790.

For the Cabinet-Keeper, the Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Miss Sibylla Young, of Boston, as Executrix of the Estate of her uncle, George Frederick Bosworth, two paintings in memory of that uncle, painted by his father, Charles Frederick Bosworth, about 1852.

From Edward Estlin Cummings, of New York, New York, the portraits of Rev. Edward Cummings (1861–1926) and Rebecca Haswell Lemist-Clarke Cummings, by Charles Hopkinson.

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[13] Also printed in this volume, pp. 380–385.

From Mrs. Frank R. Heustis, of Hyde Park, a mid-nineteenth-century petit point picture, framed.

From Frederick Haines Curtiss, an eighteenth-century mirror with a representation of the Liberty Tree.

Clifford Kenyon Shipton, the Sibley Editor of the Society, spoke on the "Crime of the Massachusetts Archives," describing the confusion, neglect, and danger of destruction to which the precious records of the Commonwealth have been subjected for over one hundred years.

After remarks from Members, the Society adjourned.

May Meeting, 1954

The Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, May 13, 1954, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of April 8 was read and approved.

The Treasurer reported briefly on the finances of the Society, stating that donations, since December, 1953, had amounted to $4,155, and that, since October, 1950, the Society had received, by means of gifts from Members and the public, a grand total of $43,513. The Treasurer added that, by including the J. D. Phillips Fund and the Mark Bortman Fund, the grand total of money collected amounted to almost $50,000. In concluding, the Treasurer stated that the deficit of the Society, for the first three quarters of the fiscal year 1953–1954, amounted to $2,789.51 as compared with $5,303.76 for the preceding year. He reminded the Members that this deficit would be met from the balance of the income of the J. L. Sibley Fund according to the provisions of the will of the donor, John Langdon Sibley.

On motion of the Treasurer, "It was voted that the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury to be expended for such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society."

The Corresponding Secretary reported that he had received acceptances of election to Corresponding Membership from Thompson Ritner Harlow, of Hartford, Connecticut, and Foster Stearns, of Exeter, New Hampshire.

Lawrence Quincy Mumford, of Cleveland, Ohio, nominated by

President Eisenhower to be eleventh Librarian of Congress on April 2, 1954, was then elected a Corresponding Member of the Society, Mr. Mitchell speaking as Sponsor.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Mrs. John Adams, of Lincoln, seven Civil War photographs showing the headquarters and officers of the Second Massachusetts Infantry Regiment in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1864, and many of the officers at Camp Andrew, Brook Farm, in 1861.

From Lewis Gannett, of Rochester, New York, some additional letters of John Torrey Morse, Jr., to his father, William C. Gannett.

From Mrs. Frank R. Heustis, of Hyde Park, a diary kept by Charlotte Reed Heustis on a voyage from San Francisco to the Sandwich Islands and thence to New York, August 27, 1865–July 26, 1866, several letters written by members of the Reed family commenting on the death of Abraham Lincoln.

From Mrs. Joseph Grafton Minot, of Santa Barbara, California, an interesting letter written by Thomas Lindall Winthrop to a Mrs. Gibbs on December 28, 1898, describing a visit to Raby Castle, County of Durham, England, the seat of the Vane family.

From Samuel Eliot Morison, a collection of Austin family papers, 1760–1883, including many papers of James Trecothick Austin, who served as Attorney General of Massachusetts from 1832 until 1843, a collection of notes and transcripts made by Edward Channing for a proposed volume of *Collections* on the Papers of the Royal Commissioners of the Customs in Boston, and some notes made by Mr. Morison on John Henry, the British spy.

From Dr. Henry Rouse Viets, photostatic copies of a number of manuscripts relating to the Viets family, 1748–1810.

The Director described recent accessions to the Cabinet, commenting on the choice and the hanging of the paintings for the Spring Reception by Messrs. T. B. Adams, Childs, Riley, and Whitehill.

Edward Pierce Hamilton then read a paper entitled, "Early Industry of the Neponset and the Charles,"[14] and after comments by various Members, the Society adjourned.

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[14] Printed in this volume, pp. 108–123.

Annual Meeting

OCTOBER, 1954

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, October 14, 1954, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of May 13 was read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that he had received an acceptance of election to Corresponding Membership from Lawrence Quincy Mumford, Librarian of Congress.

The President reported the following deaths: at Washington, D. C., on August 16, 1954, Charles Warren,[15] elected a Resident Member of the Society on February 8, 1923, transferred to Corresponding Membership on November 9, 1944, and elected to Honorary Membership on March 11, 1954; at Cambridge, Massachusetts, on October 5, 1954, Alfred Marston Tozzer,[16] a Resident Member of the Society since February 12, 1925.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Miss Elizabeth Howard Andrews, of Cambridge, a collection of manuscripts of the Dwight, Howard, and Worthington families of Springfield for the period 1718–1876. The collection contains many papers of Thomas Dwight (1758–1819), a member of the Harvard Class of 1778, who practiced law in Springfield and later served in the General Court of Massachusetts and in the Eighth Congress.

From the Connecticut Historical Society, a manuscript diary for the years 1706 through 1725 kept by Jehoshaphat Trescot, of Milton.

From Mrs. Thorndike H. Endicott, of Walpole, New Hampshire, a collection of papers of her father, Rev. Henry Whitney Bellows, for the period 1832–1881, to be added to the large collection now owned by the Society.

From George Talbot Goodspeed, a volume by Zacharius Ursinus, *The Svmme of Christian Religion* . . . (London, 1611). This copy belonged to Experience Mayhew and was given to him by William Stoughton in 1698.

From Mrs. Frank R. Heustis, of Hyde Park, a copy of [Isaac Greenwood], *Arithmetick* . . . (Boston, 1729).

From Mrs. Edward Jackson Holmes, of Topsfield, a letter from George Washington to Timothy Pickering dated at Mount Vernon, January 4, 1799, the original manuscript of Charles Sumner's speech on the cession of Russian America to the United States, and other Sumner items.

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[15] For a memoir, see this volume, pp. 390–398.

[16] For a memoir, see this volume, pp. 399–401.

From Lawrence Waters Jenkins, a small collection of eighteenth-century manuscripts relating to the Emery, Hale, and Noyes families of Newbury.

From Mrs. John E. Leach, of Cleveland, Ohio, a likeness of David Kennison, the last survivor of the Boston Tea Party.

By purchase: a collection of 170 letters written to Horace Mann, Mrs. Mary Mann, and Elizabeth P. Peabody by various correspondents, a volume of notes of sermons preached by John Bailey of Watertown and kept by a member of the Gaskell family, ca. 1687, and a broadside, *Declaration and Dying Speech of Henry Phillips Taken from his own mouth at the Boston Gaol a short time previous to the day of his Execution* (Boston, 1817).

Mr. Earle Williams Newton, a guest of the Society, presented an award from the State Historical Societies to James Duncan Phillips and to Mark Bortman.

The Society then took up the business of the Annual Meeting.

The President submitted the Ballot for Officers of the Society for 1954–1955 and asked the Recording Secretary to cast one Ballot for the election of these Officers:

President
JOHN ADAMS

Vice-Presidents
MARK ANTONY DEWOLFE HOWE
ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR.

Recording Secretary
FRANK WASHBURN GRINNELL

Corresponding Secretary
ROGER WOLCOTT

Treasurer
ALLAN FORBES

Cabinet-Keeper
WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

Members-at-Large of the Council
1954–1957
EDWARD PIERCE HAMILTON
GEORGE CASPAR HOMANS

The President announced that the Annual Dinner of the Society would be held at the Club of Odd Volumes, 77 Mount Vernon Street, at half-past six in the evening of October 14, 1954.

The President announced that the stated meeting of the Society for November would be held on Wednesday, November 10, *not* on Thursday, November 11.

The Director, speaking for Mr. Forbes, who was unavoidably absent, read the Annual Report of the Treasurer.

The Director read the

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

THIS annual report of the Council will be short and sweet, for it is the duty of the Director to bring you the bad news—of which there is little or none—and leave the announcement of good news to the Treasurer, the Librarian, and the Senior Trustee of the Adams Manuscript Trust, Thomas Boylston Adams.

In the course of the past year the Society has lost four Resident Members, four Corresponding Members, and two Honorary Members, as follows: Resident—Charles Francis Adams,[17] elected March 13, 1919, died June 10, 1954, James Melville Hunnewell, elected November 12, 1936, died March 22, 1954, Robert Howard Lord, elected February 12, 1931, died May 22, 1954,[18] Alfred Marston Tozzer, elected February 12, 1925, died October 5, 1954; Corresponding—Frederick Lewis Allen,[19] elected February 10, 1944, died February 13, 1954, Sir Herbert Brown Ames, elected February 13, 1941, died March 31, 1954, William Scott Ferguson,[20] elected May 8, 1930, died April 28, 1954, Bliss Perry, elected Resident Member May 11, 1905, and Corresponding Member, February 11, 1954, died February 13, 1954; and Honorary—Friedrich Meinecke, elected March 14, 1935, died February 6, 1954, Charles Warren, elected Resident Member February 8, 1923, Corresponding Member November 9, 1944, and Honorary Member, March 11, 1954, died August 16, 1954.

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[17] For an obituary, see the *New York Times*, June 12, 1954, p. 15.

[18] For a memoir, see this volume, pp. 387–389.

[19] For a memoir, see "F. L. A. (1890–1954)," *Harper's Magazine*, April, 1954, pp. 74–75.

[20] For a memoir, see *Harvard University Gazette*, Dec. 25, 1954, pp. 78–80.

The tribute to Bliss Perry, by M. A. DeWolfe Howe, and the tribute to Friedrich Meinecke, by Sidney Bradshaw Fay, have already been distributed to the Members. The Council will ask some Resident Member to prepare a proper tribute to the late Charles Warren, for many years a useful servant and a good friend of this Society.

In the course of the past year, also, the following persons have been elected to the membership of the Society: Resident—Charles Jackson, March 11, 1954, Norman Burdett Nash, February 11, 1954, Nathan Marsh Pusey, February 11, 1954; Corresponding—Denis William Brogan, March 11, 1954, Kenneth Chorley, February 11, 1954, Thompson Ritner Harlow, April 8, 1954, Foster Stearns, April 8, 1954, Lawrence Quincy Mumford, May 13, 1954; and Honorary—Sir Harold Nicolson, February 11, 1954. With the nominations reported from the Council today, to be acted upon on Wednesday, November 10, 1954, the Society will have one vacancy in the Resident Membership and one vacancy in the Honorary Membership.

As some of you may remember, the Society was running into difficulties in connection with the publication of the *House Journals* (1715–1780) because, according to the bargain of 1920, the Commonwealth was no longer paying a fair share of the cost of the three hundred volumes which it purchased annually for distribution to the public libraries of Massachusetts. As a consequence, the $750 paid by the state, together with the income from the William Bradford Homer Dowse Fund, expressly set aside for that purpose, fell short by $1,200 a year in meeting the annual cost of these volumes. Through the good offices of Christopher Phillips, son of our Resident Member William Phillips, a bill was introduced into the General Court and passed by the Senate and the House, providing that the state should buy its volumes at cost. In accordance with this new statute, the Society received a check from the Commonwealth for $1,740 last August. Volume 30, for the year 1753–1754, is now in the press. Twenty-seven volumes remain to be published, but for ten or twelve years, at least, there will be no deficit.

Volume IX of *Sibley's Harvard Graduates* will appear in 1955, as well as Volume 69 of the *Proceedings*, covering the years 1947–1950, which is making its slow and sometimes painful progress through the press. Accumulated income for the cost of these two volumes has been carefully set aside. An editorial assistant to Miss Bruce, Richard R.

Beatty, Jr., has been added to the staff of the Society, his salary of $1,800 a year for part time being paid to the Society by an anonymous donor. This change has speeded up the work on the *Proceedings*, and will facilitate the appearance of the next volume of *Winthrop Papers*.

During the past four years, since the autumn of 1950, the Society has added $44,854 to the Endowment Fund, and this without counting the James Duncan Phillips and the Mark Bortman Funds. Putting all the additions together, you will find that the endowment funds of the Society have been increased by almost $50,000. And early in 1956 the income from the Stewart Mitchell Fund will be available for the general needs of the Society, for the capital of that fund will then amount to $100,000, which ought to bring us at least $4,500 a year. And just over the horizon is the Endicott Fund of another $100,000. Yet, none of us can afford to be complaisant, for, although the annual deficit of the Society, which is steadily diminishing year by year, is taken care of, according to the provisions of his will, by the annual balance from the income of the John Langdon Sibley Fund, heavy weather lies ahead of us. Sooner or later, and sooner rather than later, the Society must find a new Director. The retirement age for all respectable institutions seems to be sixty-five; and the Society is nothing if not respectable. Far more important than finding a new Director is the question of finding a new rug for the Dowse Library. This ragged one has served since 1857, and cannot last much longer.

I am happy to state that the attendance at our meetings during the past year has never fallen below thirty-one, and strikes an average of thirty-four for the past eight meetings. Whether this high average is to be credited to good papers, or to good luck with the weather, I shall leave others to decide.

Last, but not least, it should be called to your attention that during the past year 1,563 scholars and students have been waited on here in this building, free of charge, by the small and faithful staff of the Society—at the rate of six a day when the building of the Society has been open. We have come a long way from August, 1790, but we still have a long way to go.

Mr. Riley read the

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

THIS has been a good year for the Library of the Society. It has made important acquisitions of historical materials, and its staff has helped an increasingly large number of visitors to use its holdings. There is no great satisfaction in accumulating materials which remain unknown to researchers. We are happy to say that one collection was scarcely unpacked before it was examined by four students interested in various aspects of Massachusetts politics. Another collection yielded letters of Thomas Jefferson and Henry Clay which were promptly reported to the Editors of the Jefferson and Clay Papers. Despite the small number on our staff, we have tried to do our share in the numerous projects now under way to publish the writings of the great figures of American history. We have put considerable time into the work of preparing the Adams Papers for microfilming, and are indeed grateful for the opportunity to participate in this fine undertaking. Letters from our visitors and correspondents have assured us that our help has been appreciated.

For several years we have been engaged in the task of placing our unbound manuscripts in approved archival boxes. This work has now been completed save for recently acquired papers. We should like next to overhaul our map and print collections. This may well require additional funds and volunteer assistance. If any member has any suggestions to offer we should be very glad to have them.

In the field of printed material we have been very fortunate in our acquisitions. The total number is not large—slightly more than 1,300[21] items—but the quality is extremely high. Of these pieces, more than 125 were printed in Massachusetts before 1820. We are particularly indebted to various members of the Paine family who turned over to the Society a large collection of printed matter formerly owned by Robert Treat Paine, the Signer of the Declaration of Independence, or by other members of his family. It would not be

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[21] Complete figures for accessions during the year 1953–1954 are as follows:

Books	360
Pamphlets	184
Periodicals	527
Broadsides	130
Newspapers	127
Maps	2
Total	1,330

possible within the limits of this report to describe each item in detail, but I should like to mention briefly the general content of the Paine gift. It contains five rare sermons by Cotton Mather including his *Ornaments for the Daughter of Zion* (Cambridge, 1691), a number of early currency tracts including several printed at James Franklin's press while Benjamin was working there, broadsides relating to the Land Bank of 1740, pamphlets on the Kennebec land controversies, early anti-slavery tracts, Boston Massacre orations, and political pamphlets of the Revolutionary period.

Perhaps the most appealing printed acquisition is a children's book by Eleazar Moody, *The School for Good Manners* (New-London: Printed & Sold by T. Green. Also Sold by B. Eliot at Boston, 1715). This piece was described by Evans apparently from a newspaper advertisement for no copy has hitherto been located. It must have been treasured by the Paine children who wrote their names in it, for it is in excellent condition. Some idea of the behavior expected of children when in company is suggested in the following injunctions:

> 11. Spit not in the Room, but in a Corner, and rub it with thy Foot, or rather go out and do it abroad. (p. 11)
>
> 17. If thy Superior be relating a Story, say not I have heard it before, but attend to it, as if it were to thee altogether new: Seem not to question the Truth of it; if he tells it not right, snigger not, nor endeavour to help him out or add to its Relation. (p. 15)

It is so easy for librarians to make extravagant claims about their library's resources that an impartial opinion is very welcome. In the *Harvard Guide to American History* (Cambridge, 1954) the compilers state that "The Massachusetts Historical Society . . . houses the most important collection of American manuscripts outside the Library of Congress." I am ready to accept this statement although a cynic might point out that all six compilers are members of the Society. At any rate we do have an important collection of manuscripts and this year we have made substantial additions to it. As is our custom all acquisitions are regularly reported at the monthly meetings, but I should like to comment briefly on a few new collections of unusual interest.

In 1940 the Paine family gave the Society a collection of Robert Treat Paine Papers. This year it has turned in almost as many papers again as part of the original gift. This makes the papers one of the most important manuscript holdings in the Society's possession.

In this new lot, students of legal history will find a mine of information. Robert Treat Paine was one of the leading lawyers of his day, serving as Attorney General of Massachusetts from 1777 to 1789 and as Judge on the Superior Court from 1790 to 1804. Among his manuscripts are four large volumes containing minutes of trials and law cases from 1760 to 1789. It would be difficult to find a more complete record of the work of a colonial lawyer. There is also a small volume containing some legal notes of Chief Justice William Cushing including his charge in the Jennison case (1783), the case which is said to have ended slavery in Massachusetts.

Before settling down to the law, Robert Treat Paine tried his hand at various occupations. A year at schoolteaching convinced him that there was no chance of becoming wealthy in that profession. He then went as captain on several trading voyages to the Carolinas and to Spain in the early 1750's and even made a whaling voyage toward Davis Straits. Among his manuscripts are the logbooks of these various ventures, nicely illustrated with drawings of flying fish and other sea inhabitants. He also took part in the Crown Point expedition of 1755, serving as a chaplain in Colonel Samuel Willard's regiment. It was at this time that he drew many of the delightful manuscript maps found among his papers. One map contains a detailed plan of Fort Ticonderoga which is one of the earliest plans known of that historic fort.

In October, 1791, the Society announced the acquisition of four folio volumes of Governor Jonathan Belcher's letter books. The volumes were for the years 1731–1735 and 1739–1740. In later years, other volumes were secured but the great gap in the middle 1730's remained. This year we can report the successful conclusion of a long search, for the missing volume for 1736–1738 came to us in the Paine Papers.

I feel certain that most of us now wince at any mention of committees of investigation. I shall simply state, therefore, that we received a volume of manuscripts relating to the enquiry into the causes of the failure of the Rhode Island expedition of 1777. Robert Treat Paine was chairman of the Commission of Investigation appointed by the Continental Congress.

Among other gifts made to us this year by our fellow member Samuel Eliot Morison is a noteworthy collection of papers of another Signer, Elbridge Gerry. These papers are very revealing for the period 1780–1800 and shed much light on social life in Washington during the War of 1812 when Gerry was Vice-President. There is a small packet of letters from Mercy Otis Warren to Gerry about her quarrel with John Adams. This was occasioned by the publication of Mrs. Warren's *History . . . of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1805), in which she sharply criticized Adams for what she considered to be his monarchical leanings. Adams took exception to her remarks and the correspondence that followed became so bitter that it led to an estrangement. Gerry, who was friendly with both parties, managed to effect a reconciliation some years later. Adams probably continued to harbor a slight resentment for he observed to Gerry that "History is not the Province of the Ladies."

The issue of William Minot of Boston, who died in 1894, presented to the Society this year the Minot Papers, the largest body of manuscripts ever to come to the Society. It includes the business, professional, and personal papers of four generations of a family of Boston lawyers and trustees, namely: George Richards Minot (d. 1802); his son William Minot (d. 1873); his grandson William Minot (d. 1894); and his great-grandsons William Minot (d. 1900), Charles Sedgwick Minot, Henry Davis Minot, and Laurence Minot (d. 1921). George Richards Minot, the historian of Shays' Rebellion, was the 10th member of the Society and his son William was the 158th member. The papers are now being arranged and boxed and should be available to scholars within a year's time. Mrs. Katherine Minot Channing, the wife of our member Henry M. Channing, also has placed her personal collection of Minot and Sedgwick Papers in the Society and they are eventually to become our property. Mr. Channing deserves our gratitude for his tireless efforts in obtaining this gift.

The last acquisition I should like to mention is an addition to our large Horace Mann Collection. This was secured by purchase. It consists of some 170 letters addressed to Horace Mann, Mrs. Mary Mann, and Elizabeth P. Peabody by such people as Salmon P. Chase, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Edward Everett, Henry James the elder, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, James Russell Lowell, Theodore Parker, Josiah Quincy, Charles Sumner, and many others. Some of the letters are of particular interest, notably one written by Mrs. Mary Mann to Horace Mann on March 3, 1838, about the literary abilities of a promising young man by the name of Nathaniel Hawthorne. I should like to quote from an amusing letter by Henry James, the father of Henry and William James, to Elizabeth P. Peabody dated at Newport, October 24, [n.d.], in which he gets off the following barb at certain Boston figures:

> In short I feel myself totally unfit for decent society and never dine in company with Dr. Hedge and the other greater and lesser Boston luminaries, without inwardly gasping for breath all the while, like one of Swedenborg's devils translated to heaven. To get out in the street again, and brush against the blessed work-day world that is all hands and no tongue, seems to me like opening Paradise. In fact the harlotry you elbow on the street seems honest and sweet beside these direful literary celebrities.

The prize piece is a letter from Harriet Beecher Stowe to Horace Mann written in quite another vein. It is dated at Boston, March 2, [1852]. May I quote the first paragraph:

> Dear Sir
> Some months ago you addressed me a note for which I was at the time exceedingly grateful and to which I intended to reply when time should enable me to test the advice you were kind enough to send me—Today I have taken my pen from the last chapter of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and I think you will understand me when I say that I feel as if I had written some of it almost with my hearts blood—I look upon it almost as a despairing appeal to civilized humanity—in the close of it I think you may trace the result of some of your suggestions—It has been the most cheering thing about the whole endeavor to me, that men like you, would feel it—for so deeply has the cause I speak for enwoven itself with my life, that sympathy for that seems to me almost a personal favor.

Whatever success we have enjoyed this year has been due in large measure to the co-operation of our members and friends, and the loyal efforts of the staff of the Society. We trust that this support will continue to be ours in the future.

Mr. Thomas Boylston Adams then made a statement for the Trustees of the Adams Manuscript Trust, describing the arrangement by which the cost of editing the Adams Papers was to be met by a grant of $250,000 by Time and Life Incorporated, the volumes to be printed at the expense of the Belknap Press of Harvard University, the advisory Committee in charge of the undertaking to be Thomas Boylston Adams, Senior Trustee of the Adams Manuscript Trust, Walter Muir Whitehill, Director of the Boston Athenæum, and Thomas James Wilson, Director of the Harvard University Press.

After Mr. Mark Bortman had described his recent visit to London with the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Society, the meeting was adjourned.

The Society held its Annual Dinner at the Club of Odd Volumes in the evening of Thursday, October 14, 1954, Samuel Eliot Morison being Guest of Honor and Speaker.

In introducing Mr. Morison, the President spoke as follows:

"It would be superfluous to sketch here the achievements of Samuel Eliot Morison in the field of American history. It is known to you all. What possibly you are not familiar with is that which he has done for the Massachusetts Historical Society in a quiet, unobtrusive way. Elected to the Membership of the Society just short of forty years ago at the early age of twenty-seven, he immediately took a serious and active interest in the Society. That he has always been willing to give a paper at the meetings of the Society you know and also that he has been the efficient Chairman of the Committee of Publication for many years and has guided many collections of manuscripts into our Library and gave us the Otis Papers.

"What most of you do not know is that, following the resignation of Worthington Chauncey Ford as Editor of the Society, there was a period of hesitation and drift in which there was grave danger that the Society would fall short of the very purpose of its founding. It was then Samuel Morison took over with a firm hand. It was he who managed the continuation of *Sibley's Harvard Graduates* under the distinguished authorship of Clifford Kenyon Shipton and his was the guiding hand which took over the Society's definitive edition of the Winthrop Papers and so continued the Society in those activities for which it was founded—the collecting and the editing of historic manuscripts.

"The Society is deeply indebted to him."

Then, Admiral Morison described certain of his experiences during his fifty years of association with the Society, the first ten as a student and the following forty as a Resident Member.

November Meeting, 1954

The Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Wednesday, November 10, 1954, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated and Annual Meeting of October 14 was read and approved.

The President announced the death at Topsfield, on October 19, 1954, of James Duncan Phillips,[22] a Resident Member of the Society since December 14, 1933.

The President announced that he had appointed the Standing Committees for the year 1954–1955 as follows:

Finance: JOHN ADAMS, *Chairman ex officio;* ALLAN FORBES, *ex officio,* RALPH LOWELL, PARKMAN DEXTER HOWE, CHARLES JACKSON, AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING.

House: CHAUNCEY CUSHING NASH, *Chairman;* BERTRAM KIMBALL LITTLE, CARLETON RUBIRA RICHMOND.

Library: LEE MAX FRIEDMAN, *Chairman;* HENRY LATIMER SEAVER, VERNON DALE TATE.

Meetings: MARK ANTONY DEWOLFE HOWE, *Chairman;* ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR., WILLIAM ALEXANDER JACKSON.

Membership: JOHN ADAMS, *Chairman;* ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR., CHAUNCEY CUSHING NASH, WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL, STEWART MITCHELL.

Publication: ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER, *Chairman;* CLIFFORD KENYON SHIPTON, WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL, ROBERT EARLE MOODY, STEWART MITCHELL.

Mr. Adams stated that, much to his regret, Mr. Morison had asked to be relieved of serving as a Member of the Committee of Publication.

Charles Edward Wyzanski, Jr., of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, Mr. Goodspeed speaking as Sponsor.

John Bryant Paine, Jr., of Weston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, Mr. Riley speaking as Sponsor.

Lyman Henry Butterfield, of Boston, a Corresponding Member of the Society, was elected a Resident Member, Mr. Whitehill speaking as Sponsor.

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[22] For a memoir, see Essex Institute, *Historical Collections,* XCI (1955), 97–99.

James Barr Ames, of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, Mr. Whitehill speaking as Sponsor.

Roy Edward Larsen, of Fairfield, Connecticut, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society, Mr. T. B. Adams speaking as Sponsor.

Ernest Samuels, of Evanston, Illinois, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society, Mr. Riley speaking as Sponsor.

Theodore Sizer, of New Haven, Connecticut, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society, Mr. Whitehill reading the Sponsorship for Mr. W. A. Jackson because of his unavoidable absence from the meeting.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Miss Edith L. Haskell, of Newton Center, a printed slip containing a list of candidates running for state offices on the Liberty ticket, 1848.

From Mrs. Edward J. Holmes, of Topsfield, an important collection of manuscripts for the period 1687–1846. The bulk of the collection consists of papers of the Wendell family and contains many important documents dealing with trade, Indian relations, the Silver Bank of 1733, and the early settlement of Pittsfield. There is a sheaf of documents relating to the First Church of Cambridge, 1717–1791, various letters of James Noyes, one of the founders of Yale College, a body of Federalist documents concerning John Quincy Adams' attack of October 21, 1828, on the Hartford Convention leaders, and some manuscripts on the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, 1829–1841.

On deposit: from Mrs. Robert Homans, of Boston, about seventy-five letters written by Henry Adams to Theodore F. Dwight, 1878–1893.

Clarence Henry Haring then read a paper entitled, "The Universities of Latin America."[23]

The meeting then adjourned.

December Meeting, 1954

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, December 9, 1954, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of November 10 was read and approved.

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[23] Printed in this volume, pp. 311–327.

The Corresponding Secretary read letters of acceptance of election to Membership from the following: for Resident Membership, Charles Edward Wyzanski, Jr., of Cambridge, John Bryant Paine, Jr., of Weston, and James Barr Ames, of Cambridge; for Corresponding Membership, Roy Edward Larsen, of Fairfield, Connecticut, Ernest Samuels, of Evanston, Illinois, and Theodore Sizer, of New Haven, Connecticut.

Mr. Adams announced that the Society had only recently received news of the death of Vicente Lecuna[24] in Caracas, Venezuela, on February 20, 1954, an Honorary Member of the Society since February 12, 1948. Señor Lecuna, a banker, devoted his career as an historian to the life and letters of Simón Bolívar.

The Treasurer announced that gifts to the Endowment Fund since November, 1954, amounted to $3,165, and that the Society would receive a legacy of $2,500 from Charles Warren, of Washington, D. C., this legacy to be added to the Winslow Warren Memorial Fund, bringing that fund to a total of $5,000.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Mrs. John Adams, of Lincoln, additional papers of her father, Colonel Charles Fessenden Morse, for the period 1862–1920. The papers are concerned chiefly with Civil War history.

From Miss Mildred Howells, of York Harbor, Maine, a number of photographs of William Dean Howells and members of his family.

From Mrs. Charles Jackson, of Dover, a fine collection of Higginson family papers for the years 1795–1908. Among the papers there is the exceedingly rare first printing of an ode written by Ralph Waldo Emerson for the *Fourth of July Breakfast and Floral Exhibition at the Town Hall, Concord, for the benefit of Sleepy Hollow Cemetery* (1857), and an interesting series of letters written by Lieutenant James Jackson Higginson while in Libby Prison.

From the Mesa Public Library, Los Alamos, New Mexico, three Civil War letters written in 1864–1865 by Captain William H. Torrey of the 55th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry.

From Samuel Reber, of New York, New York, twenty-five letters written from France and England by Mrs. James Donald Cameron to Henry Adams during the years 1914–1918, and a photograph of a drawing of Mr. Cameron by John Singer Sargent.

From Foster Stearns, a letter from Calvin Coolidge to Frank Waterman Stearns dated at Plymouth, July 22, 1917, about his political supporters.

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[24] For a memoir, see this volume, p. 386.

Richard Walden Hale, Jr., read a paper entitled, "The Forgotten Maine Boundary Commission."[25]

Then President Adams spoke briefly to the Members on the subject of an article entitled, "A Very Proper Swindle," purporting to be from the hand of Robert Wallace, which had appeared in *Life* for November 22, 1954, dealing with the transfer of three copies of the *Bay Psalm Book* in the Prince Collection of the Old South Association on deposit in the Boston Public Library. He stated that after Mr. Riley, by a careful examination of a catalogue of the Prince Library published in 1846, had discovered that only one copy of the *Bay Psalm Book* was ever in the custody of the Massachusetts Historical Society and that that copy had been carefully returned in 1859, he had sent a letter to *Life* and that his letter had appeared in *Life* that very day. Mr. Adams went on to say that he had called on Mr. Milton E. Lord at the Boston Public Library and had talked over the article and its actual author. Mr. Adams added that so far as the Society was concerned, the subject was closed, but he asked all Members to read the article and his letter of protest.

Mr. Adams supplemented the report of the Treasurer, stating that the Society had added a total of $55,000 to its Endowment since 1950.

The Recording Secretary called the attention of Members to Governor Herter's Proclamation of "Massachusetts Heritage Month," stating that an additional fifty thousand copies of this Proclamation had been printed at the expense of Godfrey Lowell Cabot, one copy to be sent to every senior in every high school in the Commonwealth.

The Society then adjourned.

January Meeting, 1955

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, January 13, 1955, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of December 9 was read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that he had received a letter of acceptance of his transfer from Corresponding to Resident Membership from Lyman Henry Butterfield.

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[25] Printed in this volume, pp. 147–155.

The Treasurer reported that fifty-two Resident and Corresponding Members had contributed $5,340 to the Endowment Fund of the Society since November, 1954, that Mark Bortman had added $500 to his fund raising the total to $1,000, and that the Society would receive $2,500 from the estate of the late Charles Warren, of Washington, D. C., thus raising the Winslow Warren Memorial Fund to $5,000.

Mr. Adams reported that Graham Oatley, the janitor of the Society, had died suddenly on December 17, 1954, and that Mr. Oatley's brother had been employed to take his place as of January 17, 1955.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Mrs. William R. Cabot, of Boston, a sheaf of manuscripts for the period 1852–1863, consisting chiefly of letters written by William H. Gardiner to Mr. and Mrs. William Nye Davis about the progress of the Civil War.

From the family of the late Paul Mascarene Hamlen (1874–1939), a collection of papers of Jean Paul Mascarene (1684–1760) and various of his descendants for the years 1687–1839. Mascarene served as Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia for a time and was prominent in New England affairs. The collection contains the extremely rare broadside, *Lettre de son Excellence Guillaume Shirley . . . a l'Honorable Monsieur Paul Mascarene . . .* (Boston, 1746).

From Edward C. Holden, of Cambridge, a number of letters written to Josiah Freeman Bumstead during the years 1841–1846 about his school book publications.

From the Jewish Community Council of Metropolitan Boston, a set of *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York, 1948).

From Mrs. Henry W. Perry, of Perkiomenville, Pennsylvania, a small collection of manuscripts, photographs, and mementoes of the Dexter, Perry, and Ward families, 1717–1921. The collection contains the commonplace book of Samuel Dexter (1726–1810) and the various military commissions issued to Nahum and Artemas Ward, including the latter's commission as Major General in the Continental Army dated June 19, 1775.

Arthur Stanwood Pier read a paper entitled, "The Early Years of Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford."

There followed a lively discussion of the paper among Messrs. T. B. Adams, C. P. Curtis, Homans, W. A. Jackson, Riley, and Dr. Viets over the character and conduct of Count Rumford. Mr. Jackson stated that the Houghton Library had recently acquired a number of original drawings by Rumford.

Then Messrs. Grinnell and Chafee staged a verbal duel over the question of jurors taking notes.

After remarks by Mr. Hamilton, the meeting was adjourned.

February Meeting, 1955

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, February 10, 1955, Vice-President Chafee in the chair.

Mr. Chafee announced that President Adams had left for a trip to South America and would not be back in Boston until March 21, 1955, after which he would preside at the stated meetings of the Society on April 14 and May 12.

The record of the stated meeting of January 13 was read and approved.

Reporting for Mr. Forbes, who was unavoidably absent because of illness, Mr. Chafee stated that $120 in three gifts had been received by the Treasurer as additions to the Endowment Fund.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From the Estate of Miss Theodora Cabot, of Brookline, a small collection of manuscripts containing letters written by John Adams, Lydia Maria Child, Lafayette, and Harriet Beecher Stowe, 1815–1860.

From the Connecticut State Library, a contemporary copy of a letter written by Benjamin Colman and Peter Thacher for the Associated Pastors of Boston to Nathaniel Eells of Scituate regarding a church dispute in Sandwich. The letter is dated as having been received on March 2, 1731.

From Mrs. Robert Homans, of Boston, forty-eight letters written by Henry Adams to Mrs. Edward Nelson Fell, 1885–1913.

From Miss Esther Jackson, of Peterborough, New Hampshire, a letter from John Bright to William Reed Deane, of Boston, dated March 22, 1862, about Anglo-American relations.

On deposit: from the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, the papers of David Cobb (1748–1830) for the period 1708–1833. Cobb was a member of the Harvard Class of 1766, served in the Revolution—part of the time as one of Washington's aides—and later was active in politics and the law. He was a brother-in-law of Robert Treat Paine, the Signer of the Declaration of Independence, whose papers are owned by the Society.

By purchase: a small collection of books and pamphlets printed in Massachusetts before 1820.

Francis Brown, Editor of the *New York Times Book Review,* then read a paper entitled, "The Case of the *Canada*: A Chapter of Whaling and Diplomacy,"[26] describing the long and intricate negotiations stretching over thirteen years between the United States and the Empire of Brazil in regard to the claims of the owners of the *Canada* and the strange conduct of James Watson Webb, the American minister to Brazil, who emerged from these negotiations with the lion's share of the money which Brazil finally paid.

After comments on the paper by Messrs. T. B. Adams, Dodge, Riley, Wilson, and Whitehill, during which the character and conduct of Webb were illuminated, the meeting was adjourned.

March Meeting, 1955

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, March 10, 1955, Vice-President Chafee in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of February 10 was read and approved.

Mr. Forbes submitted the Report of the Treasurer, stating the total that the Society had received for the Endowment Fund since November, 1954.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From the Estate of Frederick Smith Bigelow, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, several diaries of John Southgate, of Leicester, containing occasional entries from 1768–1797, and a journal of Jacob Bigelow, of Boston, kept on a trip to Europe, September 12, 1831–April 13, 1832.

From John Sturgis Codman, of Boston, three volumes of manuscripts containing the memoirs of Charles Russell Codman (1829–1918) and copies of some of his speeches and letters.

From Miss Katharine Homans, of Canton, two albums of Civil War photographs.

From Lawrence Waters Jenkins, a file of manuscripts relating to the breach of promise case of Moses Inglee against Mrs. George Hayward, 1853–1858.

From the Estate of Theodore Lyman, of Brookline, a collection of some 300 volumes on American history, biography, and other subjects.

From Rev. Bruce Swift, of Kenmore, New York, a small collection of manuscripts of Richard Cranch (1726–1811) and William Cranch (1769–1855) for the period 1767–1844.

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[26] Printed in this volume, pp. 179–193.

By purchase: from Mrs. Edith C. Haakonson, of Babylon, New York, a collection of books and pictures, including rare files of the Sacramento Daily *Union* for 1864 and the Sacramento Weekly *Union*, November 13, 1858–1864. This collection has been on deposit in the Society since 1912.

Mr. Whitehill stated that the Spring Reception of the Society would be held not on Friday, May 13, but on Wednesday, May 11, 1955.

Professor Edward C. Kirkland of Bowdoin College then read a paper entitled, "Boston during the Civil War,"[27] describing the social and financial changes brought about during that disaster, after which the meeting was adjourned.

April Meeting, 1955

The Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, April 14, 1955, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of March 10 was read and approved.

Mr. Adams announced the death of Roger Ernst,[28] of Brookline, who was born in Jamaica Plain in 1881, elected a Resident Member of the Society on January 8, 1953, and died suddenly in Texas on March 29, 1955, at the age of seventy-four.

Mr. Adams announced the following Committee of Nomination to prepare a ballot for the October meeting as follows: ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR., *Chairman;* EDWARD PIERCE HAMILTON, PARKMAN DEXTER HOWE, KEYES DEWITT METCALF, CHAUNCEY CUSHING NASH.

Mr. Adams announced that Carleton Rubira Richmond and his brother, Ralph S. Richmond, of Little Compton, Rhode Island, and his sister, Mrs. Stewart Burchard, also of Little Compton, had given the Society a new rug for the Dowse Library to replace the rug which was given to the Society by Mr. Erastus Brigham Bigelow in 1857, grandfather of the late Roger Bigelow Merriman and a Resident Member of the Society from 1864 to 1879.

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[27] Printed in this volume, pp. 194–203.

[28] For a memoir, see Massachusetts Audubon Society, *Bulletin*, XXXIX (1955), 285–286.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Henry Beston, of Nobleboro, Maine, Vol. 2 of Daniel Defoe's *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain,* 5th ed. (London, 1753). This book was owned by John Hancock and contains his autograph.

From Roland Gray, of Cambridge, a letter from John Adams to Thomas Boylston Adams dated at Washington, December 23, 1800, stating that he had appointed John Jay Chief Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court, and a commission issued to William Tudor as Chargé d'Affaires to Brazil dated at Washington, December 27, 1827, and signed by John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay.

From Edward Pierce Hamilton, a fine Civil War letter written by Edward L. Pierce to Mrs. Walter Baker and dated at Fort Munroe, June 19, 1861.

From Mrs. Robert Homans, of Boston, six manuscript items written by John Quincy Adams and other members of the Adams family, 1816–1845.

From Mark Antony DeWolfe Howe, a group of letters written by Josiah Quincy (1802–1882) to his wife, 1849–1866. All but two of the letters are concerned with a southern tour made by Mr. Quincy in 1849, during which he attended the inauguration of President Zachary Taylor.

From Mrs. Stanley McCormick, of Boston, a small collection of Dexter family papers, 1820–1901. Most of the letters are addressed to Mr. and Mrs. Wirt Dexter by such writers as Robert Collyer, George William Curtis, James Russell Lowell, Wendell Phillips, and others.

From Edward P. Oliver, of Brookline, a number of letters written by Rufus Choate and Daniel Webster to Jeremiah Mason, 1818–1827.

Samuel Eliot Morison then read a paper entitled, "Prescott Reconsidered," which he had prepared as the introduction to the edition of Prescott's *History of the Conquest of Peru* to be published by the Limited Editions Club.[29]

After remarks from various Members, the Society then adjourned.

May Meeting, 1955

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, May 12, 1955, President Adams in the chair.

It was voted to dispense with the reading of the record of the stated meeting of April 14.

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[29] (Mexico City, 1957), pp. vii–xxiv.

The Treasurer of the Society made his report, after which, on his motion, "It was voted that the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury to be expended for such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society."

M. A. DeWolfe Howe, of Boston, was elected an Honorary Member of the Society by acclamation.

Copley Amory, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, President Adams speaking as Sponsor.

David Britton Little, of Concord, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, Mr. Whitehill speaking as Sponsor.

Elting Elmore Morison, of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, Mr. Homans speaking as Sponsor.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From the Estate of Miss Amy W. Cabot, of Boston, a letter from Horatio Greenough to Francis T. Higginson, dated at Boston, November 13, 1842, about his statue of Washington.

From Charles Dyer Childs, an extremely fine letter from Edmund Quincy to his daughter, Mrs. John Hancock, dated at Lancaster, July 22, 1776, about the adoption of the Declaration of Independence.

From John C. Sprague, of Center Moriches, Long Island, New York, a small collection of Erving family papers, 1746–1786, a manuscript volume containing bills of lading of goods shipped by John Erving, 1732–1748, and several museum objects.

Edward Pierce Hamilton then read a paper entitled, "The Diary of a Colonial Clergyman: Peter Thacher of Milton."[30]

The Director then read a Memoir of Charles Warren,[31] which was prepared for the Society at the request of the Council by M. A. DeWolfe Howe.

After the Director had reported briefly on the attendance at and the expenses of the Spring Reception of the Society, which was held in the building on Wednesday, May 11, 1955, from four to six o'clock, the Society adjourned.

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[30] Printed in this volume, pp. 50–63.

[31] Also printed in this volume, pp. 390–398.

Annual Meeting

OCTOBER, 1955

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, October 13, 1955, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of May 12 was read and approved.

Mr. Wolcott reported that he had received acceptances of Resident Membership from Copley Amory, of Boston, David Britton Little, of Concord, and Elting Elmore Morison, of Cambridge.

Mr. Adams announced the death of the following Members of the Society:

Willard Goodrich Cogswell,[32] who was elected a Resident Member on March 8, 1951, died suddenly at Haverhill on May 20, 1955.

Fitz-Henry Smith, Jr.,[33] who was elected a Resident Member on April 8, 1920, died on June 8, 1955, at Newburyport after a long illness.

Stephen Willard Phillips,[34] who was elected a Resident Member on December 13, 1928, died on July 6, 1955, at Salem.

Allan Forbes,[35] who was elected a Resident Member on January 13, 1921, died on July 9, 1955, at Westwood.

David Cheever,[36] who was elected a Resident Member on January 9, 1941, died on August 13, 1955, at Wellesley.

Herbert Putnam,[37] who was elected a Corresponding Member on October 8, 1931, died on August 14, 1955, in his ninety-fourth year, at Woods Hole, Massachusetts.

In the absence of his Acting Treasurer, Mr. Charles Jackson, Mr. Adams made a brief statement as to the financial condition of the Society, showing that it had a surplus for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1955, of $4,937, and that the total sum raised for the Endowment

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[32] For a memoir, see this volume, pp. 402–409.

[33] For a memoir, see this volume, pp. 410–411.

[34] For a memoir, see Essex Inst., *Hist. Colls.*, XCI, 293–296.

[35] For a memoir, see this volume, pp. 412–422.

[36] For a memoir, see this volume, pp. 423–426.

[37] For a memoir, see David C. Mearns, "Herbert Putnam and his Responsible Eye—A Memorial Tribute," in *Herbert Putnam, 1861–1955, A Memorial Tribute* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1956), pp. 1–52.

Fund and other funds by gifts from Members and the public since October, 1950, amounted to $63,328.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From the Estate of Miss Theodora Cabot, of Brookline, a small collection of Cabot family papers, 1801–1857, including many letters of John Higginson Cabot (1782–1847).

From Mrs. Greely S. Curtis, Mrs. John Briggs Potter, Mrs. Ward Thoron, and Mrs. Roger Sherman Warner, a collection of letters written by Mrs. Henry Adams to her father, Robert William Hooper, 1872–1883, three letters written by Henry Adams to Robert William Hooper, dated June 28, July 5, and November 10, 1872, a shipboard journal kept by Mr. and Mrs. Adams, dated July 9–July 19, 1872, a sketchbook belonging to Mrs. Adams, and a number of photographs. The collection is not to be available to scholars until seven years from this date.

From Dr. Joseph Edward Fields, of Joliet, Illinois, an order signed by Samuel Gilman at Exeter, New Hampshire, September 16, 1755, about raising troops for Crown Point and a letter written by Andrew Le Mercier, Jr., to his father, dated at Placentia, March 31, 1756.

From Mrs. Douglas Southall Freeman, of Richmond, Virginia, copies of works by her late husband, Douglas Southall Freeman, not owned by the Society.

From Mrs. Dorothy Myers Grantham, of Cleveland, Ohio, a small collection of letters written by James Ford Rhodes to George A. Myers, 1910–1923.

From Miss Emily Hallowell, of West Medford, a printed book, *The Gospel according to Saint Luke* . . . (New York, 1863), presented to E. N. Hallowell of the 54th Massachusetts by Mrs. Robert G. Shaw.

From Mrs. Henry V. Hubbard, of Milton, the diary of the Rev. Peter Thacher (1651–1727) for the period January 2, 1679–February 27, 1699.

From Henry B. Huntington, of Providence, Rhode Island, additional papers to be added to the John Osborne Sargent collection, including letters of John Ericsson to Sargent.

From the Estate of Robert A. Leeson, of Boston, a volume of letters addressed to Artemas Ward by George Washington, his aides, and others, 1776–1781, and a volume of letters of the Ward family, 1821–1885.

From Mrs. George W. McGhie, Jr., of Lake Bluff, Illinois, the manuscript diary of the Rev. Jacob Merrill Manning (1824–1882) for the period December 13, 1853–January 31, 1861, and other Manning papers. Manning was a graduate of Amherst College and for many years pastor of the Old South Church, Boston.

From Horace Henry Morse, a copy of Thomas Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts* . . . 3d ed. (Boston, 1795) and a letter from Samuel Rawson Gardiner to a Mr. Davis dated at Woodstock, England, April 30, 1893.

From Mrs. Margaret G. Phoutrides of Berkeley, California, a collection of Tidd, Lord, Henchman, and Carret Papers, 1811–1857.

From Mrs. Ward Thoron, of Boston, thirty letters from Mrs. Henry Adams to Mrs. Nelson Fell, 1879–1885, a photographic notebook kept by Mrs. Adams, and other miscellaneous letters. The collection is not to be available to scholars until seven years from this date.

From Everett W. Wallster, of North Weymouth, the manuscript diary of Nathan Wyman, of Woburn, January, 1820–April, 1837.

The Society then turned to the business of the Annual Meeting, and Mr. Adams submitted the Ballot for 1955:

President
JOHN ADAMS

Vice-Presidents
ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR.
KEYES DEWITT METCALF

Recording Secretary
FRANK WASHBURN GRINNELL

Corresponding Secretary
ROGER WOLCOTT

Treasurer
CHARLES JACKSON

Cabinet-Keeper
WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

Members-at-Large of the Council
1955–1958
HENRY FORBUSH HOWE
JOHN BRYANT PAINE, JR.

In accordance with the suggestion of the President, the Recording Secretary cast one Ballot for the election of these officers and Members.

The Director then read the

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

SINCE the latest Annual Meeting, on October 14, 1954, the Society has lost seven Resident Members and one Corresponding Member. James Duncan Phillips, elected to Resident Membership on December 14, 1933, died on October 19, 1954; Roger Ernst, elected on January 8, 1953, died in Texas on March 29, 1955; Willard Goodrich Cogswell, who was elected on March 8, 1951, died on

May 20, 1955; Fitz-Henry Smith, Jr., a Resident Member since April 8, 1920, died at Newburyport on June 8, 1955; Stephen Willard Phillips, elected to Resident Membership on December 13, 1928, died on July 6, 1955; Allan Forbes, a Resident Member since January 13, 1921, died on July 9, 1955; and David Cheever, elected to Resident Membership on January 9, 1941, died on August 13, 1955. Herbert Putnam, a Corresponding Member since October 8, 1931, died on August 14, 1955, in his ninety-fourth year.

During the same time the following persons were elected to the Society. The Resident Members elected were: James Barr Ames, Copley Amory, David Britton Little, Elting Elmore Morison, John Bryant Paine, Jr., and Charles Edward Wyzanski, Jr.; and the Corresponding Members elected were Roy Edward Larsen, Ernest Samuels, and Theodore Sizer. Mark Antony DeWolfe Howe was appropriately elected to Honorary Membership; and Lyman Henry Butterfield, now the Adams Editor of the Society, was transferred from Corresponding to Resident Membership.

At the present moment there are five vacancies in the Resident Membership and one in the Corresponding Membership.

Since the last Annual Meeting, sixty-one Members have donated $14,258.43 to the Endowment Fund, and two non-members have given a total of $55.00. It must be remembered that this money is not spent, but is invested in the capital of the Society. Moreover, the cost of the *House Journals* is now being fully met by the income from the W. B. H. Dowse Fund and the annual check from the Commonwealth. Miss Elizabeth L. Burnett, who drew a pension from the Society for fifteen years, died on September 5, 1955.

Volume 69 of the *Proceedings*, covering the years 1947–1950, is virtually through the press, and will be distributed to the Members in November. The preparation of this volume has been a work of blood, sweat, and tears for more than one reason. It will contain fifteen papers read at meetings and nine memoirs, as well as the official reports of proceedings. It will be as free from error, your Director feels, as the frailty of human nature permits. Every fact has been checked and rechecked so that in the year 2000 he can face the future with confidence.

As most of us know, a committee is usually a solemn means of getting nothing done. The Committee on Meetings, however, under the chairmanship of Mr. Howe and his colleagues, Zechariah Chafee, Jr., and William Alexander Jackson, met last June, and as a result of their efforts, every meeting of the coming year is now provided for.

Your Director called attention, last April, to the handsome new rug on the floor of this Dowse Library. It was the gift of Carleton Rubira Richmond and his brother, Ralph S. Richmond, and his sister, Mrs. Stewart Burchard. A feature of interest is the fact that the name of the maker is woven into one end of it. Mr. Adams directed that a pad be bought by the Society to protect it from the wear and tear of years.

I have nothing to state now about the great work being done on the editing and publishing of the Adams Papers, for you will hear all about that from the Adams Editor, Lyman H. Butterfield, on May 10.

You will receive today a report on all our acquisitions of the past year from our Librarian.

Mr. Riley then read the

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

AS the time for annual reports comes around, those who have to give them must wrestle with the problem of selecting the more important accomplishments of the year while those who have to listen to them may weigh the advantages of settling down for a long winter's nap. Without any serious reservations we can report that the Library has had a good year. We have been host to a goodly number of researchers, we have answered faithfully—and we trust helpfully—the many queries that came by mail, and we have added substantially to our holdings of books and manuscripts. We even received an unsolicited testimonial from a professor in Pennsylvania who headed his note, "A love letter to the M. H. S."

In my last year's report I called attention to the need for assistance in putting our maps and prints into proper order. Exactly the right person was induced to come by Carleton R. Richmond. His wife has tackled the job enthusiastically and is making fine progress in repairing and mounting our more important prints. We have made a start in the vast undertaking of revising our printed catalogue; and the repairing, the binding, and the boxing of manuscripts go on steadily. We estimate that one collection of manuscripts alone, the Minot Papers, will eventually fill five hundred archival boxes.

There has been a growing demand for microfilms and photostats of the Society's manuscripts and books with a consequent increase in the time required by the staff to perform its part of the service—the actual work of reproduction is kindly performed for us at Harvard University. Up to this time we have not made it a policy to retain the negatives when individuals and institutions have asked for permission to film our large collections. Repeated requests for reproductions of the same collections, however, may force us to take such action in order to prevent undue wear on the originals. If the great foundations wish to perform a real service to American scholarship, they might appropriate money to research institutions to enable them to reproduce on film their more important holdings. Prints could then be made available to scholars at a nominal charge, and the danger of mishaps to the originals would be greatly reduced.

It is pleasant to report that Lyman H. Butterfield and his Adams Papers staff are now strongly entrenched in their quarters on the third floor. We look forward to many years of happy and mutually advantageous living. As a result of our joint efforts we were able on October 1 to send out to twenty-five subscribing institutions Part II of the Adams Papers Microfilm, consisting of the letter books of John, John Quincy, and Charles Francis Adams. We were able also to arrange an exchange of microfilms with the National Archives on a foot-for-foot basis. In return for the films of the Adams Papers we shall receive films of the Papers of the Continental Congress and other series. There will be, of course, increased demands on the Library's facilities because of the requirements of the Adams staff. We have already found that we lack certain publications which are essential to its work. Our small book budget will not permit us to purchase these publications. I earnestly hope that our members will donate to the Library not only their own works but also such books on American history, biography, and bibliography as may come into their hands. This past summer, Mrs. Douglas Southall Freeman, widow of our late member, presented to the Society the copies of her husband's works which we did not own, a very handsome gift.

We have added approximately 1,300[38] items to our collection of

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[38] Complete figures for accessions during the year 1954–1955 are as follows:

Books	248
Pamphlets	183
Periodicals	594
Broadsides	102
Newspapers	72
Maps	87
Total	1,286

printed material, including many pieces printed in Massachusetts before 1820. Of these acquisitions I shall mention only three which seem to me to have particular merit. In the collection of Jacob Wendell manuscripts which came to us this past year, I found a packet of documents relating to the proceedings of the Massachusetts Commissioners who were sent to Albany in October, 1745, to take part in treaty negotiations with the Indians of the Six Nations. Used as a wrapper for these documents was a printed copy of the treaty, *An Account of the Treaty Held at the City of Albany, in the Province of New-York, By His Excellency the Governor of that Province, And the Honourable the Commissioners for the Provinces of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania, with the Indians of the Six Nations, In October, 1745* (Philadelphia: Printed by B. Franklin . . . , 1746). This is the eleventh copy of this treaty to be located and is the only one in Massachusetts according to Julian P. Boyd's census.

The Jean Paul Mascarene Papers, which were given to us this year, contained a printed broadside which is of considerable interest in the light of later happenings. The broadside, *Lettre de son Excellence Guillaume Shirley, Escuyer, Capitaine General & Gouverneur en chef de la Province de Massachusetts-Bay, a l'Honorable Monsieur Paul Mascarene, Escuyer, Commandant en chef pour le present de la Province de la Nouvelle-Ecosse* [Boston, 1746], attempts to reassure the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia that they will be well treated if they conduct themselves peaceably and as good subjects of the English king. The French apparently feared that they would be torn away from their homes and families. Some nine years later these fears were realized, for in 1755 the Acadians were removed and scattered among the American colonies. To the best of our knowledge this is the only known copy of the broadside.

Skipping a century, we come to the third piece, an unsigned ode written for the *Fourth of July Breakfast and Floral Exhibition, at the Town Hall, Concord, for the benefit of Sleepy Hollow Cemetery* [Concord ? 1857]. The ode was found slipped in a letter by James Jackson Higginson to his father, George Higginson, on July 5, 1857, in which he casually says: "We had a very pleasant day altogether. Mr. Emerson wrote an ode for the occasion which was sung during the afternoon. I send you a copy of it here." This is the only located issue of the ode in this printed form—and probably the earliest. There is a copy in the

Emerson Collection at Harvard which differs from ours only in that it is signed "By R. W. Emerson."

It is, of course, true that the Society can never hope to own in its original form all the material printed in Massachusetts during its early years. Bearing this in mind, the Council of the Society has approved our subscription to the Microprint Project which is being carried on under the supervision of the American Antiquarian Society. This project is undertaking to reproduce in microprint form the entire text of all non-serial material printed in the present United States through the year 1800. Having this material available here will be a great boon to us and to those who use our library. There are other projects of a similar nature now under way to which the Library would like to subscribe. If any member is interested in discussing this matter with me, I shall be very happy to talk to him about it.

After the great acquisitions of manuscripts reported last year, I was afraid that this year I should have to report a slight recession. But that term is very unpopular, and besides a survey shows that we have done reasonably well. We have added important papers to our holdings for almost every period of Massachusetts history. Among the larger acquisitions are papers of the Cabot family, Rufus Choate, Richard and William C. Cranch, the Erving family, the Dexter family, the Higginson family, Jean Paul Mascarene, Josiah Quincy (1802–1882), James Ford Rhodes, John Osborne Sargent, Artemas Ward, Daniel Webster, and Jacob Wendell. A few of the Wendell Papers were printed in our new publication, the *M. H. S. Miscellany*. We have also benefited greatly by the work being done on the Adams Papers, for we have been given many manuscripts relating to the family, particularly letters of Henry Adams and his wife, Marian Hooper Adams.

I should like to comment on a few of these collections which seem especially interesting to me. This summer we acquired from the Estate of Robert A. Leeson, mainly through the efforts of our fellow Member, Parkman D. Howe, two volumes of Ward Family Papers. One volume is of great importance, for it contains a number of letters addressed to Artemas Ward by George Washington or by his aides on matters relating to the military situation in Boston in 1775–1776. In the volume are letters by Horatio Gates, Robert H. Harrison, Samuel Osgood, Edmund Randolph, Artemas and Joseph Ward, George Washington, Samuel B. Webb, and Meshech Weare. Moncure D.

Conway examined the volume in 1889 and was much taken by a letter written by Robert H. Harrison to Artemas Ward on February 23, 1776, containing an order from Washington to allow the child of John Loring, apparently under medical care, to pass the lines into Boston. Conway noted that "despite the utilization of women and children for traitorous correspondence, Washington could not resist this baby. Longfellow, writing in the same house where Washington gave his order to send in this baby, would have written a poem on it had he known the pretty incident."

It would be a strange report, indeed, if the Librarian of this Society did not have occasion to give thanks to our Honorary Member, Mark Antony DeWolfe Howe. In April, Mr. Howe gave the Society a packet of letters written by Josiah Quincy (1802–1882) to his wife in 1849 while he was making a southern tour. The letters are extremely interesting and valuable, for Quincy was in Washington at the time of the inauguration of Zachary Taylor and was able to furnish an eyewitness account of what went on. In his letter of February 26, 1849, he mentions meeting Taylor: ". . . I saw standing in the entry a small farmer-like looking man. Mr. Wetmore stopped, shook hands and then introduced me to 'Zach Taylor' President of the U. S. He was very cordial and enquired most particularly after my father to whom he had been introduced at Cambridge and of whose past history and present retirement he appeared perfectly conversant. He appears well although he has suffered more physically in his journey here by the rush of his friends than he ever did from the swords of his enemies. In one place he was pushed against some barrels by the impetuosity of his admirers and nearly broke his arm and ribs, he is still suffering under the infliction and shakes hands like one who was afraid of being hurt." In his letter of March 5, 1849, Quincy wrote of attending the Inaugural Ball:

> In the evening I went to the great inauguration ball—and great it was. There were some three or four thousand persons present of all sorts and conditions from hackmen in their wet coats—to Madame Bodisco in crimson velvet, white satin worked in silver and a whole mine of diamonds. Until the President appeared she was the observed of all observers, standing on the elevated platform that surrounded the room and receiving the homage of both sexes. It was her court dress at St. Petersburgh worn for the first time in America—and she presented the beauty of nature surrounded by all the graces of art—and even threw a gleam over her husband whose coat was stiff with embroidery and

covered with orders. About ten old Zack arrived and was conducted by the Speaker to the platform beside Madame Bodisco. He was received with repeated cheers. He looked well and seemed to enjoy the scene, which as far as the company were concerned was brilliant in the extreme. But every white must have its black—the ball room was lighted by an immense number of spermaceti candles suspended round hoops—there was nothing to catch their droppings except the gentlemens coats and the ladies dresses. A dozen attendants armed with long poles, surmounted with extinguishers rushed round endeavouring to shorten the career of the various theives that the draft created, and at one time almost reduced us to utter darkness. But it was in vain the gentlemen looked like tallow-chandlers and it was amusing to see the airs of some ladies who were entirely unconscious that a small pyramid of tallow had been added to their headresses since their entrance to the room. And this was not the worst. There was no arrangement about anything it was impossible to get any supper without the risque of life and limb and equally impossible to get out of the house. About 12. Mr. Miller got into the supper room and returned with some rolls of bread which we distributed to the famished aristocracy with great fun. In many respects the scene was disgraceful, owing to a want of police and management many persons got in without tickets—and among these were theives and pickpockets and many valuable jewels were lost in the crowd. The intoxication was abominable, a lady threw herself on the protection of a gentleman of my party, as her own attendant was too drunk to take care of her. In the dressing rooms there was confusion worse confounded and happy was the man who returned with any part of the garments he took with him. There were many Bostonians present who sighed for Marshal Tukey and his police and truly the more I see of public and private life the more I sigh for the quiet of my comfortable home.

From Henry B. Huntington, of Providence, Rhode Island, we received further additions to our John Osborne Sargent collection. Sargent was an early proponent of steam navigation and was a close friend of John Ericsson, the inventor. There are many letters of Ericsson's in these new papers which reveal his varied interests. There is no doubt about his opinion of Ulysses S. Grant. In a letter to Sargent dated at New York, June 12, 1884, Ericsson said:

> I have always regarded Grant as a man lacking intelligence—his Wall Street operations prove him to be a fool. This man permitted his creature (in order to rob the treasury) to destroy what little we possessed of means to defend our great cities on the Atlantic coast, and could not be made to understand the mistake of raising the monitors out of the water, and refusing to put turrets capable of keeping out modern shot; which could have been done for half the money expended on the hulls. Any man of common intelligence would have comprehended that for *harbor defense low* freeboard was a great advantage.

The last group of letters I should like to mention was given to the Society by Mrs. Dorothy Myers Grantham, of Cleveland, Ohio. It consists of letters on contemporary politics written by James Ford Rhodes to George A. Myers from 1910 through 1923. Since we already had Myers' letters to Rhodes in the Rhodes Papers, this gift gives us the other end of the correspondence. Myers was a Negro barber, deeply interested in politics, who had Rhodes as a client. Rhodes later used him for other tasks, one of which was to bring him books from a Cleveland library. John A. Garraty, who is editing these letters for the *Ohio Historical Quarterly*, tells the following story about Myers' part in Rhodes's historical undertaking: " 'Me and my partner Jim are writing a history,' Myers told a friend who had inquired about an armload of books the barber was carrying. 'Jim is doing the light work and I am doing the heavy.' "

Those of us on the staff are not quite sure whether we are doing the light or the heavy work, but we sincerely trust we are doing useful work.

Mr. Butterfield, Adams Editor of the Society, then stated that he had placed certain manuscripts and books from the Adams Papers on exhibition in his office and invited Members to inspect them.

The Society then adjourned.

The Society held its Annual Dinner at the Club of Odd Volumes in the evening of Thursday, October 13, 1955, Denis William Brogan, Professor of Political Science at Cambridge University, being the Guest of Honor and Speaker. Mr. Brogan spoke on the General Elections in Great Britain in May, 1955.

In introducing Professor Brogan, Mr. Adams spoke as follows:

"Denis William Brogan, Knight of the Legion of Honor, and Commander of The Order of Orange-Nassau, and Fellow of Peterhouse, is well-known as the most important interpreter of the governments and civilizations of France and the United States to the people of Great Britain.

"He was graduated from Glasgow University and attended Balliol College, Oxford, and for several years was a student in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences at Harvard.

"His publications have earned him a position of real importance in the political and social history of France and our country."

The place cards for the Annual Dinner were designed and prepared by Mrs. Augusta Bruce Hitchcock, a member of the staff of the Society.

November Meeting, 1955

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, November 10, 1955, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated and Annual Meeting of October 13 was read and approved.

The Treasurer presented his Quarterly Report.

Mr. Adams, speaking as Chairman of the Committee of Membership, stated that he had received a letter from Albert Francis Bigelow presenting his resignation as a Resident Member because of illness, and that the Council had voted that that resignation be accepted. The Society so voted.

Mr. Adams reported that the Committee of Membership, meeting at one o'clock in the afternoon, had recommended to the Council the nomination of Bernard Augustine DeVoto, of Cambridge, for Resident Membership, and that the Council voted this nomination to be acted on at the stated meeting on December 8, 1955.[39]

Mr. Adams stated that he had appointed the following Committees to serve the Society during 1955–1956:

Finance: JOHN ADAMS, *Chairman ex officio*; CHARLES JACKSON, *ex officio*, RALPH LOWELL, PARKMAN DEXTER HOWE, AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING.

House: CHAUNCEY CUSHING NASH, *Chairman;* BERTRAM KIMBALL LITTLE, CARLETON RUBIRA RICHMOND.

Library: LEE MAX FRIEDMAN, *Chairman;* HENRY LATIMER SEAVER, VERNON DALE TATE.

Meetings: MARK ANTONY DEWOLFE HOWE, *Chairman;* ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR., WILLIAM ALEXANDER JACKSON.

Membership: JOHN ADAMS, *Chairman;* ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR., CHAUNCEY CUSHING NASH, WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL, STEWART MITCHELL.

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[39] Mr. DeVoto's sudden death on Nov. 12, 1955, precluded the Society's acting on his name.

Publication: ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER, *Chairman;* CLIFFORD KENYON SHIPTON, WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL, ROBERT EARLE MOODY, STEWART MITCHELL.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Dr. John R. Blake, of Newton, a photostat of a letter from Mercy Scollay to Benedict Arnold, dated at Boston, August 5, 1778, thanking him for his contribution to the support of Dr. Joseph Warren's children.

From the Right Reverend John T. Dallas, of Durham, New Hampshire, a printed document signifying the marriage intentions of Lemuel Stutson and Mrs. Susanna Erving of Boston, December 2, 1757.

From A. Atwater Kent, of Wilmington, Delaware, a bill of fare of the Tremont House, March 2, 1840.

From Edward Pierce Hamilton, a war diary kept by him while a Colonel in the United States Army Field Artillery, from August 20, 1943 into March, 1945.

From Caleb Loring, Jr., of Prides Crossing, an invoice of Roman and Tuscan coins sent by R. and A. Tilicchi, of Leghorn, to Joseph Augustus Peabody, of Salem, August 31, 1820.

From Dr. George C. Shattuck, of Brookline, and Henry Lee Shattuck, five letters written by Henry Cabot Lodge to Henry Lee, 1888–1893, a collection of papers on the financial affairs of the Boston Theatre, 1853–1862, a file of notes gathered by Henry Lee for his study, *The Militia of the United States* (Boston, 1864), and a number of miscellaneous pamphlets and manuscripts.

From Mrs. C. Boardman Tyler, of Plainfield, New Jersey, an important contemporary study of the causes of Shays' Rebellion written by Dr. William Whiting, of Great Barrington, in December, 1786, two letters written by Robert Treat Paine to Dr. Whiting from Philadelphia on November 6, 1775 and April 3, 1776, on the making of saltpeter, and other manuscripts.

The Honorable William Phillips then read a paper entitled, "Department of State Yesterday and Today."[40]

The Society then adjourned.

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[40] Printed in this volume, pp. 287–298.

December Meeting, 1955

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, December 8, 1955, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of November 10 was read and approved.

Mr. Adams announced the death in Washington, D. C., on November 23, 1955, at the age of ninety, of Robert Lincoln O'Brien,[41] who was elected a Resident Member of the Society on November 10, 1921, and a Corresponding Member on February 11, 1954.

In the absence of Mr. Charles Jackson, the Treasurer, Mr. Adams made a brief statement on the finances of the Society, reporting that the Council had voted to ask him to prepare a new Appeal to Members for gifts to the Endowment Fund, and that this Appeal would be printed promptly and placed in the mail before the end of the year.

Frederick Scouller Allis, Jr., of Andover, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, Mr. Riley speaking as Sponsor.

I. Bernard Cohen, of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, Mr. Shipton speaking as Sponsor.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Lyman Henry Butterfield, a Massachusetts imprint, *Proceedings of a Convention of Delegates . . . at Worcester, the 12th and 13th of August, 1812* (Worcester, 1812).

From Mrs. John Forbes Perkins, of Milton, a small collection of manuscripts of Rev. Francis Parkman (1788–1852) for the years 1805–1852, including a journal kept from August 27, 1810, through December 8, 1813, volumes containing sermon notes, and a catalogue of his library. Mrs. Perkins also presented the Society with a number of first editions of the works of Francis Parkman, the historian, a collection of photographs of him, and an account book kept by Abijah Willard at Staten Island and Perth Amboy from July, 1776, through June, 1777, recording the receipt of fresh provisions for the American army.

From Dr. George C. Shattuck, of Brookline, and Henry Lee Shattuck, an account book kept by John Higginson, 1755–1758, the manuscript of Henry Lee's address on Governor John Andrew, and a number of miscellaneous pamphlets.

From the Estate of Charles Warren, ninety volumes of the Society's publications.

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[41] For a memoir, see this volume, pp. 427–428.

From John Whiting Webber, of Camden, Maine, a letter from Anthony Burns, the former fugitive slave, to Rev. Amos Redlow, dated at Fairmount Seminary, Cincinnati, Ohio, October 31, 1857.

By purchase: a letter book kept by Philip Ammidon of Boston, August 9, 1803–July 3, 1885, about business affairs.

Arthur Stanwood Pier read a paper entitled, "Count Rumford and his Daughter."

After various questions and comments from the Members, the President told the Society that when his uncle, Henry Adams, was elected an Honorary Member of the Society, his father, Charles Francis Adams, then President of the Society, voted against him.

This story reminded Mr. Whitehill of the fact that when Julian Parks Boyd was up for election to the Colonial Society, the Phillips brothers of Essex County both voted against him because he was editing the papers of Thomas Jefferson.

Mr. Whitehill called the attention of the Members to the fact that the American Academy of Arts and Sciences was reprinting reproductions of certain issues of the *New England Courant*, these being identified as the writings of Benjamin Franklin or published by him during his brother's imprisonment. These reproductions were made from copies of the originals owned by the Society, the introduction having been prepared by Perry Miller in honor of the 250th anniversary of Franklin's birth. Mr. Whitehill added that the cost of each copy would be $10.

The Society then adjourned.

January Meeting, 1956

The Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, January 12, 1956, Vice-President Chafee in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of December 8 was read and approved.

Mr. Wolcott announced that he had received written acceptances of election to Resident Membership from Frederick Scouller Allis, Jr., of Andover, and I. Bernard Cohen, of Cambridge.

Mr. Jackson presented the Quarterly Report of the Treasurer, stating that since December 23, 1955, $1,879 had been added to the Endowment Fund by gifts from Members.

Samuel Eliot Morison, of Boston, who was elected a Resident Member of the Society in October, 1914, was elected an Honorary Member of the Society by acclamation, Mr. Mitchell speaking as Sponsor.

Sterling Dow, of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, Mr. Dewing speaking as Sponsor.

Henry Hornblower, 2nd, of Brookline, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, Dr. H. F. Howe speaking as Sponsor.

Perry Townsend Rathbone, of Cambridge, Director of the Museum of Fine Arts, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, Mr. D. B. Little speaking as Sponsor.

Clifton Waller Barrett, of New York, New York, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society, Mr. W. A. Jackson speaking as Sponsor.

Louis Booker Wright, of Washington, D. C., was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society after Mr. Whitehill had read a paper of sponsorship for Mr. Butterfield, who was unavoidably absent.

The Director stated that, for fear the Members might suppose that the absence of President Adams was due to illness, he wished to inform the Members that Mr. Adams had sailed from Boston on the *Vulcania* on January 5 for a voyage through the Mediterranean and would land in New York City on March 15, 1956. He stated that Mr. Chafee would preside at the stated meetings in February and March also.

The Director reported that he had persuaded Mr. Adams to allow him to state that Mr. Adams had turned over his legacy of $5,000 from Theodore Lyman of the Harvard Class of 1897 as a gift to the Society to be called the Theodore Lyman Fund.

The Director reported that the Madeira Fund of the Society was now exhausted, but that he had ordered a new case, hoping that Members would make up the cost of it.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From the Minnesota Historical Society, a small collection of letters written to John Dudley Philbrick during the years 1853–1867. Among his correspondents were John Quincy Adams, 2nd, Caroline Wells Healey Dall, Horace Mann, George Sumner, and Emma Willard.

From Samuel Eliot Morison, an extremely interesting letter written by

Joseph Hawley to Elbridge Gerry in 1776, containing "Hints for the consideration of Mr. Gerry and such others of the Honorable Congress as he shall judge proper to advise with thereon."

From Mrs. John Forbes Perkins, of Milton, a very important collection of books and manuscripts of Francis Parkman, the historian. The manuscripts are for the period 1834–1900, and include Parkman's letters to his parents written while on the Oregon Trail, his account books, notes on flowers, and letters from important historians and literary figures of his day. The collection contains a most interesting volume of drawings in color depicting Indian scenes. The drawings were made by Indians held as prisoners at Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Florida, in 1877.

From Charles Moorfield Storey, a series of documents relating to the work of the American Commission in the negotiation of a Prisoner of War Treaty with Germany at the end of World War I. In addition to the preliminary documents, there is a copy of the final document, dated November 11, 1918, which is unique in having attached to it the signatures of all the American Commissioners and all the American Assistant Commissioners.

Austin Wakeman Scott read a paper entitled "Harvard Grows Up."

After an interesting discussion of the murder of Mr. Parkman by Professor Webster, the Society adjourned.

February Meeting, 1956

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, February 9, 1956, Vice-President Chafee in the chair, President Adams being absent in Europe.

The record of the stated meeting of January 12 was read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that he had received the following acceptances of Election to the Society: for Honorary Membership, Samuel Eliot Morison, of Boston (Mr. Wolcott here read a portion of Mr. Morison's letter to him to the Society); for Resident Membership, Sterling Dow, of Cambridge, Henry Hornblower, 2nd, of Brookline, and Perry Townsend Rathbone, of Cambridge; for Corresponding Membership, Clifton Waller Barrett, of New York, New York, and Louis Booker Wright, of Washington, D. C.

The Treasurer reported that the sum of $3,809.27 had been added to the Endowment Fund since the latest Appeal sent out by Mr. Adams on December 23, 1955.

Gordon Thaxter Banks, of Shirley, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, Mr. Shipton speaking as Sponsor.

David Thompson Watson McCord, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, Mr. Whitehill speaking as Sponsor.

The Director reported that he had received a total of $45.00 for the Madeira Fund, but that a case of Madeira cost $48.00. He asked for further contributions.

The Director reported that he had received $600 to date for the cost of the air conditioners in the Dowse Library and the office.

The Director placed on the table Volume IX of *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, the latest to be published and the sixth which Dr. Shipton has written.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Charles Pelham Curtis, a diary kept by Thomas Greaves Cary while in South America, November 26, 1865–May 10, 1866.

From Frederic Haines Curtiss, a deed of a sale of land by Ann and William Cotton to Jonathan Shrimpton, Boston, February 9, 1668, and a letter written by Alexander Hamilton to Nathaniel Appleton, May 31, 1793.

From Edward Pierce Hamilton, a collection of his war letters from Italy, 1943–1945, and a copy of the limited facsimile edition of *The Frenchman's Map of Williamsburg, Virginia* (Williamsburg, 1945).

From Harvard University Library, a small collection of manuscripts relating in part to the Lamson family of Charlestown, Massachusetts, 1633–1855.

From the Minnesota Historical Society, a small collection of letters written to John Dudley Philbrick, 1840–1867.

From Dr. James Warren Sever, of Lexington, an imperfect copy of the rare book, Michael Wigglesworth, *The Day of Doom* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1711).

By purchase: two rare broadsides, [Robert Treat Paine, Jr.], *Adams and Liberty. The Boston Patriotic Song* (Printed and sold by J. White . . . , Boston [1798]) and *Mr. Wigglesworth's Dream. Together with Dr. Watt's Sapphick Ode, on the Day of Judgment* (Norwich: Printed by J. Trumbull, [n.d.]).

Frederick Merk, of Cambridge, then read a paper entitled, "Daniel Webster and the Search for Peace, 1842."[42]

After an interesting discussion of the paper, Mr. Merk answering questions from the floor, the Society adjourned.

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[42] To be included in a forthcoming volume of essays by Mr. Merk.

March Meeting, 1956

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, March 8, 1956, Vice-President Chafee in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of February 9 was read and approved.

Mr. Wolcott announced that he had received acceptances of election to Resident Membership from Gordon Thaxter Banks, of Shirley, and David Thompson Watson McCord, of Boston.

Mr. Chafee reported the death of Howard Corning[43] on February 13, 1956, at eighty-eight years of age. Mr. Corning was elected a Resident Member of the Society on April 11, 1935. Mr. Chafee stated that Mr. Corning's death left one vacancy in the Resident Membership.

Mr. Chafee reported the invitation of the Chicago Historical Society to the Society for the celebration of its one hundredth anniversary on April 24, 1956, and suggested that, since Mr. Adams and Mr. Mitchell could not possibly go, any Member of the Society who happened to be in Chicago might represent the Society at the celebration.

Mr. Jackson presented the Quarterly Report of the Treasurer and stated that, since December 23, 1955, $4,099.45 had been added to the Endowment Fund, not counting the special gift of Mr. Adams of $5,000.00 of the Theodore Lyman Fund.

The Director stated that the Council had decided to hold the Spring Reception of the Society on Friday, May 18, 1956, at which time there would be an exhibition of manuscripts, books, photographs, drawings, and memorabilia illustrating the theme of "The Adams Family Abroad, 1778–1902."

The Director reported that the Madeira Fund amounted to $85.24, but that two cases of Madeira would cost $96.00, and Mr. Chafee promptly gave him the balance.

The Director reported that Members had contributed $645 for the installation of air conditioners, but that the total cost of the installation would be $729.

Mr. Whitehill exhibited the restored unique Burgis 1726 print,

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[43] For a memoir, see Am. Antiq. Soc., *Procs.*, LXVI (1956), 8–9.

A Prospect of the Colledges in Cambridge in New England, which was presented to the Society by Colonel William Scollay in 1795.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From George F. Bemis, of Milton, a copy of George Bemis, *Report of the Case of John W. Webster . . . indicted for the Murder of George Parkman. . . .* (Boston, 1850). This is the author's personal copy and contains his manuscript revisions.

From Samuel Eliot Morison, three bound volumes of pamphlets formerly owned by Harrison Gray Otis, including the pamphlet, *Correspondence between John Quincy Adams . . . and several citizens of Massachusetts concerning the charge of a design to dissolve the Union. . . .* (Boston, 1829), one of the rare copies signed by all the surviving members of the Hartford Convention, and a letter book kept by John Bates while engaged in the Havana trade, 1831–1834.

From Andrew Oliver, of New York, New York, six letters written in the seventeenth century by Brampton Gurdon, Muriel Gurdon, Gurdon Saltonstall, and Richard Saltonstall to various members of the Winthrop family.

From Dr. George C. Shattuck, of Brookline, and Henry Lee Shattuck, a collection of papers of Henry Lee (1782–1867) and the Lee family, 1784–1893, and an abstract of the log of the schooner *Ariel* from Boston to Macao in 1841.

On deposit: from Henry Morse Channing, twelve original letters and one preliminary draft from William Ellery of Newport, Rhode Island, signer of the Declaration of Independence, to his grandson, Rev. William Ellery Channing, 1794–1813.

On deposit: from Mrs. Henry Morse Channing, of Sherborn, large additions to the Minot-Sedgwick papers already deposited by her in the Society, including the journals of Catharine Maria Sedgwick, 1811–1854, many of her letters to Mrs. Eliza Cabot Follen, Mrs. Frances Appleton Longfellow, and Mrs. William Minot, 2nd, a number of letters from Fisher Ames to George Richards Minot, 1779–1793, some correspondence of William Minot (1783–1873), and his diaries, 1802–1804, 1837–1872.

By purchase: a copy of the rare imprint, Nathaniel Clap, *Sinners Directed to Hear & Fear and do no more so Wickedly. Being an Impartial Account of the Inhumane and Barbarous Murder, Committed by Jeremiah Meacham, On his Wife and her Sister, at Newport on Rhode-Island, March 22d. 1715* (Boston: Printed by J. Allen, for N. Boone. . . . , 1715). Also an imperfect copy of Nathaniel Clap, *The Lord's Voice. . . .* (Boston: Printed by B. Green . . . , 1715), which completes an imperfect copy we had.

Henry Lee Shattuck then read a paper entitled "Martin Lomasney in the Constitutional Convention of 1917–1919,"[44] after which Mr. Walcott read a statement of his experience in that convention.

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[44] Printed in this volume, pp. 299–310.

After amusing and interesting remarks by Messrs. Curtis, Chase, Grinnell, and S. E. Morison on Mr. Lomasney and Brooks Adams, the Society adjourned.

April Meeting, 1956

The Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, April 12, 1956, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of March 8 was read and approved.

The Treasurer reported that, since December 23, 1955, the sum of $5,794.70 had been added to the Endowment Fund.

Mr. Adams stated that, since 1950, the following money had been added to the capital of the Society:

1. The Endowment Fund	$66,242.45
2. The Mark Bortman Fund	$ 1,000.00
3. The Theodore Lyman Fund	$ 5,000.00
4. The J. D. Phillips Fund	$ 4,888.65

making a grand total of $77,131.10.

Mr. Adams stated that he had appointed the following Nominating Committee to prepare a ballot for the Annual Meeting of the Society on October 11, 1956: ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR., *Chairman;* LYMAN HENRY BUTTERFIELD, EDWARD PIERCE HAMILTON, CHAUNCEY CUSHING NASH, JOHN BRYANT PAINE, JR.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Mrs. Harriet Ropes Cabot, of Boston, a copy of Charles Chauncy, *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New-England.* . . . (Boston, 1743) bearing the autograph of Thomas Hancock, and a volume by Edward J. Lowell, *The Hessians.* . . . (New York, 1884) containing annotations by the author.

From the Library of Congress, twenty-five volumes of guides to depositories of manuscript collections in the United States, issued by the Historical Records Survey.

From Mrs. Henry Lyman, of Boston, a sheaf of manuscripts, 1821–1897, containing letters written by Charles Francis Adams, Charles Francis Adams, 2d, John Quincy Adams, 2d, and Edward Everett to Theodore Lyman.

On deposit: from the Estate of Justine Bayard Erving, of Pelham Manor, New York, William Shirley's commission as governor of Massachusetts, 1741, and a letter from Shirley to the Chiefs of the Six Nations of Indians dated at Boston, July 21, 1746.

Arthur Meier Schlesinger read a paper entitled "Edward Eggleston: the Evolution of a Historian."[45]

After questions and comments by Messrs. T. B. Adams, Butterfield, Merk, Riley, and Whitehill, the Society adjourned.

May Meeting, 1956

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, May 10, 1956, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of April 12 was read and approved.

The Treasurer presented his Quarterly Report for the three months ending March 31, 1956, and on his motion, it was voted, "That the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury to be expended for such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society."

Richard Cushing Paine, of Brookline, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, President Adams speaking as Sponsor.

Thomas Boylston Adams read to the Society the deed of gift of the Adams Papers by the Trustees of the Adams Manuscript Trust, Thomas Boylston Adams and John Quincy Adams, on April 4, 1956, this deed of gift having been accepted on behalf of the Society by John Adams.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From an anonymous donor, a number of Boston playbills, 1849–1851.

From Mrs. George Pierce Baker, of New Haven, Connecticut, a letter written by Seth Ames to Thomas Hopkinson, London, May 3, 1848, giving his opinion of English life.

From Lyman Henry Butterfield, the two index volumes to the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* published by the Essex Institute in 1951 and 1954.

From William Churchill Edwards, City Historian of Quincy, a letter written by John Quincy Adams to Eliza Susan Quincy, November 1, 1831, accompanied by a poem on "The Valley at the foot of Penn's Hill," Quincy.

From Mrs. Robert Homans, of Boston, a collection of Adams family letters containing 110 letters written by Henry Adams to Mrs. Henry Adams, Theodore Dwight, Mrs. Robert Homans, and others, 1883–1911, typescripts of

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[45] To appear as the Introduction to the Beacon Press edition of Eggleston, *The Transit of Civilization from England to America in the Seventeenth Century.*

148 letters written by Henry Adams to Brooks Adams, 1895–1914, 352 letters written by Charles Francis Adams to his son, John Quincy Adams, 1861–1872, 257 letters written by John Quincy Adams to his father, Charles Francis Adams, 1859–1872, and a scrapbook of the newspaper cuttings of John Quincy Adams' political letters and speeches, 1866–1871.

From Edward H. R. Revere, of Canton, a gift of the Paul Revere Papers which have been in the Society on a loan basis since 1920–1921. The collection contains Revere's papers and account books from 1746 to 1854 and includes his letters received, his letter books, 1783–1823, ledgers, 1780–1803, cash, invoice, and bank accounts, 1783–1812, memoranda, account, and receipt books, 1780–1828, the daybook of Joseph Eayrs, 1770–1788, and copies of papers relating to William Bingham's purchase of Maine lands, 1789–1806. Of particular interest are the two account books, 1761–1797, containing a record of Revere's work as silversmith and engraver, and the deposition in his own hand giving the account of his famous ride.

To this gift Mr. Revere has also added thirty-seven volumes of business records of Paul Revere and the firm of Paul Revere & Son. The new lot contains ten volumes of cash books, 1804–1843, ten volumes of day books, 1804–1833, an invoice book, 1815–1818, six volumes of ledgers, 1804–1843, a memorandum book, 1818–1823, and eight volumes of receipt books, 1788–1829. This new material contains much information on Paul Revere's bell casting and is, of course, invaluable for the history of copper manufacture in this country.

From H. LeBaron Sampson, executor of the Estate of Gertrude A. Thurston, of Cambridge, the Civil War diary of James M. Thurston, of Cambridge, November 28, 1861–November 6, 1864. Thurston served in the 52nd Illinois Infantry and took part in General William T. Sherman's 1864 campaign.

From Dr. George C. Shattuck and Henry Lee Shattuck, further additions to the Lee Papers, 1712–1863. In the collection are a number of letters from Tobias Lear to Jonathan Jackson and a handsome copy of the Act of Congress providing for the first census, 1790, also a discharge from the American army to Joshua Atchinson signed by George Washington, June 12, 1783.

From Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, of New York, New York, a letter written by George Livermore to Henry Stevens, the bookseller, dated at Boston, September 13, 1853, informing him of his election to the Massachusetts Historical Society and enclosing the official notification signed by Alexander Young, September 8, 1853. The notification contains a copy of Stevens' acceptance, written in his own hand, dated at London, September 29, 1853.

Lyman H. Butterfield then read a paper entitled "The Papers of the Adams Family: Some Account of Their History."[46]

Mr. Bortman spoke briefly on the importance of the gift of the Revere Papers and described his experience in New York City at an auction of Paul Revere silver, in the course of which a valuable piece, which should have gone to Harvard College, was acquired by Mrs. Cleveland H. Dodge and placed in a safe deposit box, since which time it has not been seen by anyone.

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[46] Printed in this volume, pp. 328–356.

Dr. Viets then exhibited photographs of three paintings by Thomas Sully depicting several incidents in the life of Samuel Prescott of Concord, who participated in the famous ride of Paul Revere and William Dawes. These paintings, he stated, hung in Burlington, Vermont.

After questions and remarks from Members, the meeting adjourned.

Annual Meeting

OCTOBER, 1956

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, October 11, 1956, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of May 10 was read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that he had received acceptance of election as a Resident Member of the Society from Richard Cushing Paine, of Brookline.

The Treasurer made his Quarterly Report, stating in effect that, so far as could be predicted safely, the finances of the Society were in good order. He called the attention of all Members present to the report of the auditor for June 30, 1956, which showed for the first time in many years that the Society had incurred no deficit.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Samuel Flagg Bemis, the typescripts and printer's proofs of his two volume biography of John Quincy Adams.

From Henry Beston, of Nobleboro, Maine, a manuscript written by Captain Joseph E. Fiske, 2d Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Heavy Artillery, on September 6, 1866, describing his experiences and those of Captain Joseph W. Morton of the Fourth Massachusetts Volunteer Cavalry while prisoners of war at Charleston, South Carolina.

From Mrs. Clarence M. Boyce, of Medfield, her one-third share in the papers of David S. Greenough, 1693–1840, which were placed in the Society on deposit in 1924.

From the Connecticut Historical Society, a volume of sermon notes kept by Samuel Robinson (d. 1718) of Dorchester in 1677–1678.

From Edward Pierce Hamilton, the first installment of the papers of George Bemis (1816–1878) and members of the Bemis family, 1794–1899. Mr. Bemis was the associate counsel with the attorney general for the prosecution in the trial of Dr. John W. Webster for the murder of Dr. George Parkman. He later became interested in international law and assisted the United States government in connection with the *Alabama* claims.

From Mrs. Thomas Motley, of Milton, the manuscript of a biographical sketch of Dr. Jonathan Potts, Director General of Hospitals for the Northern Department in the War of the Revolution, by Rev. Edward Duffield Neill.

From Dr. George C. Shattuck, of Brookline, and Henry Lee Shattuck, a large collection of letters and business records of the Lee family, including papers relating to Jonathan Jackson and Patrick Tracy Jackson.

By purchase: a small collection of letters of Amos and Amos A. Lawrence, 1844–1869, a contemporary Revolutionary study, T. Ferguson, *A Complete History of the Present Civil War between Great Britain and the United Colonies of North America. . . .* (London: Printed for J. Hayes, 1779), and a rare Massachusetts broadside, *In the House of Representatives, February 16, 1776. . . .* [resolve asking people to save rags for the paper mills] (Watertown, 1776).

The Society then turned to the business of the Annual Meeting.

In the absence of Mr. Chafee, Chairman of the Nominating Committee, Mr. Adams presented the Annual Ballot for 1956–1957 as follows:

President
JOHN ADAMS

Vice-Presidents
ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR.
KEYES DEWITT METCALF

Recording Secretary
WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

Corresponding Secretary
ROGER WOLCOTT

Treasurer
CHARLES JACKSON

Cabinet-Keeper
EDWARD PIERCE HAMILTON

Members-at-Large of the Council
1956–1959
CHARLES PELHAM CURTIS
GEORGE CASPAR HOMANS

The Recording Secretary cast one vote for the slate as prepared by the Committee.

The Director read the

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

THIS Society is a rather complicated combination of a club, a research library containing priceless manuscripts and rare books which are available free of charge to qualified students from all over the world, a museum, a picture gallery, and a publishing house. The important business is to manage to keep all these in balance. If any one gets out of hand, the Society is certain to decline again. The past year has been noticeably successful, even in the opinion of your Director, whose nature is anything but sanguine, in spite of minor accidents and the costs of a publishing schedule which excels that of any other historical society of which he is aware. The staff is faithful, even if too small, and a new janitor has been acquired, after a series of disappointments. The collaboration of the Librarian, Stephen T. Riley, has been invaluable in lifting burdens from your Director's aging shoulders. One aspect of our relations with the public is still discouraging: time after time your Director hears expressions of surprise from persons learning from him that the building of the Society is open for use to people who are not Members. The Spring Reception was initiated in 1952 for the express purpose of trying to correct this lamentable state of mind.

Since the Annual Meeting of October 13, 1955, the Society has increased its Endowment Fund by $7,726.95. The Endowment Fund proper now stands at $67,646.70. The capital of the Mark Bortman Fund now amounts to $1,250; that of the Theodore Lyman Fund, the gift of John Adams, now amounts to $5,005.00. The James Duncan Phillips Fund now amounts to $4,912.11. In all, the Society received $12,881.95 of new money during the year. Just about a year ago, in October, 1955, the capital of the Stewart Mitchell Fund reached $100,000, whereupon the income from that fund became available for the general purposes of the Society. As a consequence, the Auditor's Report for June 30, 1956, does not show even a *paper* deficit. But we must still be very careful in spending our income, for no one seems to know how long the present rosy dividends will continue to bloom. Finally, on the morning of July 18, 1956, Mr. Adams, Mr.

Charles Jackson, and your Director met with the auditor of the Society's accounts and two representatives of the Second Bank-State Street Trust Company, the custodian of all securities and stocks, at State and Congress Streets and straightened out all complications as to the use and allocation of certain funds. This afternoon, the Council voted to put their recommendations into effect.

Within the past year, the Society has published the thirty-first volume of the *House Journals* (1754–1755), and a check for $2,250 for the state's share of the expenses came in on September 14, 1956. On February 6, 1956, the Society received the ninth volume of *Sibley's Harvard Graduates,* the sixth to be prepared by Dr. Clifford Kenyon Shipton, Sibley Editor of the Society. We are now reading galley proof on the tenth volume of Sibley. On July 30, 1956, the Society received the sixty-ninth volume of its *Proceedings,* covering the years 1947–1950. Owing to a number of circumstances, this volume took a lot of time, toil, and trouble, not to speak of expense. This volume was sent out to all Members late in September. Your Director is now working on the seventieth volume of *Proceedings,* and he and his editorial assistant are toiling at the long-delayed sixth volume of Winthrop Papers. The preparation of this volume involves a lot of difficult drudgery in checking the typescript against the original and, worst of all, in reading proof, where almost every third word has to be spelled out.

At a meeting at the Faculty Club in Cambridge on the afternoon of April 26, your Committee of Publication studied all matters of current and future publishing. After due consideration, it decided to recommend to the Council and to the Society the publication of a volume of 600 letters of Francis Parkman collected and edited at his own expense by Professor Wilbur R. Jacobs of the University of California at Santa Barbara and to be published, it is hoped, by the Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press. The manuscript for this volume will not be ready until October 31.

The Committee discussed the question of reprinting the two volumes of the *Diary of Cotton Mather* which the Society brought out in 1912 and which are now out of print. Mr. Whitehill informed the Committee that the Frederick Ungar Publishing Company had indicated its willingness to do the work if reprint rights could be obtained. Mr. Mitchell called the attention of the Committee to the fact that the *Diary* had not been copyrighted. At the request of the Committee, he promised to procure an estimate from the Meriden Gravure Company as to the cost of doing this work by offset for an edition of 500 sets. The estimate was promptly submitted. The work would tie up about $6,000 of the Society's publication funds until the books were sold.

The Committee of Publication desires me to report that it recommends to the Council and Society that the proposal of Professor Milton Halsey Thomas of Columbia University to re-edit the three volumes of the *Diary of Samuel Sewall* be accepted. The *Diary* was, I am sorry to report, published incompletely and incorrectly by the Society in its *Collections* in 1878, 1879, and 1882. The plan is to republish the *Diary* with fewer and shorter footnotes, in one volume, to be brought out by Farrar, Straus, and Cudahy, of New York City, with due acknowledgment of the co-operation of the Society. Neither the Cotton Mather *Diary* nor the Samuel Sewall *Diary* will cost the Society so much as one cent.

Lyman Butterfield, Adams Editor of the Society, has explained in two printed reports, as well as at the stated meeting of last May, the scope and progress of his work. You will all remember that the great collection of Adams Papers was turned over as a gift to the Society by the Trustees of the Adams Manuscript Trust, Thomas Boylston Adams and John Quincy Adams, on April 4, 1956. The Adams Manuscript Trust was set up in 1905. The cost of editing these papers is being met by *Life* magazine to the tune of $250,000, and the cost of publishing the papers will be met by the Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press. This represents one of the greatest strokes of good fortune which the Society has been lucky enough to encounter during its long and honorable existence.

For the Cabinet-Keeper, the Director wishes to call attention to the beautiful and necessary restoration and preservation of the Society's unique Burgis 1726 print, *A Prospect of the Colledges in Cambridge in New England*, as well as to the preservation of the very rare prints of five Indian chiefs, all these the gift of Col. William Scollay in 1795. This work should have been done long ago, and now, at last, it is done. For Mr. Whitehill also, the Director wishes to call attention to the beautiful crayon portrait of Abigail Smith Adams made about 1764 by Benjamin Blyth. In the custody of Harvard College for many years, this charming portrait was presented to the Society by our President and now hangs in the Office. Blyth's matching portrait of John Adams comes to us next year from the same donor.

About 1930, your Director, then completing his first year as Editor of this Society, decided that the Stars and Stripes should fly from the vacant flagpole over the front door of the building on the day of every stated meeting. He asked the Librarian to get out the flag, whereupon Mr. Tuttle produced one from an obscure drawer in the building. When the Director unfolded it, he had to protest, "Mr. Tuttle, this will never do. The flag you have here contains only forty-two stars." So your Director stalked downtown and bought out of his salary a flag which had stars for the missing states of Idaho, Wyoming, Utah, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Arizona! This year that flag began to look so faded and ragged that one of our Resident Members, who insists that he remain anonymous, bought the Society a new one.

Another aspect of this Society is its Museum and its gallery of portraits and pictures. The best of these have been appraised at a total of $400,000, and all are kept clean and in a good state of preservation. Our small but interesting Museum is in perfect order and your Director hopes it will not be disturbed, for it is pleasing to observe that, more and more frequently, strangers come into the building to pore over the glass cases in Ellis Hall underneath this room. We are constantly lending portraits, pictures, and objects from the Museum for exhibition elsewhere. This is something of a nuisance because of packing, transit, and insurance, but it will slowly but surely increase the reputation for good will which this Society direly neglected for many years. In this connection, your Director wishes to call the attention of the Members to the valuable service without charge of Mrs. Carleton Richmond in cleaning and repairing our great collection of prints. Here is a labor of love.

Your attention should be called also to certain much-needed repairs to the building. In the first place, certain Resident Members bought two air conditioners for the Dowse Library and the Office. Then the Society built a sanctum for Mr. Butterfield on the third floor of the building, where he could do his work in greater privacy. Moreover, the trim of the building, badly worn by the weather, is being painted under the charge of the Chairman of our House Committee, Chauncey Cushing Nash. This work will cost $1,883.

The attendance at the eight stated meetings of the Society reached an average of thirty-three during the past year. Throughout the year we have lost only one Resident Member and two Corresponding Members by death. Howard Corning, who was elected a Resident Member of the Society on April 11, 1935, died at Portland, Maine, on February 13, 1956. Robert Lincoln O'Brien, who was elected a Resident Member of the Society on November 10, 1921, and a Corresponding Member on February 11, 1954, died at Washington, D. C., on November 23, 1955. Foster Stearns,[47] who was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society on April 8, 1954, died at Exeter, New Hampshire, on June 4, 1956. Albert Francis Bigelow, a Resident Member of the Society since April 14, 1938, resigned on November 10, 1955, because of illness. Samuel Eliot Morison, a Resident Member of the Society since November 12, 1914, was transferred to Honorary Membership on January 12, 1956. Vernon Dale Tate, a Resident Member of the Society since May 13, 1948, will be transferred to Corresponding Membership because of his removal to Annapolis, Maryland.

At the present time, Resident Membership consists of 124, Corresponding of 50, and there are 3 Associate Members and 10 Honorary Members. During the past year, we have elected eight new Resident Members and two new Corresponding Members: Frederick Scouller Allis, Jr., of Andover, and I. Bernard Cohen, of Cambridge, were elected Resident Members on December 8, 1955. Sterling Dow, of Cambridge, Henry Hornblower, 2nd, of Brookline, and Perry Townsend Rathbone, of Cambridge, were elected Resident Members on January 12, 1956. Clifton Waller Barrett, of New York, New York, and Louis Booker Wright, of Washington, D. C., were elected Corresponding Members on January 12, 1956. Gordon Thaxter Banks, of Shirley, and David Thompson Watson McCord, of Boston, were elected Resident Members on February 9, 1956. Richard Cushing Paine, of Brookline, was elected a Resident Member on May 10, 1956.

The Spring Reception on May 18, 1956, drew 222 people into the building and the Annual Dinner of 1955 was attended by 46.

To conclude: You will notice by looking at the Ballot that Frank Washburn Grinnell is retiring as Recording Secretary after a service of twenty-three years. During that period, Mr. Grinnell has given freely of his time and legal talent to the Society in securing certain legacies and in dealing with the Legislature of the Commonwealth, and deserves our thanks. It is distressing to your Director to have to face the impending retirement of our President from his office which he has filled, since 1950, with fidelity and distinction. Mr. Adams has expressed his determination not to serve beyond October 10, 1957. The Nominating Committee will face a difficult task in finding his successor.

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[47] For a memoir, see Am. Antiq. Soc., *Procs.*, LXVI, 64–65.

Mr. Riley then read the

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

IN looking over my past annual reports I notice that I have invariably reported successful years. I suppose few librarians ever experience a really bad year, for useful work is always being done and necessary services performed. But these past twelve months have been out of the ordinary for us. At no time in our history have we made such important additions to our manuscript holdings, and seldom have we acquired such key printed pieces for our shelves.

The many scholars who visited us appeared happy to work here. Those who came this past summer looked particularly happy, as did the staff, for through the kindness of certain of our members we were able to install two air conditioner units in the Reading Room and the Dowse Library. While we knew it got hot in the Reading Room during the summer months we had no idea that it had earned a reputation equal to that of the Black Hole of Calcutta until one lady researcher from a nearby college exclaimed, "Wait until the news gets around that the M. H. S. hot spot has been air-conditioned."

The efforts of various scholarly agencies in co-operation with research institutions to locate, list, and reproduce the basic materials for American history go on steadily. It is now a far cry from Francis Parkman's day, when he had to hire agents to find and transcribe for him the original sources used in his historical works. Although our staff is small, we have gladly participated in these undertakings and wish to continue doing so. During the past year Warren Gage Wheeler, our Assistant Librarian, has listed our important manuscript collections for a master guide to manuscripts being prepared by the National Historical Publications Commission. He has also checked our holdings of American literary manuscripts for the Modern Language Association and our Baptist imprints for the current volume of the bibliography being issued by the American Baptist Historical Society. We are microfilming our Alexander Hamilton and Benjamin Franklin letters for the editorial ventures under way at Columbia and Yale Universities respectively, and we are prepared to assist in a number of similar projects that are being organized. It is a rare occasion when we cannot produce at least one letter of any prominent person from our files. Recently we were visited by an English priest who is preparing an edition of the writings of Cardinal Newman. We not only found a Cardinal Newman letter for him but also thirty letters written by Francis W. Newman, the Cardinal's brother and biographer, to John Osborne Sargent.

It is good to report that the end of the Adams Papers Microfilm Project is in sight. Several weeks ago we issued Part III of the microfilm edition to the subscribing libraries; and we expect the first installment of the concluding section, Part IV, to go out by January 1, 1958. This could not possibly have been done in such a relatively short time were it not for the wholehearted co-operation and assistance of Lyman H. Butterfield and his Adams Staff. The Library has gained in many ways from this undertaking. By an agreement with the National Archives we are to receive in exchange for the Adams microfilm the complete microfilm of the Papers of the Continental Congress. These Papers amount to about 400 volumes of manuscripts and cover the period 1774–1789.

Book collectors are now invited to inch their chairs forward.[48] It is only on rare occasions that a librarian can announce the acquisition of an unknown imprint from this country's first printing press, the Cambridge press. Some time ago while arranging the Adams Papers, I happened on a folder of fast day proclamations relating chiefly to King Philip's War. There were eight proclamations in all dating from

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[48] Complete figures for accessions during the year 1955–1956 are as follows:

Books	253
Pamphlets	185
Periodicals	695
Broadsides	107
Newspapers	163
Maps	3
Total	1,406

1674 through 1678. A careful examination has revealed that five of the proclamations were printed at the Cambridge press. Of these, four are unknown and the fifth is known only in one copy. The remaining three proclamations were printed at the Boston press: one is unrecorded, and each of the other two is known only in one other copy. Lawrence C. Wroth, our Corresponding Member, has agreed to describe this important find in a number of the *M.H.S. Miscellany.*

From the same source we obtained for the library two very handsome copies of rare Revolutionary War courts-martial. All of you will remember that eccentric soldier of fortune, General Charles Lee, who seemed able to talk his way into any position he desired. He was known for his marked reluctance to engage the British regulars in pitched battle, believing that Americans were best suited for guerrilla warfare. At the Battle of Monmouth General Lee was offered the honor of leading the attack. After much shilly-shallying he accepted. General Wayne, who spearheaded the American forces in the battle, upon looking around was horrified to discover General Lee's main body in retreat. To halt the rout Washington came up with the rest of the army, stopping on the way to address a few well-chosen words to Lee. What he actually said will probably never be known. Lee later demanded an apology, which Washington refused. He then asked for a court of inquiry, which was granted. The court-martial sat at Brunswick from July 4 to August 12, 1778, and its proceedings, a copy of which we now have, were printed at Philadelphia in 1778. Lee was found guilty of misbehavior before the enemy and other charges and was sentenced to be suspended from the army for twelve months.

The other court-martial was of a much more impressive figure, Benedict Arnold, and was probably one of the determining factors in Arnold's decision to throw in his lot with the British. It grew out of charges made to Congress by Pennsylvania officials that Arnold was using his military office for private gain, and that he was detailing soldiers of the Pennsylvania militia to do personal work for him. Certain of the charges were referred to Washington. At the request of Arnold a court-martial was ordered. It finally met in December, 1779. He was cleared of all but a few charges, and for these infractions the court-martial recommended a reprimand by Washington. Although the latter executed this recommendation with great tact, Arnold's feelings were hurt by the whole incident. Our copy of the court-martial's proceedings was printed in Philadelphia in 1780 and contains the autograph of James Lovell, a member of the Continental Congress.

We added by purchase a rare history of the American Revolution, T. Ferguson, *A Complete History of the Present Civil War between Great Britain and the United Colonies of North America. . . .* (London: Printed for J. Hayes, 1779). At the end of this volume there is a folded sheet listing those members of the British forces killed or wounded at Lexington and Concord, at Bunker Hill, and in the Long Island campaign.

As you know, during recent years the Society has been given by the Paine family a remarkable collection of manuscripts and printed works of Robert Treat Paine and members of his family. In the additions to the collection made in 1954 there was much material on Robert Treat Paine, Jr., but no copy of the ode that made him famous in American history. This year we were able to buy the broadside. It is entitled *Adams and Liberty. The Boston Patriotic Song.* (Printed and Sold by J. White . . . , Boston, [1798]). This ode, written when war with France seemed imminent, became extremely popular and made young Paine's name more widely known than that of his illustrious father. At the same time it obscured Paine's real contribution to the history of the American theater, which he made through his writings as dramatic critic of the Boston stage.

The last printed item I should like to mention is a file of the rare Civil War newspaper, *The Index.* This was a southern propaganda sheet printed in London from May 1, 1862, through August 12, 1865. Its appeal was not directed to the public so much as to persons who formed public opinion. Under the editorship of Henry Hotze, a Swiss in the employ of the Confederacy, it enjoyed considerable success. We now have the complete file that belonged to Charles Francis Adams.

Our manuscript acquisitions have been great. On April 4, 1956, the Trustees of the Adams Manuscript Trust signed a transfer of ownership of the Adams Papers to the Massachusetts Historical Society. By this action the Society acquired the greatest collection of manuscripts for American history ever assembled by one family. It is not necessary to describe the collection here, for Mr. Butterfield did that for you in a most able manner at the May meeting.

For many years a large collection of Paul Revere Papers had been in the Society on a deposit arrangement. Apparently satisfied with the Society's stewardship of the family papers, Mr. Edward H. R. Revere, of Canton, in a letter of gift remarkable for its brevity, gave these papers to the Society in May, together with a great many other Revere papers still in his possession. Thus the writings and business records of that many-sided patriot are permanently to reside here, close to the papers of his friends, John Adams, Henry Knox, Robert Treat Paine, the Warrens, and others. Since the collection contains a deposition made by Paul Revere about the year 1783 giving an account of his famous ride, and since we already own the other account he wrote to Jeremy Belknap, we can say at last that we have cornered the market.

One morning last November there arrived in the mail a manuscript volume from the Plainfield, New Jersey, Public Library. The enlightened librarian of that institution felt that since the material related to Massachusetts it should be in our Society. The manuscript proved to be a contemporary account of Shays' Rebellion written by Dr. William Whiting of Great Barrington. Dr. Whiting was not an impartial historian. As a matter of fact, his efforts in behalf of the insurgents resulted in his being sentenced to prison for seditious libel. A search in our files has revealed a respectable body of manuscripts relating to Dr. Whiting and his trial, some of which the American Antiquarian Society is planning to print.

The nieces of Francis Parkman made large additions to our Parkman Collection during the year. Among other letters by Parkman there is an extraordinary series written by him to his parents while on the Oregon Trail. An extract from one dated at Fort Laramie, June 19, 1846, will give you some idea of their general flavor:

> We have been for three days at this place, and find plenty to entertain us. The Oregon emigrants are arriving in large parties every day, and remain for several days to refit, buy supplies, etc; and the Indians are coming in from all quarters to meet them, and get presents, so that the whole fort is surrounded by waggons, tents and Indian lodges. As for us, we are well lodged in the fort itself, and though the fare is none of the most luxurious, the *bourgeois*, Mr. Bordeau, takes the greatest pains to make us comfortable. The traders and trappers are daily coming in from the mountains, so that the area of the fort is crowded with them and their men—all in half-Indian dress—besides a swarm of Indians, squaws, and children. Every moment a group of rough looking fellows from the emigrant camps, escorting a bevy of scraggy-necked women, appears at the gate. They go peering about in every direction, without scruple or reserve—no place is sacred from them—twenty times a day a crowd of women, with prying curious eyes, come pressing into our apartment, which generally contains, besides, half a dozen or more of Indians sitting smoking on the floor.

Another item from the new Parkman material which has aroused considerable interest is a book of drawings of Indian life on the Great Plains. Those drawings are in color and were made by several members of the group of Indian prisoners sent to Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Florida, in 1875. These Indian prisoners were placed under the control of Richard Henry Pratt, a young army officer. His experiment in educating them proved so successful that in time it resulted in his founding the famous Carlisle Indian School. The drawings have been photographed in color and plans are under way to reproduce them.

For about a year Dr. George C. Shattuck and Henry Lee Shattuck have been sending to the Society papers of the Lee family. During the summer more Lee papers were given to us which have proved to be not only valuable but amusing. Along with significant documents on trade and politics one finds a sprightly letter from Rev. Jonathan Mayhew telling of his misadventures with Judge Joseph Lee's horse or a letter of Andrew Newell of Sherborn giving his impressions of the bombardment of Boston in March, 1776: "The Roaring of Cannon at our house is become so familiar that what at First Gave us the Greatest Pain is become by its Frequency a Matter of Indifference—the Flashes of the Cannon are as Visible at our door as Lightning in the Horizon." One of the finest letters in the collection is the one written by Jonathan Sewall, the Loyalist, to Judge Lee on September 21, 1787, telling of his last meeting with John Adams in London. The firm friendship that had existed between the two men before the Revolution had not altered, and Sewall declared: ". . . if he could but play backgammon, I declare I would chuse him, in preference to all the men in the world, for my fedus Archartes, in my projected assylum."

The last document I should like to mention is a letter from Henry Lee to his wife written from Washington, November 2, 1861. Lee had gone to Washington to counteract the influence of Benjamin F. Butler, who was trying to undermine Governor Andrew's authority over recruiting in Massachusetts. In this letter we have a view of Abraham Lincoln as seen through the eyes of an educated and talented contemporary:

> Today there is a driving storm and I have been again with Wilson after the Secretary of War and Adjutant-General; both gone to New York &c, for ten

days, then Secretary of State, shut up to all but the Foreign Ministers, then to the President's where I waited in his room for one hour and a half while he slowly disposed of one caller after another.

He is enormously tall and bent and slab sided and ungainly, his eyes are dead, his cheeks hollow, his skin grimmy and sallow, his beard thin, that and his hair dyed apparently, his talk is shrewd and vulgar (not profane but uneducated,) and as I sat there I grew more and more cross to think that this Western mummy of a rail splitter should sit in Washington's chair. He seems like a perfectly honest and quite intelligent man.

I upset my apple cart by blurting out my business so abruptly and I fear I did the Governor no good.

In a report of this length it is possible to touch only on certain high lights. We have received many other books and manuscripts of great importance which have been listed in detail in the monthly reports. The members and friends of the Society have been exceedingly kind and generous, and those of us working here are grateful for their help. Without it this report would be thin indeed. We are especially gratified that many persons who had papers and books here on deposit thought sufficiently well of our efforts to safeguard them to want to surrender them to us permanently. We trust that others with material here on loan will be influenced to do the same.

After remarks by various Members, the Society adjourned.

The Annual Dinner of the Society was held at the Club of Odd Volumes, 77 Mount Vernon Street, at half-past six in the evening of Thursday, October 11, 1956, Judge Charles Edward Wyzanski, Jr., being the Guest of Honor and Speaker.

November Meeting, 1956

The Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, November 8, 1956, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated and Annual Meeting of October 11 was read and approved.

The President reported a vacancy in Resident Membership due to the transfer of Vernon Dale Tate, formerly Director of Libraries, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, to Corresponding Membership, he having removed to Annapolis, Maryland, to become Librarian of the U. S. Naval Academy.

The President announced the appointment of the following Standing Committees for 1956–1957:

Finance: CHARLES JACKSON, *Chairman;* PARKMAN DEXTER HOWE, AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, and RALPH LOWELL.

House: CHAUNCEY CUSHING NASH, *Chairman;* BERTRAM KIMBALL LITTLE, and CARLETON RUBIRA RICHMOND.

Library: LEE MAX FRIEDMAN, *Chairman;* KEYES DEWITT METCALF, and HENRY LATIMER SEAVER.

Meetings: ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR., *Chairman;* WILLIAM ALEXANDER JACKSON, and STEWART MITCHELL.

Membership: JOHN ADAMS, *Chairman;* ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR., STEWART MITCHELL, CHAUNCEY CUSHING NASH, and WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL.

Publication: ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER, *Chairman;* LYMAN HENRY BUTTERFIELD, STEWART MITCHELL, ROBERT EARLE MOODY, CLIFFORD KENYON SHIPTON, and WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Mrs. Ralph Lowell, of Westwood, a number of letters written to Elisha Thacher Loring, 1882–1895. These are given in memory of Lindsley Loring (1871–1956).

From Frederick A. Stevens, of Melrose, a collection of the Civil War papers of Major Atherton H. Stevens, Jr., of the First Regiment of Massachusetts Cavalry.

By purchase: Henry Cabot Lodge's typewritten manuscript of an article on Thomas Brackett Reed (1839–1902), and a copy of *The New-England Primer. . . .* (Massachusetts, Printed for the Purchaser, 1808).

The Recording Secretary, making his first appearance in that office, then doubled in brass as the speaker by reading a paper on "The Centenary of the Dowse Library,"[49] which was given to the Society in the summer of 1856 by Thomas Dowse of Cambridgeport, the "Literary Leather-dresser," whose portrait hangs above the mantlepiece and whose books adorn the walls of the Society's meeting room. Dowse died on November 4, 1856.

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[49] Printed in this volume, pp. 167–178.

After a discussion of the Dowse books, in which Messrs. W. A. Jackson and Walsh participated, Dr. Viets mentioned a copy of Edward Jenner's 1798 work on cowpox vaccination in the Boston Medical Library inscribed to Rev. John Clinch, who did vaccination in Newfoundland in 1798, two years before Benjamin Waterhouse first introduced it in Boston. Dr. H. F. Howe told of having vaccinated with cowpox in Cohasset a young Zabdiel Boylston Adams, a descendant of Zabdiel Boylston, who had in 1721 first used direct innoculation in Boston.

The meeting adjourned at 4:15 P.M.

December Meeting, 1956

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, December 13, 1956, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of November 8 was read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter of resignation of Corresponding Membership from William Davis Miller of Wakefield, Rhode Island, dated November 12, 1956. The President reported the death of Judge Robert Walcott,[50] a Resident Member since 1951, which took place in Cambridge on November 11, 1956.

The Society then unanimously elected Mr. Charles Sumner Bird, of Walpole, a Resident Member, Messrs. Mitchell and Channing having acted as Sponsors.

In the absence of Mr. Riley, who was visiting our Corresponding Member Mr. Henry F. Du Pont in Winterthur, Delaware, Mr. Mitchell reported the following accessions:

From Mark Bortman, a letter from Charles Francis Adams to Major Eben Swift dated at Boston, December 15, 1910, concerning the strategy of the Saratoga-Brandywine campaign of 1777.

From Mrs. Sewall Cabot, of Nonquitt, the letter book of Joseph Sewall, November 15, 1796–December 11, 1819.

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[50] For a memoir, see Mass. Audubon Soc., *Bull.*, XLI (1957), 31.

From Dartmouth College Library, eighty-one issues of nineteenth-century Boston newspapers.

From Dr. Craig Muckle, of Lansdowne, Pennsylvania, the account book, 1779–1810, of George Davenport (1752–1832), a carpenter.

From Mrs. Frederick Tudor, of Boston, a small collection of Tudor family papers, 1765–1862.

From Howard Sterling Whitley, of Boston, a diary in fifty volumes kept by him from July 5, 1904, through September 30, 1917, and from June 4, 1933, to date.

On deposit: from Roger Wolcott, William Hickling Prescott's diploma of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Berlin, February, 1845.

Mr. Arthur S. Pier then spoke on "Shakespeare and the Scholars," presenting to the Society evidence for his conviction that the plays of William Shakespeare had been written by the Earl of Oxford. Mr. Robert H. Montgomery, who was a guest of the Society, assisted Mr. Pier by projecting lantern slides. Mr. Pier had admitted that the views he presented would not be offered by a member of the English Department of Harvard University and intimated that some censorship also existed in favor of Shakespeare's authorship of the plays generally attributed to him. Mr. T. B. Adams picked up this question of censorship, and Mr. Chase inquired what member of the Harvard Corporation had succeeded in suppressing the late George Lyman Kittredge.

Mr. Dewing suggested that we were able to enjoy the plays of Aeschylus and the sculpture of Praxiteles without any particular knowledge of the personal history of their creators, while Mr. Homans indicated that Mr. Pier's work was just beginning, for he would clearly have to find out who wrote the works generally attributed to Geoffrey Chaucer, John Milton, Robert Burns, John Keats, Emily Dickinson, and even George Bernard Shaw, whose father was a drunkard. In Mr. Homans' view one would obviously have to find half a dozen noblemen to write works of this quality.

The discussion concluded with the reading by Mr. Chafee of a letter from a mythical uncle who had found a volume in a country library containing various plays and poems, but lacking a title page or any evidence of authorship. This uncle had devoted himself to careful investigation of possible authors and after rejecting a considerable number of possibilities had finally concluded that a man called Shakespeare was probably responsible.

The meeting adjourned at 4:17 P.M.

January Meeting, 1957

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, January 10, 1957, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of December 13 was read and approved.

The Treasurer reported $4,998.68 received as gifts to the Endowment Fund since December 10, 1956.

Mr. Francis Henry Taylor of Worcester was unanimously elected a Resident Member of the Society, Mr. Whitehill speaking as Sponsor, and Mr. Lester Jesse Cappon of Williamsburg, Virginia, was elected a Corresponding Member, Mr. Butterfield speaking as Sponsor.

The President reported the death on January 5, 1957, of Henry Dwight Sedgwick,[51] a Resident Member since November 8, 1932.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Harvard University Library, a passport and various diplomas of Col. Samuel Swett (1782–1866).

From Dr. Margaret Long, of Denver, Colorado, large additions to the collection of John Davis Long Papers, including forty-eight volumes of letter books containing copies of Long's private and official letters while Secretary of the Navy, March 5, 1897–April 30, 1902; fourteen volumes of private letters to Long, 1879–1883; and Long's letters to his second wife, Agnes Peirce Long.

From Bert Michels, of Olney, Illinois, a letter from Richard Olney to Hon. Howes Norris concerning railroad legislation, dated at Boston, February 27, 1886.

Mr. Sterling Dow then read a paper on "The Law Codes of Athens"[52] based upon an inscription of the end of the fifth century which had been found in 1935. Mr. Dow showed photographs and rubbings of the inscription, which was a portion of the sacrificial calendar of Nichomachos. Mr. Dow's paper was an admirable example of the manner in which a classical historian is able to reconstruct important elements from the past by squeezing every possible drop of meaning from a document, a technique that is in contrast to that of modern historians, who face the problem of fighting their way through an excessive number of documents.

The meeting adjourned at 4:10 P.M.

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[51] For an obituary, see the *New York Times*, Jan. 7, 1957, p. 25.

[52] Printed in this volume, pp. 3–36.

February Meeting, 1957

The Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, February 14, 1957, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of January 10 was read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary read letters of acceptance of election to Resident Membership from Messrs. Charles Sumner Bird of Walpole and Francis Henry Taylor of Worcester, and of election to Corresponding Membership from Lester Jesse Cappon of Williamsburg, Virginia. Messrs. Taylor and Cappon were present at the meeting.

Mr. Adams, in the absence of Mr. Jackson, reported additions to the Endowment Fund since December 10, 1956, of $5,998.68, making a total of $73,445.38 raised since the beginning of the President's activity in that direction.

The President reported the death of Zechariah Chafee, Jr.,[53] on February 8, 1957. Mr. Chafee was elected a Resident Member of the Society on April 14, 1938, and Vice-President in 1945, an office that he held at the time of his death.

Mr. Thomas Emerson Proctor of Hamilton was unanimously elected a Resident Member of the Society, Mr. Whitney speaking as Sponsor.

The President reported that the Council had elected Mr. Thomas Boylston Adams as first Vice-President of the Society to fill the unexpired term of Professor Chafee.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Dr. and Mrs. F. Gorham Brigham, of Chestnut Hill, a small collection of papers of Charlotte F. and Julia Foster, 1831–1884, including some of their diaries.

From Edward Pierce Hamilton, a hunting and fishing log kept by him from April, 1931, through December, 1940.

From Samuel Eliot Morison, a letter from James Sullivan to Harrison Gray Otis, dated at Philadelphia, December 17, 1796, about American relations with France and Great Britain.

By purchase: a rare currency tract, [Paul Dudley], *Objections to the Bank of Credit Lately Projected at Boston* (Boston, 1714).

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[53] For a memoir, see this volume, pp. 429–431.

Mr. Riley mentioned that he had placed on exhibition a group of Roman coins, and a map and two manuscript accounts of the Surrender at Yorktown, as well as a document concerning a celebration by General Keith's officers with a keg of Madeira.

Mr. Richard Walden Hale, Jr., read a paper entitled "New Light on the Naval Side of Yorktown,"[54] in which from material uncovered by him in the Newberry Library he presented a fascinating account of how Yorktown might have been a victory for the British, rather than for the French and Americans, had there not been misunderstandings in signals.

In the discussion that followed a number of Members who were quite as unhampered by detailed knowledge as the Recording Secretary considered the possible range and angle of fire of naval ordnance at the time of Yorktown.

The meeting adjourned at 4:15 P.M.

March Meeting, 1957

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, March 14, 1957, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of February 14 was read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter of acceptance of election to Resident Membership from Thomas Emerson Proctor of Hamilton.

The Treasurer reported that in 1956–1957 a total of $2,102.82 in royalties for *The Education of Henry Adams* had been added to the capital of the Adams Fund. Since its publication in 1918 the *Education* had earned for the Society a sum of more than $60,000.

Mr. William B. Osgood of Boston was elected a Resident Member of the Society, Mr. Whitehill speaking as Sponsor.

The President announced that the Council had set May 24 as the date for the Spring Reception.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

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[54] Printed in this volume, pp. 124–132.

From Edward Pierce Hamilton, large additions to the papers of George Bemis (1816–1878), including nine volumes of his diary from January 21, 1836, through April 1, 1865.

From Mrs. Lawrence Shaw Mayo, of Brookline, typed transcripts of the Thomas Hutchinson letter books in the Massachusetts Archives. The letter books cover the period July 31, 1741–September 6, 1773.

From Samuel Eliot Morison, a number of manuscripts, including a letter of Henry Clay to Henry Williams, March 30, 1852; the manuscript of Rev. Andrew Eliot's public admonition of John Rowe in the new North Church, 1747; a letter from William Foster Otis to John Hazlehurst Boneval Latrobe, April 2, 1822, and an English document of 1660 containing the signatures of William Penn and others.

From Miss Penelope Barker Noyes, of Cambridge, a collection of Barker family papers, 1702–1909. The collection contains papers of Josiah Barker (1763–1847), shipbuilder, who had a yard in Charlestown, and includes a list of the vessels built by him; diaries and workbooks of his son, Ebenezer Barker, who was a civil engineer and agent of the Charles River and Warren bridges, and Civil War diaries and papers of Edward Tobey Barker. Among the latter's papers is his contemporary copy of the log of the U. S. gunboat, *Huron*, January 8, 1862–October 12, 1862. One of the earliest documents in the collection given by Miss Noyes is a Cotton Mather manuscript containing a list of the marriages performed by him in 1713.

By purchase: a manuscript containing diary notes by Theodore Parker, August 11–28, 1857.

The Recording Secretary and the Cabinet-Keeper then read an exchange of memoranda concerning various natural curiosities once owned by the Society which could no longer be found. The present Cabinet-Keeper suggested that the Recording Secretary might have eaten a 4,100 lb. giant clam which was once in the Society's cabinet.

The Rev. H. W. Foote read a paper entitled "Benjamin Blyth, of Salem: Eighteenth-Century Artist."[55]

The meeting adjourned at 4:30 P.M.

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[55] Printed in this volume, pp. 64–107.

April Meeting, 1957

The Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, April 11, 1957, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of March 14 was read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that he had received a letter of acceptance of election to Resident Membership from William Bradford Osgood, of Boston.

The Treasurer reported that, for the nine months ending March 31, 1957, the Society had a surplus of receipts over expenditures of $5,890.94, an unprecedented state of affairs. He went on to state that the book value of the investments of the Society came to $1,208,628.-51, but that the market value as of April 11, 1957, amounted to $2,155,196.49.

The President announced the death at St. Louis, Missouri, on March 22, 1957, of Roland Greene Usher,[56] a Corresponding Member of the Society since January 13, 1944.

The President announced that the Council had transferred Arthur Burr Darling, a Resident Member of the Society since April 8, 1943, to Corresponding Membership.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From the Adams Memorial Society, a volume of miscellaneous pamphlets, many of which were written by Charles Francis Adams (1807–1886).

From Mrs. Francis H. Appleton, of Brookline, a copy of *Illustrations of the Principal Events in the Life of Washington*, ed. Jared Sparks (Boston, 1842). This volume was presented to Georgiana C. Saltonstall by her nieces, Florence Sparks and Lizzie Wadsworth Sparks, and has inserted in it a manuscript letter from Lafayette to Jared Sparks dated at Paris, July 18, 1828.

From Julian Parks Boyd, on behalf of the Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Princeton University, fifty-one reels of microfilm containing a guide to the location of some 60,000 documents and letters written by or to Thomas Jefferson.

From Harvard University Library, four small manuscript volumes containing field notes and surveys made by Caleb Butler (1776–1854).

From Samuel Eliot Morison, the typewritten manuscript of a thesis by Sargent F. Collier entitled, "Harrison Gray Otis and His Family Portraits," and a folder of shipping papers of J. Ingersoll Bowditch.

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[56] For an obituary, see the *New York Times,* March 23, 1957, p. 19.

From St. James's Methodist Church, Kingston, New York, a small collection of manuscripts relating to the Lee family of Concord and Royalston, 1661–1818.

By purchase: a manuscript poem, "To a Young Lady," by Ward Nicholas Boylston, and a War of 1812 pamphlet, Jacob Catlin, *The Horrors of War. A Sermon, delivered at New-Marlborough (Mass.) July 5, 1813. . . .* (Stockbridge, 1813).

The Librarian then asked Lyman Henry Butterfield, Adams Editor of the Society, to make a statement on the microfilm accumulated in the editing of the Jefferson Papers at Princeton.

Mr. Butterfield, who was formerly associated with Mr. Boyd in editing the Jefferson Papers at Princeton, described the nature and potential usefulness of the films of the Jefferson Control Files. The most novel feature of that editorial enterprise, which has been followed with necessary adaptations by the many large-scale documentary publications that have come in its wake, was the effort made to gather in one place photo-duplicates of all correspondence and other papers, including all *versions* of every pertinent letter and paper, for editorial study and use. The files of the Jefferson office at Princeton therefore include photographic facsimiles of Jefferson material gathered from hundreds of libraries and private collections all over the world. From the Coolidge Jefferson collection in the Massachusetts Historical Society alone, for example, some 10,000 pieces were filmed for the Princeton files and then enlarged as paper prints for editorial use.

The Control Files, of which we now have microfilms, are alphabetical and chronological keys to this vast consolidated file of Jefferson documentation. By means of them scholars concerned with Jefferson and his age can overcome the obstacles resulting from the wide dispersion of the originals in the past. Mr. Boyd's action represents one of the unexpected and yet perfectly natural fruits of interinstitutional co-operation. The films themselves represent an interesting extension of microphotography into the field of indexing.

Mr. Homans then read a paper entitled "The Frisians in East Anglia,"[57] explaining the source of one of the hordes of barbarians who invaded Roman England. He concluded that most of the Frisians moved into Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent.

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[57] Printed in *Economic History Review,* 2nd Ser., x (1957), 189–206.

After a number of comments and questions from various members, the Society adjourned.

May Meeting, 1957

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, May 9, 1957, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of April 11 was read and approved.

On the motion of the Treasurer, it was voted, "That the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury to be expended for such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society."

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Miss Emily M. Babcock, of Doylestown, Pennsylvania, fourteen letters written by Charles Francis Adams (1807–1886) to Dennis R. Alward, 1868–1880, and twenty-one letters written by Mrs. Adams to Alward, 1865–1876, together with six photographs of various members of the Adams family.

From Samuel H. Gurvitz, of Sharon, an early photograph of Faneuil Hall, Boston. On the verso there is a manuscript note: "Taken by Gilman Joslin May 1839 The first taken in Boston."

From Mrs. Charles Jackson, of Boston, a large lithograph, *Officers of the United States Army and Navy Prisoners of War. Libby Prison Richmond, Va.* (Cincinnati, 1864). Inserts contain views of Libby Prison, Castle Thunder, and Belle Island.

From Edmund Quincy, of Turin, Italy, a small collection of books and manuscripts relating to the Quincy family, and a sepia drawing of the Adams house in Quincy done by Eliza Susan Quincy in 1825.

From the Honorable Joseph Riley, of Wellesley, twenty-seven volumes of scrapbooks kept by Martin M. Lomasney, the Boston political figure, for the period July, 1902, through January, 1932.

On deposit: from Edmund Quincy, of Turin, Italy, a marble bust of Josiah Quincy (1772–1864) by Horatio Greenough, a manuscript volume containing writings of Edmund Quincy (1681–1738) while at Harvard, a printed volume, *Two Essays on Oratory* (London, 1764) bearing the autograph of Josiah Quincy (1744–1775), engraved portraits of Mrs. Maria S. Morton and her son, Washington Morton, by Charles Balthazar Julien Fevret de Saint-Memin, and other drawings and portraits.

By purchase: eighty-five volumes of manuscript records of the Boston Overseers of the Poor, 1738–1925.

Mr. Clifton Waller Barrett then read a paper entitled "The Making of a History: Letters of Henry Adams to Henry Vignaud and Charles Scribner, 1879–1913,"[58] based upon letters from Henry Adams to his publisher, Charles Scribner, that are in Mr. Barrett's collection.

After comments, the meeting adjourned at 4:20 P.M.

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[58] Printed in this volume, pp. 204–271.

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